

THE
SECOND VOLUME
OF THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY:
CONTAINING THE
Acts and Monuments
OF
MARTYRS:
WITH
A General Discourse of the later Persecutions, horrible Troubles
and Tumults, stirred up by
ROMISH PRELATES
IN THE
CHURCH.
WITH
Divers other Things incident to this Realm of *ENGLAND*
and *SCOTLAND*.

Recognized and Enlarged by the Author,
M^r. JOHN FOX.

L O N D O N,
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THE SEVENTH BOOK,

Beginning with the Reign of King HENRY the Eighth.



Anno
1509.

Notes fac-
tually col-
lected and
repeated
from those
in the time
of St. Henry
the seventh.

A touching the civil state and admini-
stration of the Commonwealth, and
likewise of the state of the Church
under the Reign of King Henry the
Seventh: how he entered first into
possession of the Crown: how the
two Houses of York and Lancaster
were in him conjoined through marriage with Elizabeth the
eldest Daughter to King Edward the fourth, by the prudent
counsel of John Morton then Bishop of Ely, after Archbishop
of Canterbury, and Cardinal: how long the said King
reigned, and what Persecution was in his time for lack of
Faith and knowledge of God's Word both in the Dioceses of
Lincoln under Bishop Smith, (who was executor of the House
of Bezares-Nest in Oxford) as also in the Dioceses of Coven-
try, and other places more: and further, what punishment
and alteration God commonly sendeth upon Cities and
Realms publick, for neglecting the safety of his Flock, suf-
ficiently in the former Book hath been already specified,
wherein many things more amply might have been added,

incident in the Reign of this Prince, which we have for
brevity pretermitted. For he that studieth to comprehend
in story all things which the common course and use of life
may offer to the Writer, may focus find matter to occupy
himself, than to profit others. Otherwise I might have in-
ferred mention of the felicitous Tumult of *Perkin Warbeck*,
with his Retinue, Anno 1494, also of *Blackheath-Field* by
the Blacksmith, Anno 1496. I might also have recited the
glorious commendation of *Georgius Lilius* in his Latine
Chronicle, testifying of King Henry the seventh, how he sent
three solemn Orators to Pope Julius the second, to yield his
obedience to the See of Rome, Anno 1506. And likewise how
Pope Alexander the ninth, *Vine* the third, and *Julius* the
second, sent to the said King Henry the seventh three sundry
famous Embassadors, with three Swords, and three Caps of
Maintenance, electing and admitting him to be the chief
Defender of the Faith. The commendation of which fact,
how glorious it is in the eyes of *Georgius Lilius*, and *Fabian*,
that I leave to them. This I suppose, that when King Henry
sent to Pope Julius three Orators with obedience, it had
been

Publick Writ-
ten and
signed with
the King's
Great Seal
Blackheath
Field

Pragmatica
Santio, was

A tale of
God's plagues
following
the burning
of his Peo-
ple.

The fourth of
Scotland.
Lady Mary

The Franciscans were they which did hold of St. Francis, and followed the rule of his Testament, commonly called Franciscan Friars.

king, that it occupied the Heads and Wits, Schools and Un-

In the mean time, as this Fantasy waxed hot in the Church, the one side preaching against the other, came Pope

Moreover, the same Pope, to the intent that the devotion of the People might be the more encouraged to the celebra-

Wherein thou mayest note (gentle Reader) for thy learning three things: First, how the Pope turneth that un-

completes

... to
... of

2. $\frac{1}{2}$

*Sane cum sancta Romana Ecclesia de interminata Jemperi-
Virginis, &c.* In English :
Whereas the holy Church of Rome hath ordained a free

This Bull, being dated the year of our Lord 1483, gave no little heart and encouragement to the Gray-Friars Fran-

Ex Jod. Cl-
torazo de pa-

How the Virgin Mary 3. *Item*, That where the Body of the Virgin *Mary* was subject to death and died: this is to be understood to come

4. The universal proposition of St. *Paul*, which faith, That the Scripture hath concluded all Men under Sin, is to

into perdition and condemnation; so is not Christ the Saviour of *Moss*, but is her Saviour only in this respect, for

Good Study: 8. Neither did she pray to God at any time for remission

place among the Patriarchs, or amongst the Just, but in the same most pleasant place of Paradise where *Adam* and *Eve*

Again; Where *Bernard* doth argue, that she was not without original sin conceived, because she was not concei-

Finally, for the number and multitude on the contrary Verity con-
fide, thus that enquire for themselves, as we now in these filleth not 3

With these and such other like reasons the Gray Franciscans voided their Adversaries, defending the conception of

A 2 durst

Hen. 8. durst not speak yet the heart would work; and tho their tongues were set, yet their good-will was ready by all means possible to maintain their quarrel and their estimation.

Whereunto it happened the same year of our Lord, 1509, Anno 1509. that this diffention between the Dominick, Friars and the Franciscans, that certain of the Dominicks, thinking by subtil flight to work in the Peoples heads that which they durst not achieve with open preaching. Levell'd a certain Image of the Virgin fo critically weaght, that the Friars by private gains made it to fill, and to make gashes, to lamen, to compins, to weep, and to give answers to them that asked; in perfum that the People there were brought in a marvelous passion, till at length the fraud being exposed, the Friars were taken, condemned, and burnt at Here the year above-named, 1509. *See Paus. Schol. Mart. Carion, & alii.* In the Centuries of John Bale I find their order to be, *Juanes Petter, Franciscus Villanus, Stephanus a Babilon, and Hieronimus Stricker.*

In the Story of John Stow, this Story thereof doth pretty appear: but in the Registers and Records of the City of Here, the order and circumstance thereof is more fully exprest and set forth, both in Metec and Prose, and is thus declared.

In the City of Here there were certain Dominick Friars, to the number chiefly of four principal doors and chieftains of that Order, which had inveigled a certain fimple poor Friar, who had newly planted himself in the Cloister: with the foreaid Friar had fo instituted with sundry fignifications, feigned appoynts of St. Mary, St. Barbara, and St. Katharine, and with their incantments, and impietous moveover in him the wounds of St. Francis, that he believed plainly that the Virgin Mary had appeared to him, and had uttered his a ved Host consecrated, with the blood of Christ miraculously, which blessed Virgin also had sent him to the Senatos of Here, with instructions, declaring unto them from the mouth of the Virgin, That she was conceived in fuy and that the Franciscan Friars were not to be crossed in the City, which were not yet returned from that enormous opinion of her conception. He added moreover, That they should report to a certain Image there of the Virgin Mary, (which Image the Friars by engines had made to sweat) and feign do their worship, and make their oblations to the same, &c.

This feigned device was no sooner forged by the Friars, but it was believed of the Peoples: fo that a true while the red-coloured Host was undoubtedly taken for the true body and blood of Christ, and certain coloured drops there tern accorded to divers noble Personages and States for a great Reque, and that not without great recompence. Thus the deceived People in great numbers came flocking to the Image, and to the red Host, and coloured Blood, with manifold gifts and oblations. In brief, the Dominick Friars fo had wrought the matter, and had fo swept all the fat to their own beads from the Order of the Franciscans, that all the Aims came to their box. The Franciscans seeing their estimation to decay, and their hope to be cold and their panches to be pinched, not able to abide that contumely, and being not ignorant or unacquainted with such counterfeited devices, (for as the Proverb faith, *It is ill halving before a Cripple*) ere long espied their crafty ingling, and detected their fraudulent mineries. Whereupon the four chief Captains above-named were apprehended, and put to the fire, of whom the Provincial of that Order was one.

And thus much touching the beginning and end of this tumultuous and Perillous Trade, wherein evidently it may appear to the Reader, how neither these turbulent Friars could agree among themselves, and yet in what frivolous trifles they wrangled together. But to let their ridiculous Friars pass with their trifling Phantasies, most worthy to be decided of all wise men: in the mean time this is to be remembered, to behold the miserable times of the Church, in which the Devil kept the minds of Christ's people so attentive and occupied in such friarly toys, that nothing else almost was sought or heard in the Church, but only the commendation and exaltation of the Virgin Mary. But of our justification by faith, of grace, and of the promises of God in Christ, of the strength of the Law, of the horror of Sin, of difference between the Law and the Gospel, of the liberty of Conscience, &c. no mention or very little was heard. Wherefore in this fo blind a time of darkness it was much

needed and requisite, that the Lord of his mercy should look upon his Church, and send down his gracious Reformation, which also he did: For shortly upon the time, through the gracious exaltation of God, came *Martin Luther*, of whom the order of story now requirerh we should, and will insert, (Christ writing) after the story of *Richard Hunne*, and a few other things premised, for the better opening of the story to follow.

Mention was made sufficiently before of the doings of Pope Anno 1510. *Julius*, and of his warlike affairs, for which he was condemned, and not unjustly, in the Council of *Tuorne in France*, Anno 1510. and yet all this could not affuage the furious ambition of this Pope, but the same year he invaded the City of *Matina* and *Myrandola* in Italy, and took them by force of war. Which Pope *Julius* not long after, in the year of our Lord 1512, reducing peace offered by *Maximilian* 1512. the Emperor, was encountered by *Lewis* the French King about *Ravenna*, upon Easter-day, where he was vanquished, and had of his Army slain to the number of sixteen thousand. *See Chron. Carion.* And the year next following, Anno Anno 1513. this Apotholical Warriour, which had reigned his 1513. keys unto the River of *Hydra*, made an end together both of his might and living, after he had reigned and fought ten years. After whom succeeded next in the See of *Rome*, Pope *Leo* the tenth: about the compass of which Pope *Leo* 10 in time great mutations and firs began to work, as well in States Temporal, as especially in the State of the Church.

Pope Leo 10. in Rome, Anno 1513. *Charles V.* Emperor of Germany, Anno 1519. *Francis King of France*, Anno 1515. *Henry V. King of England*, Anno 1515. *James V. King of Scotland*, Anno 1514.

In the time of which Pope, Emperor, and Kings of England and of France, great alterations, troubles, and turns of Religion were wrought in the Church, by ministered operation of God's hand, in Italy, France, Germany, England, and all Europe: such as have not been seen (also much more good) for many hundred years before: as in further discourse of this History (Christ writing) shall more manifestly appear.

But before we come to these alterations, taking the time as it lieth before us, we will first speak of *Richard Hunne*, and certain other godly-minded Persons here in England, afflicted for the Word of Christ's Gospel in great multitudes, as they be found and taken out of the Registers of *Fitzjames* Bishop of London, by the faithful help and industry of *R. Carlet*, Citizen of London.

The History of divers good Men and Women, persecuted for Religion in the City and Diocefs of the Bishop of London: briefly extracted out of the Registers of Richard Fitzjames.

Amongst the best and the greatest number of the faithful Martyrs and Professors of Christ, that constantly in the strength of the Holy-Ghost gave their lives for the testimony of his Truth, I find recorded in the Registers of London, between the years of our Lord 1509 and 1517, the names of divers other persons, both Men and Women, who in the fulfets of that dark and misty time of Ignorance had also faine portion of God's good Spirit, which increased in them to the knowledge of his Truth and God, and were diversly troubled, persecuted, and imprisoned for the same: notwithstanding by the proud, cruel, and bloody rage of the Catholic Seat, and through the weakness and frailty of their own nature, (not then fully strengthened in God) it was again in them for the time suppressed and kept under, as is apparent by their several abjurations made before *Richard Fitzjames*, then Bishop of London, (in his time a most cruel Persecutor of Christ's Church) or else before his Vice-governor deputated for the same. And knowasmuch as many of the Adversaries of Christ's Truth have of late day dissiditously and braggingly cried out, and made demands in their publick Assemblies, and yet do, asking, Where this our Church and Religion was within these fifty or sixty years? I have thought it much altogether vain, fainewast to step forth lying crackers, both by mentioning their names, and likewise opening of the

the chief and principal matters for which they were fo unmercifully afflicted and molested: thereby to give understanding, as well the continuance and content of the true Church of Christ in that age, touching the chief points of our Faith, as also by the way forthcoming to teach what fond and frivolous matters the ignorant Prelates flamed not in that time of blindness to object against the poor and fimple people, accounting them as haughty and great offences, yea, such as deserved death both of body and soul. But let it I should seem too prolix and tedious herein, I will now briefly proceed to the story, and first begin with their names, which are these:

Anno 1510.	John Baker.	Lewis John.	Anno
	William Patter.	Joan John.	
	John Forge.	John Web, alias Baker.	1512.
	Thomas Godard.	Robert Rafal.	1517.
	Thomas Walker, alias Talbot.	Elizabeth Stafford.	1518.
	Thomas Forge.	George Browne.	
	Alice Forge.	John Wige.	
	John Forge, their Son.	John Sumner.	
	Richard Butler.	William Samme.	
Anno 1511.	Richard Woodford.	William King.	1521.
	Richard Woodman.	John Garter.	
	Roger Hillier.	Henry Woodman.	
	Alice Cooper.	Edmund Spilman.	
	Joan Asley.	John Higges, alias Noge, alias Johnfon.	1523.
	Thomas Grant.	Henry Chalmers.	
	John Carter.	John Higgin.	1526.
	Christopher Rastin.	Thomas Eggleton.	
	Dionysie Rastin.	Thomas Vincent.	

Here follows the particular Examination of all these here above named.

To these were divers and sundry particular Articles (besides the common and general fo accidentally used in such cases) privately objected, even such as they were then accused of either by their Curate, or other their Neighbours. And because I think it somewhat superfluous to make any large recital of all and every part of the several Proofs, I must therefore briefly touch fo to such fo of their Articles, as may be sufficient to induce the Christian Reader to judge the founner of the bell, being I assure you) of no great importance than these that follow: except that sometime they were charged most slanderously with horrible and blasphemous Lies against the Majesty and Truth of God: which in silence, as well for brevities sake, as also somewhat to colour and hide the themselves practices of that lying Generation. But to our purpose.

The chiefest Objection against *John Baker* was, That he would not only her self not reverence the Crucifix, but had also persuaded a Friend of hers lying at the point of death, not to put any trust or confidence in the Crucifix, but in God which is in Heaven, who not only worketh all the miracles that be done, and not the dead Images, which be but flocks and stones; and therefore the was sorry that ever the had gone so often on pilgrimage to St. Saviour and other Idols. Also, that she did hold opinion that the Pope had no power to give pardons, and that the Lady *Lacy* (who was not long before that time buried) died a true Martyr of God: and therefore the wished of God, that her self might do no worse than the said Lady *Lacy* had done.

Unto *William Patter*, besides divers other false and pernicious Articles, (as that he should deny the benefit and effect of Christ's Passion) it was also alleged, That he should affirm there were five Gods: the first being the holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy-Ghost; the fourth was a Priest's Conscience being kept in his chambers: the fifth was the Devil, and the sixth, that thing that Man thinks his mind. *See the next page.*

The first part of this Article is utterly denied, confounding most fairly and truly, the blessed Trinity to be only one God

in one unity of Deity. As to the other three be answered, That K. Hen. 8. A Priest delighting in his Conscience, made her as his God: Likewife a wicked Person, perishing in his sin without repentance, made the Devil his God. And lastly, to granted, that in our hearing of certain Articles, by the saying and chattering of Birds would be, to know what things were as flamed their Birds as Gods; and otherwise to speake na.

Amongst the manifold and several Articles objected against *Thomas Godard*, *Thomas Walker*, *Thomas Forge*, *Alice Forge* his Wife, *John Forge* their Son, *John Calverton*, *John Woodford*, *Richard Woodman*, and *Roger Hillier*, (as that they should speak against Pilgrimages, praying unto Saints, and such like) this principally was propounded, That they did denied the carnal and corporal presence of Christ's body and blood in the Sacrament of the Altar; and further, had conceived and conferred unto their Teachers and instructors in that Doctrine, and had nog, according to the Laws of the Church, accused and presented them unto the Bishop or his Ordinary. Also great and heinous displeasure was conceived against *Richard Woodman*, for that he termed the Church of Rome a House of Thieves, affirming, that the Priests and other Ecclesiastical Persons there were not liberal givers unto the poor (as they ought) but rather takers away from them what they could get.

Likewise as *Thomas Asley*, *John Asley* his Wife, *Thomas Grant*, *John Carter*, *Christopher Rastin*, *John Rastin* his Sister, *Thomas Vincent*, *Lewis John*, *Joan John* his Wife, and *John Web*, were of one fellowship and profetion of Faith with divers of the last before recited: to were they all much apprehended about one time, chiefly for burdened with one opinion of the Sacrament. Which declared evidently, that notwithstanding the dark ignorance of those corrupted times, yet God did ever in mercy open the eyes of such, to behold the manifest truth, even in those things whereunto the Papists make most great vaunt, and larg of longest continuance. Furthermore, many of them were charged to have spoken against Pilgrimages, and to have read and used certain English Books repugning the Faith of the Romish Church, as the four Evangelists, *Wycliffe* Wikes, a Book of the Ten Commandments of Almighty God, the Revelation of St. John, the Epistles of *Paul* and *James*, with other like, which those holy ones could never abide: and good cause why: for as darkness could never agree with light, no more can ignorance, the maintainers of that Kingdom, with the true knowledge of Christ and his Gospel.

It was further particularly objected against *John John*, the Wife of *Lewis John*, That (besides the premises) she learned and maintained, that God commanded no Holy-days to be kept, but only the Sabbath-day, and therefore she would keep none but it's, nor any Fastings-days, affirming, that to fast from fuy was the true Fast. Moreover, that she had despised the Pope, his pardons and pilgrimages: in witness whereof when any poor body asked an Aims of her in the worship of the Lady of *Walsingham*, she would thrust answer in contempt of the pilgrimage, The Lady of *Walsingham* kept these: and if she gave any thing unto him, the would then say, Take this in the worship of our Lady in Heaven, and let the other go. Which declared, that for lack of better instruction and knowledge, the yet ignorantly attributed too much honour to the Saints of God departed, the otherwise the did abhor the idolatrous worshipping of the dead Images. By which example, as also by many others (for thorough fate at this present untimely) I have full occasion to condemn the wilful falsity of those, that in this bright shining light of God's truth, would yet under colour of godly remembrance, still maintain the having of Images in the Church, craftily excusing their idolatrous kneeling and praying unto them, by affirming, that they were worshipped the dead Images, but the things that the Images did represent. But it that were their only doctrine and cause of having of them, why then would their predecessors so cruelly contempt these poor fimple people thus openly in their recitation to abjure and curse against the gross idolatry and adoration of the outward Images only, and not against the thing represented, which many of them (as appeareth partly by this example) in their ignorant simplicity confided might be worshipped? Howbeit, God be thanked, (who ever liveth in his mercy continue it) their colourable and hypocritical excuses cannot now take fuch place in the hearts of the Elect

Chifee Wey, arranged one Bible rough two of Bible wants, upon horse, carried away.

K. Hen. 8.

O Lord, I yield me to thy Grace,
Grant me mercy for my Trespases;
Lest never the Fiend my Soul defile,
Lord, I will love, and thou shalt beat,
Lest never my Soul come in Hell-beat.

Into thy hands I commend my Spirit: thou hast redeemed
me, O Lord of Truth.

And to be ended.

Est defensor Alice Browne, que filia, conjugii mariti non
discubator Stat. in par. ch. 5. Paley.

At the Fire the said Chilton, Bailiff Arrant, had cut in his
children also, for they would spring (said he) of his ashes.

This blessed Martyr, John Brown, had born a flagrant (se-
ven years before, in the days of King Henry the seventh.
As it is the property of Satan ever to malign the profes-
sors of the Faith of God, and true professors of
Christ, so he will be not continually to stir up his wicked
enemies to the effectual accomplishing of that which his
evilous nature so greedily desireth; if not always openly by
colour of tyrannical Laws, yet at least by force (but
not by force of secret Murders). Which thing doth most
plainly appear, not only in a great number of the blessed
Martyrs of Christ's Church mentioned in this Book but also
and especially in the discount of this lamentable History that
now I have in hand, concerning the secret and cruel mur-
dering of Richard Hunne, whose Story here consequently
entirely, decepted and collected partly out of the Registers
of London, partly out of a Bill exhibited and denounced
in the Parliament-house.

The Story of Richard Hunne.

There was in the year of our Lord 1534, one Richard
Hunne, Merchant-Tailor, dwelling within the City
of London, and Freeman of the same, who was esteemed
during his life, and worthily reputed, and taken not only
for a Man of true dealing and good faith, but also for
a good Catholic Man. This Richard Hunne had a child
at nurse in Middlesex, in the Parish of St. Mary Marston,

Anno
1534.

which died: by the occasion whereof one Thomas Dry-
field Clerk, being Parson of the said Parish, fed the said
Richard Hunne in the Spiritual Court for a bearing-Sheet,
which the said Thomas Dryfield claimed unjustly to have of
the said Hunne, for a Mortuary for Stephen Hunne, Son of
the said Richard Hunne, which Stephen being at nurse in
the said Parish, died, being of the age of five weeks, and
not above Hunne answered him again, That forasmuch
as the Child had no propriety in the Sheet, he therefore
neither would pay it, nor the other ought to have it.
Whereupon the Priest, moved with a covetous desire,
and to lose his pretended Right, alighted him to appear in
the Spiritual Court, there to answer the matter. Where-
upon the said Richard Hunne being troubled in the Spiritu-
al Court, was forced to seek counsel of the learned in the
Law of this Land, and pursued a Writ of *Procurator* against
the said Thomas Dryfield, and other his Aiders, Counsellors,
Proctors, and Adherents, as by the process thereof
is to be seen. Which when the said Thomas Dryfield
der head of, greatly disdaineth that any Layman should so
boldly enterprise such a matter against any of them, and
feeling also, that if they should now suffer this Priest to be
condemned at the suit of Hunne, there would be thereby
ever after a liberty opened unto all others of the Laity to
do the like with the rest of the Clergy in such like cases;
they straightways, both to stop this matter, and also to be
revenge of him for that he had already done, fought all
means they possibly could, how to interrupt and bring him
within the danger of their own civil Laws. And there-
upon making secret and diligent Inquisition, and seeking
all corners they could against him, at length they found a
means how to accuse him for the death of the said
Puer. (The Bishop of London, and so did, who defences
to satisfy the revenging and bloody affections of his Chap-
lains) caused him thereupon to be apprehended and com-
mitted unto prison within the *Lollards Tower*, so that
none of his friends might be suffered to come to him.

This Richard Hunne being cast in the *Lollards Tower*,
thorowly after, at the earnest intigation of Dr. Hersey, the Bi-
shop's Chancellor, (a Man more ready to prefer the Cler-
ges cruel tyranny, than the truth of Christ's Gospel) was
brought before the Bishop at his Manor of Fulham, the 2d
day of December, in the year before mentioned, where
within his Chappel he examined him upon these Articles
following, collected against him by the said Hersey and his
Complices:

1. Item, That he had read, taught, preached, published, and
obstinately defended, against the Laws of Christianity God, that
Tithe, or paying of Tithe, was never ordained to be due,
saving only by the Covenantists of Priests.

2. Item, That he had read, taught, preached, published,
and obstinately defended, that Bishops and Priests be the
Scribes and Pharisees that did crucify Christ, and damned him to
death.

3. Item, That he had read, taught, preached, &c. That
Bishops and Priests be teachers and preachers, but no doers,
neither Justifiers of the Law of God, but catching, receiving,
and all things taking, and nothing ministering, neither giving.

4. Item, Where and when one Joan Baker was defiled
and abused of many great Heretics, (as it appears by her
Affidavit) the said Richard Hunne said, published, taught,
preached, and obstinately took upon him, saying, That he
would defend her and her opinion, &c. Akin to hundred
Martyrs.

5. Item, Afterwards (where and when the said Joan
Baker, after her Affidavit, was enjoined upon Penance ac-
cording to her demerits) the said Richard Hunne said, pub-
lished, taught, and obstinately did defend her, saying, The
Bishop of London and his Officers have done wrong to
the said Joan Baker, in punishing her for Heresy for her
sayings and opinions be according to the Laws of God:
wherefore the Bishop and his Officers are more worthy to be
punished for Heresy than she is.

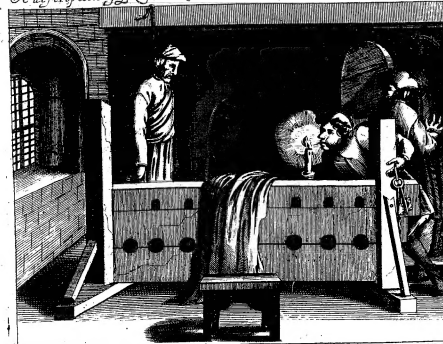
6. Item, That the said Richard Hunne hath in his keeping
divers English Books prohibited and damned by the Law;
as the Apocalypse in English, Epistles and Gospels in English,
Wickliff's damnable Works, and other books containing
false Errors, in the which he hath been a long time accustomed
to read, teach, and study daily.

Particular Answer unto these several Objections in the
Register I find none, saving that next under them there is
written in his name, with a contrary hand, these words
following: At touching these Articles, I have not spoken
them as they be here laid, but with unadvisedly I have spoken
Words somewhat tending to the same, for the which I am
sorry, and ask God mercy, and forgive me to my Lord's
charitable and favourable Correction. Which they affirm to
be written with Hunne's own hand: but how likely to
be true it is, let the readers wisdom of the Reader judge
for my part, and by the whole sequel of this Process. And fur-
ther, if it were his own act, what occasion then had they
to cruelly to murder him as they did? seeing he had already
so willingly confessed his fault, and submitted himself to the
charitable and favourable correction of the Bishop, (for the
which, even by their own Law, in cases of most heinous
Heresy, he ought to be again received and pardoned) to ex-
cept perhaps they will account horrible Murder to be but
the Bishop's favourable correction. Against them they had
very few credible witnesses to prove certainly that this was
his Answer and Hand-writing: for the Register, or some
other for him, appointed to record the same, hath certified
us of ten-day from others, and not of his own proper
fight and knowledge, as the words noted in the margin of
the Book, adjoining to the foreaid Answer, plainly do de-
clare, which are these: *Hic fuit scriptum manu propria
Richard Hunne, in dictum.* Now if he had any free ground
to falsify this Certificate, I doubt not but he would instead
of an *admission*, have registered the names of the Affiliates at
the time of his examination, (which he confessed to be)
as generally they do in all their Acts, especially in
those good fellows that feared not to shamefully to murder
him, would be to make a lie of him that was already dead,
as I said, the indifferent judgment of the godly wise
doers.

This Examination ended, the Bishop sent him back
again

K. Hen. 8.

A Description of the Lollards Tower, where Richard Hunne was murdered.



Richard Hunne
being led back
into the
Lollards
Tower.

Richard Hunne
being led into
the Lollards
Tower.

Crusty peck
ing of the
murdering
priest.

The fleet
company
of the
murdering
priest.

Henry the
Chancellor
being led
into the
Lollards
Tower.

The death
of Hunne
being led
into the
Lollards
Tower.

against the same day unto the *Lollards Tower*; and then, by
appointment of Dr. Hersey, his Chancellor, he was there
thorowly committed from the custody of Charles Jephth
the Sumner, unto John Spalding the Bell-ringer, a Man by
whose impudence in wit (who otherwise wicked) the fabric
Chancellor thought to bring his devilish pretended Homicide
the easier to pass; which must cruelly he did, by his
Ministers laboured, wherein two nights next then following
accomplished as plainly proved hereafter by the diligent En-
quiry, and final Verdict of the Coroner of London and his
Inquest, made by order of the Laws in that behalf limited.
But when this usual practice of the Papists was once accom-
plished, there wanted them no fewer thins nor worldly-wiles
for the crafty colouring of this Mischief: and therefore the
next morning after they had in the night committed this
Murder, Spalding (I doubt not but by the counsel of his
Master Chancellor) got himself out of the way into the
City, and leaving the Keys of the Prison with one of his
fellows, allowed him to deliver them unto the Sumners who
which accidentally did use to carry Hunne his meat and
other necessities that he needed: thinking that the boy might
find the prisoner dead, and hanged in such sort as they
left him, they might by his relation be thought free from
any implication of this matter. Which thing happened in the
beginning almost as they wished. For the Boy the same
morning (being the fourth day of December) having the
keys delivered him, accompanied with two other of
the Bishop's Sumners, went about ten of the Clock into
the Prison, to take the Prisoner as he was wont to do;
and when they came up, they found him hanged with his
face towards the wall. Whereupon they (alighted at
this sight) gave knowledge thereof immediately unto the
Chancellor, being then in the Church, and watching, I
suppose, of purpose for such News; who forthwith got
unto him certain of his Colliques, and went with them in-
to the Prison, to see that which his own wicked Conscience
knew full well before, as was afterwards plainly proved, al-
tho then he made a fair face to the contrary, blinding abroad
among the People by their Officers and Servants, that
the death of Hunne had desperately hanged himself. Howbeit the Peo-
ple having good experience as well of the honest life and
godly conversation of the Man, as also of the devilish ma-
nife of his Adversaries the Priests, judged rather, that by
their procurement he was secretly murdered. Whereof
arose great contention; for the Bishop of London on the
one side, taking his Clergys part, affirmed stoutly that

that Hunne had hanged himself: The Citizens again on the
other side, vehemently suspecting some secret Murder, caus-
ed the Coroner of London, according to Law, to chase an
Inquest, and to take good view of the dead Body, and to
try out the truth of the matter. Whereby the Bishop
and his Chaplains were then driven to extremity of shifts;
and therefore mingling by some subtil shew of Justice to
the mouths of the People, they determined, that in
the mean while as the Inquest was occupied about their
changes, the Bishop should for his part proceed *Ex Officio*
in case of Heresy against the dead Person; supposing, more-
over, that if the Party were once condemned of Heresy,
the Inquest durst not then but find him guilty of his own
death, and so clearly acquit them from all the former sus-
picion of privy Murder. This determination of their they
did immediately put in practice, in order as followeth:

First, besides the Articles before mentioned, which they
affirm were objected against him in his life-time, Dr. Hen-
derson did now also after his death collect certain others out of
the Prologue of his English Bible, remaining then in the Bishop's
hands, which he diligently perused, not to learn any good
thing therein, but to get thereout such matter as he thought
might best serve their cruel purpose, as appears by the
tenor of the Articles, which are these:

1. First, the said Book damnable all holy Canons, calling
them Ceremonies and Statutes of sinful Men and carnal
men, and calling the Pope *Satanas* and *Antichrist*.

2. Item, it damnable the Pope's Pardons, saying they are
but Leadings.

3. Item, The said Book of *Heresy* faith, That Kings and
Lords called Christian in name, and Heavens in conditions,
defile the Sanctuary of God, bringing Clerks full of Co-
vetousness, Heresy and Malice, to stop God's Law, that
which he knows, keeps, and freely preached.

4. Item, The said Book faith, that Lords and Prelates
purse fully and cruelly them that would teach truly and
justify the Law of God, and cherish them that preach sinful
Men's Traditions and Statutes, by which he meaneth the holy
Canons of Christ's Church.

5. Item, That poor Men and Idiots have the truth of the
Holy Scriptures, more than a thousand Prelates, and reli-
gious Men, and Clerks of the School.

6. Item, That Christian Kings and Lords set Kils in
God's House, and excite the People to Idolatry.

7. Item, That Princes, Lords, and Prelates do doing, be
worse

K. Hen. 8. the death of *Hun*, true Men: and said and took upon his Conscience, that they were tale peijured Catrils: and said further to all the Lords there being, For the love of God look upon this Matter: for if you do not, I dare not keep mine house for Heretics: And said, that the said *Richard Hun* hanged himself: and that it was his own deed, and no fault of his. And furthermore said, that there came a Man to his House, whose Wife was appeached of Heresy, to speak with him: and he said that he had no mind to speak with the same Man: which Man spoke and reported to the Servants of the same Bishop, that if his Wife would not hold full her Opinions, he would cut her Throat with his own hands: with other words.

The Sentence of the Inquest, subscribed by the Crowner.

The Inquisition intended and taken at the City of London, in the Parish of St. Gregory, in the Ward of Baynard Castle in London, the fourth day of December, in the fifth year of the Reign of King Hen. 8. before Thomas Barnevel Crowner of our Sovereign Lord the King within the City of London aforesaid. Also before James Turford and John Masefield, Sheriffs of the City of London, upon the right of the Body of *Richard Hun*, late of London Tailor, which was found hanged in the Lollards Tower; and by the oath and proof of lawful Men of the same Ward, and of three Wards next adjoining, as is ought to be, after the custom of the City aforesaid, to enquire how, and in what manner wile the said *Richard Hun* came unto his death: and upon the Oath of John Barnevel, Thomas Stier, William Warren, Henry Abraham, John Anderson, John Turner, Robert Allen, William Marler, James Piers, James Kings, Thomas Pickhill, William Burton, Robert Bridgwater, Thomas Bafled, Gilbert Hamill, Richard Gillen, Christopher Crafton, John Goddard, Richard Hill, John Palmer, Edward Wotton, John Ansell, Richard Cooper, John Lim: which said John Barnevel, which where the said *Richard Hun*, by the commandment of *Richard Bishop of London*, was imprisoned and brought to hold in a Prison of the said Bishops called Lollards Tower, lying in the Ward of Baynard Castle in London, in the Parish of St. Gregory in the Ward of Baynard Castle aforesaid: William Henry of London Clerk, otherwise called William Henry, Chancellor to *Richard Bishop of London*; and one Charles Tophel clerk of London Sumner, and John Spalding of London, otherwise called John Bellringer, kneeling as Felons to our Lord the King, with force and arms against the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, and dignity of his Crown, the fourth day of December, the fifth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord aforesaid, of their great malice, at the Parish of Saint Gregory aforesaid, upon the said *Richard Hun* made a fray, and the same *Richard Hun* feloniously strangled and murdered, and also the Neck they did break of the said *Richard Hun*, and there feloniously flew him and murdered him, and also the Body of the said *Richard Hun*, afterwards the same fourth day, year, place, parish and ward, and with the proper Guild of the same *Richard Hun* of silk, black of colour, of the value of twelve pence, after his death, upon a cloak driven into a piece of timber in the wall of the Prison aforesaid, made fast, and so hanged him, against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, and the Dignity of his Crown: and so the said Jury had sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, that the said *Will. Henry* Clerk, *Charles Tophel*, and *John Spalding*, of their felicity, and that there feloniously killed and murdered the said *Richard Hun*, and there feloniously flew him and murdered him, and also the Body of the said *Richard Hun*, against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity.

Subscribed in this manner:

Thomas Barnevel, Crowner of the City of London.

After that the twenty four had given up their Verdict, and sealed and signed with the Crowner, and the Cause was then brought into the Parliament: where the truth was laid to plain before all Men faces, and the fact so notorious, that immediately certain of the bloody murderers were committed to Prison, and should no doubt have suffered the same punishment as the Cardinal by his authority practised for his Catholic Children, at the fault of the Bishop of London. Whereupon the Chancelors, by the King's Pardon, and secret shifting, rather than by God's Pardon

and his deservings, escaped, and went, as was said, to Exeter. Sec. Nevertheless the justice took no place where favour did live, yet because the innocent Cause of *Hun* should take no wrong, the Parliament became fautes into the King's Majesty, that whereas the Goods of the said *Hun* were committed into the King's hands, it would please his Grace to make restitution of all the said Goods unto the Children of the said *Hun*. Upon which motion, the King of his gracious disposition did not only give all the forsaide Goods unto the forsaide Children under his broad Seal, yet to be sent but also did send out his Warrants (which hereafter shall follow) to that were the cruel Murderers, commanding them, upon his high displeasure, to deliver all the said Goods, and make restitution for the death of the said *Richard Hun*, of all which Goods came to the sum of fifteen hundred pounds Sterling, besides his Plate and other Jewels.

The Tenor of the King's Letter in the behalf of *Richard Hun*.

Trusty and Wellbelovd, We greet you well, Wherof by the King's Letter to the complaint to be made, as well as all in our high Court of Parliament, on the behalf and part of *Richard Whaploot* of our City of London Draper, and Margaret his Wife, Late the Daughter of *Richard Hun*, and wherof you were indited by our Laws, and for the death of the said *Richard Hun*, and the said Murder cruelly committed by you, lay as by our Records made at large plainly in death appear, after the fifth day of December, in the fifth year of our Reign: the same we have: Nevertheless we of our special grace, certain favour, and more merciful favour, we have appointed consideration as moving: for the intent that the Goods of the said *Richard Hun*, and the administration of them, were committed to the said *Richard Whaploot*. Yet then joyfully and inwardly your amendment, and resolution to be by you, to the Infants, the Children of the said *Richard Hun*, as well for his death, as for his good, embesailed, wasted, consumed, by your tyranny and cruel act, so committed, the same being of no little value: and as heretofore you have committed, in your according to the same Laws, and with Equity, Justice, right and good Conscience, and for this cause do justify: as to be made by our Laws: Wherefore we will and colour, and otherwise charge and command you, by the Tenor of this our special Letter, that ye satisfy and recompense the said *Richard Whaploot*, and the said Margaret his Wife, according to our Laws in this case, as it may stand with right and good conscience, oftentimes at your further peril: so that they shall have to cause to return unto us, for the same under to avoid our high displeasure: otherwise that ye upon the fifth thereof, let all execute apart, and repair unto our presence, at which time coming you shall be further advertised of our mind.

From our Manor, &c.

Defence of *Richard Hun* against Sir Thomas More and Allen Cope.

I Doubt not but by these Premises, thou hast (Christian Reader) sufficiently to understand the whole discourse and story of *Richard Hun*, and by the same thou shalt have come in trouble for denying the bearing Sheet of his young Infant departed: then how he was forced for favour of himself to take a *Franciscan*: and thereafter what conspiracy of the Clergy was wrought against him, what favours were laid, what fetters were practised, and Articles devised to snail him in the Trap of Heresy, and so to imprison him. Furthermore, being in Prison, how he was secretly murdered: and after his murder hanged, after his hanging, condemned after his condemnation, burned, and after his burning, hanged, how his death was inquired by the Crowner, and cleared by acquittal of the Inquest. Moreover, how the cause was brought into the Parliament: and by the Parliament the King's Precept obtained for restitution of his Goods. The debating of which magical and tumalous story, with all the branches, and particular evidences of the same taken out as well of the public Acts, as of the Bishop's Registers, and special Records remaining in the custody of *Douglas Whaploot*, the Son of the Daughter of the said *Richard Hun*, and there to be seen. I thought here to unwrap and discover so much the more, for three special purposes:

First,

That poor people should.

First, as is requisite, for testimony and witness of Truth fully delivered, of Innocency wrongfully condemned, and of the Party cruelly oppressed.

The second cause moveth me for Sir Thomas More's Disalleges, wherein he dashed out the matter, thinking to jest poor simple Truth out of countenance.

The third cause which contraineth me, be the Dialogues of *Alanus Cope*: which two, the one in English, the other in Latin, railing and railing against *Richard Hun*, do doubt to blame him, both to be an Heretic, and also a desperate homicide of himself. Which as it is false in the one, so it is to be found as untrue in the other, if simple Truth, which hath few Friends, and many times cometh in crasy handling, might rise out to indifferent hearing.

Advers for Rich. Hun is guilty Sir Thomas More.

Whereas as I have hitherto described the order and manner of his handling, with the Circumstances thereof, in fore all Men faces: so something here to intimate, in the defence as well of his oppressed cause, as also in discharge of my self, I will now compendiously answer to both these the same, and the moore so, if I cannot them both together.

Sir T. More has more than enough to do.

And first against Sir Thomas More, albeit in Degree woeful, in Place superior, in wit and Learning singular, if his judgment in Christ's matters had been with our built two Advantages, shoppings it were, with our built two Advantages: the moore so, if I cannot them both together. And first against the Perfection of him, the persons and centuries of twenty four Quenstions, the deposition of 60 many Jurates, the judgment of the Crowner, the approbation of the Parliament and lastly, the King's Seal confirmed, &c. And thus much to the Person and Credit of Sir Thomas More.

The Reason of Sir T. More's defence.

Now as touching his Reasons: whereas he coming in with a flim-flam of a Horse-mill or a Mill-horse (in his own terms I speak) thinketh it probation good enough: because he could not see him taken by the hands of the said *Hun*: against these Reasons unreasonable of his, I allege all the Evidences and demonstrations of the History above prefixed, to be considered, and of all indifferent Men to be perceived.

The circum-stances of Hun's hanging.

First, How he was found hanging, with his countenance fair, with his beard and head fair kemb'd, his bonnet right set on his head, with his eare and mouth fair cloed, without any driving or spurring. His body being taken down, was found loose (which by hanging could not be) his neck broken, and the skin thereof beneath the throat, where the girdle went, first and forced away: his girdle notwithstanding being of silk, and to double cast about the flaps, that the space of the girdle between the flaps and his neck, with the residue aloft that went about his neck, was not sufficient for his body to come out at. His hands moreover wring in the wriths, his face, lips, chin, doublet, and flint-collar stained with any blood: whereas notwithstanding in a manner forewent place the place where he did hang, great quantity of blood was found. Allwhereas as the flaps where he hanged was so that he could not climb thereof without more men, there was a stool set up upon the bolster of a bed, furdle, that with the least touch in the World it was ready to fall: and how was it possible that *Hun* might hang himself upon that flaps, the stool so standing? Besides the confession and recovery of *Charles Jeph's*, own mouth to *Julian Littlell*, of *Robert Jofelin*, *John Spalding*, the Bell-ringer, *Peter Turor*, and others. All which Testimonies and Declarations being so clear and undeniable, may suffice (I trust) for his own death: so in as many words to answer where the truth of this case doth stand: unless Mr. More being a Gentleman of *Utopia*, peradventure after some strange guise of that Country, unto to carry his eyes not in his head, but in his affection, not seeing but where he himself, nor believing but what he lietheth.

Utopia More.

Finally, where Sir Thomas More, speaking of himself, so concludes, That he bearing in the matter what himself might be fild, yet could not find contrary to *Hun* to be guilty of his own death: so in as many words to answer him again, I perceiving and teaching in the story of *Rich. Hun* what may well be leached, cannot but marvel with my self, either with what darknesses the eye of Mr. More's doth, not to see what is so plain: or else with what conscience he could differable that which shame cannot deny.

A Defence of *Richard Hun* against Sir Thomas More and A. Cope.

And thus by the way to the Dialogues of Sir Thomas K. Hen. 8.

Thirdly, Touching the Dialogues of *Alanus Cope*, which had rather the Bishop's Chancellor and Officers to be reckoned among thieves and murderers, than *Hun* to be numbered among the Martyrs: I have herein not much to say, because himself hath said little: and if he had said less, unless his ground were better, it had made as little matters. But forasmuch as he is flying not much, sendeth us to find him in *More's* I wish to like briefly again I may find him to *William Tisdale* to charge him an answer. Yet notwithstanding let *Cope*, in flying forthwith, should think *Hun's* innocent cause to lock home friends, which will not or dare not adventure in defence of Truth: somewhat I will answer in this behalf.

And next touching this murder of *Hun* not to be his own fault, but the deed of others: besides the demonstrations above premised to Sir Thomas More, now to Mr. Cope: If I had no other evidences but only these two, I would require no more: that is, his cap found to freight hanging upon his head, and the stool so standing under his feet. For how is it, I will not say like: but how is it possible for a Man to hang himself in a flimsy girdle double cast about a flaps, in place superior, that the space of the knot could not well compass his head about, and yet have his cap so freight hanging upon his head as his was?

Again, How is it possible, or can it be imagined for him to hang himself, climbing up by a flaps which had no touch to him to stand upon, but like to a table, which he had fastened the same never to fall, it must needs have fallen?

But *Cope* being something more provident in this matter, seemeth to exceed not altogether so far as doth Mr. More. For he, understanding the case to be dangerous and doubtful, so leaveth it in suspense, not determining that *Hun* did hang himself, and yet not admitting that he died a Martyr.

Now as touching his Reasons: whereas he coming in with a flim-flam of a Horse-mill or a Mill-horse (in his own terms I speak) thinketh it probation good enough: because he could not see him taken by the hands of the said *Hun*: against these Reasons unreasonable of his, I allege all the Evidences and demonstrations of the History above prefixed, to be considered, and of all indifferent Men to be perceived.

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B 2

Richard

K. Hen. 8. Against this *John Sautwick* last named it was laid and objected, that when one *Rintlay*, coming from the Church of the *Gray Friars* in *London*, had laid to his Wife (asking where he had been) that he had heard *Mads*, and had seen his Lord God in form of Bread and Wine over the Priest's head: the aforesaid *John Sautwick* there present answered again and said: Nay, *William*, thou fawest not thy Lord God (as he said) but Bread and Wine and the Chalice. And when the said *William* answered again in the same words as before, saying, I truly verily that I saw my Lord God in form of Bread and Wine and this I doubt not: the other replying again answered and said as before: Nay, I tell thee thou fawest but only a Figure or Sacrament of him, the which is in substance Bread and Wine. *6th*. This was in the Year of our Lord 1520. In which he was compelled to adjure.

All these above-named, in one Key of Doctrine and Religion did hold and concord together: against whom were objected five or six special matters to wit, for (speaking against worshipping of Saints, against Pilgrimages, against invocation of the blessed Virgin, against the Sacrament of the Lord's Body, and for having Scripture-Books in English: this Books especially I had to be named, as these, the Book of the four Evangelists, a Book of the Epistles of *Paul* and *Peter*, the Epistle of *St. James*, a Book of the *Apocalypse*, and of *Antichrist*, of the Ten Commandments, and *Wickliffe's* Wicket, with such other like.

John Stilman Martyr.

ANNO 1518. It would ask a long tractation, and tedious, to recite in order the great multitude and number of good Men and Women, besides these above-mentioned, which in three days recanted and abjured about the beginning of *King Henry's* Reign and before: among whom yet notwithstanding some there were whom the Lord reduced again, and made frong in the profession of his true Faith: the names of these: of which number one was *John Stilman* by name, who about *September 24*, in the Year of our Lord 1518, was apprehended and brought before *Richard Fitzjames* then Bishop of *London*, at his Manor of *Fulham*, and by him was there examined and charged, that notwithstanding his former Recantation, Oath, and Abjuration, made about eleven years then past, before *Edmund* then Bishop of *Salisbury*, as well for speaking against the worshipping, praying, and offering unto Images: as also for denying the carnal and corporal presence in the Sacrament of *Christ's* Memorial: yet since that time he had fallen into the same Opinions again, and so into the danger of relapse: and further had highly commended and praised *John Wickliffe*, affirming that he was a Saint in Heaven, and that his Book called the *Wicket* was good and holy. Soon after his examination he was sent from thence unto the *Lollards* Tower at *London*, and *October 22*, then next ensuing, was brought openly into the Confraternity of *Pauls*, and was there judicially examined by *Thomas Had* the Bishop's Vicar-general, upon the contents of these Articles following:

Art. 1st. I bid thee unto you, that you have confessed before my Lord of *London* and me *D. Had* his Vicar-general, That about twenty years past, one *Stephen Mome* of the Diocese of *Winchester*, (with whom you abode six or seven years after) did teach you to believe that the going on Pilgrimage and worshipping of Images, as the Lady of *Walsingham* and others, were not to be used. And also that afterwards one *Richard Smere*, who was learned in the Law, about fourteen or fifteen years past, did read unto you *Wickliffe's* Wicket, and likewise instructed you to believe that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the Body of *Christ*: and all which things you have erroneously believed.

2. Item, You have divers times read the said Book called *Wickliffe's* *Prayer*, and one other Book of the Ten Commandments which the said *Richard Smere* did give you, and at the time of your first apprehension you did hide them in an old Ox, and did not reveal them unto the Bishop of *Salisbury*, before whom you were abjured of Herefy about eleven years since: where you professed by Oath upon the Evangelists, ever after to believe and hold as the Christian Faith taught and preached, and never to offend again in the said Heresies, or any other, upon pain of relapse. And further, you there promised to perform all such penance

as the said Bishop of *Salisbury* did enjoin you: who then enjoined you upon the like pain, not to depart his Diocese without his special licence.

3. Item, It is evident that you are dealed, as well by your own confession, as also by your records, in that about two years after your abjuration you went into the said place where you had hidden your Books: and then taking them away with you, you departed the foresaid Diocese, without the licence of the Bishop, and brought them with you into *London*, where now being attached and taken with them upon great suspicion of Herefy, you are brought unto the Bishop of *London*: by reason of which your demeanour, you have shewed both your impudent and disobedient conversation from your errors and also your unfaithful abjuration and disobedience unto the authority of our mother holy Church, in that you performed not the penance: in which behalf you are voluntarily perjured, and also relapsed, in that you departed the same Diocese without licence.

4. Item, You be not only (as afore said) impudent, disobedient, voluntarily perjured and relapsed by your foreaid heretical demeanour, but also false and unfaithful attachment upon suspicion of Herefy, you have maliciously spoken erroneous and damnable words, affirming before my Lord of *London*, your Ordinary and me, judicially sitting at *Fulham*, that you were forty that ever you did abjure your said Opinions, and had not suffered then mortally for them, for they were and be good and true: and therefore you will now abide by them to die for it. And furthermore, you have spoken against our holy Father the Pope, and his Authority, damnable saying that he is *Antichrist*, and not the true successor of *Peter*, or *Christ's* Vicar on earth: and that his Pardons and Indulgences, which he granteth in the Sacrament of *Remission* are naught, and that you will none of them. And likewise that the College of Cardinals be Limbs of the said *Antichrist*: and that all other inferior Prelates and Priests are the Synagogue of *Satan*. And moreover you said, that the Doctors of the Church have subverted the Truth of holy Scripture, expounding it after their own minds, and therefore their works be naught, and they in Hell: but that *Wickliffe* is a Saint in Heaven, and that the Book called his *Wicket* is good, for therein he sheweth the Truth. Also you did with that there were twenty thousand of your Opinion, against us Scribes and Pharisees, to see what you would do for the defence of your Faith. All which Heresies you did afterwards erroneously affirm before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*: and then said that you would abide by them to die for it, notwithstanding his earnest persuasions to the contrary: and therefore for these Premises you are evidently relapsed, and ought to be committed to the secular Power.

After these Articles thus propounded, and his constant persevering in the Truth perceived, *D. Had* Vicar-general, *October 25*, by his Sentence definitive, did condemn him a relapsed Heretic, and so delivered him into the power of the said Sheriffs of *London* to be openly burned in *Smithfield*.

Thomas Man Martyr.

NEXT to *John Stilman* above-mentioned, followeth in *Thomas Man* this order of blessed Martyrs, the persecution and condemnation of *Thomas Man*: who *March 22*, in the year of our Lord 1518, was burned in *Smithfield*. This *Thomas Man* had likewise been apprehended for the profession of *Christ's* Gospel about five years before, *August 24*, 1511, and being at that time brought before *D. John* Bishop of *Lincoln*, was by him examined upon divers and sundry Articles, the effect whereof are these:

1. First, That he had spoken against *Antichrist* Confession, and denied the corporal Presence of *Christ's* Body in the Sacrament of the Altar.

2. Item, That he believed that all holy Men of his Sect were only Priests.

3. Item, That he had affirmed that the Father of Heaven was the Altar, and the second Person the Sacrament: and that upon the Ascension day the Sacrament ascended unto the Altar, and there abided still.

4. Item, That he believed not aright in the Sacrament of *Extreme Unction*.

5. Item,

K. Hen. 8.

The burning of John Stilman



5. Item, That he had called certain Priests, meanly arrayed, pild Knaves.

6. Item, That he had said that Priests were Priests lying Seducers.

7. Item, That he had believed that Images ought not to be worshipped, and that he neither believed in the Crucifix, nor yet would worship it.

8. Item, That he had affirmed that he heard say, the Word of God and God to be all one, and that he that was worthily receiver the Word of God, receiveth God.

9. Item, That he had said that the Popish Church was not the Church of God, but a Synagogue: and that holy Men of his Sect were the true Church of God.

For these and such-like matters he was a long time imprisoned, and at last, through frailty and fear of death, was content to abjure and yield himself unto the judgment of the Romish Church, and thereupon was enjoined, not only to make his open recantation, but also from thenceforth to remain as Prisoner within the Monastery of *Osney* beside *Oxford*, and so to bear a Faggot before the first Croci, at the next general Procession within the University. However not long after, the Bishop having news of the poor Man's help in his household business, took him out of the said Monastery, and placed him within his own House until his business was ended: and then (his turn once served) he appointed *D. Wylksey* his Vicar-general, that in his judicial Session within the Priory of *Fridelands* at *Oxford*, he should assign him to remain within the said Priory, and not to depart thence without licence of the Prior, for the time being, upon pain of relapse: and upon like pain he also enjoined him to wear the sign of a Faggot under his uppermost garment, until he were dispensed withal for the same. All which notwithstanding, he (being belike both sorry for his offence in denying the Truth, and also weary of his servile and prison-like bondage) betwixt himself how he might bescap his cruel hands: and therefore after a while seeing good opportunity offered him, he fled the diocese and jurisdiction of *Lincoln*, and seeking abroad in other Counties for work, thenceforth to sustain his poor life, he most commonly abode, sometime in *Essex*, sometime in *Suffolk*: where also he associated and joined himself with such godly professors of *Christ's* Gospel as he there could hear of. But within few years after (such is the cruel rage of *Satan* and his wicked Members, which never suffer the Godly long to continue untroubled)

The burning of Thomas Man



he was again accused of relapse by the Inquest of the Inquisition of *London*, and thereupon was apprehended and brought before *Richard Fitzjames* then Bishop of *London*, and *Feb. 2*, 1518, he was examined by *D. Had* the Bishop's Vicar-general, within his Palace at *London*: where the said *Had*, judicially afflicted with divers of his Complices, declared first unto *Man*, that forasmuch as he was since his first abjuring, again detected and accused, by certain credible and honest Persons of the same Heresies which he had once before recanted: And further (contrary to the order of Penance enjoined him by the late Bishop of *Lincoln*) he had departed the Priory of *St. Fridelands* and the Diocese of *Lincoln*, without leave either of the Bishop or Prior: and was now also found within the Diocese of *London*, and that without his badge assigned him by the said Bishop's Vicar-general: he therefore as Chancellor and Vicar-general unto the Bishop of *London*, deposed for that purpose, did then come to proceed against him as a relapsor, by order of the Ecclesiastical Courts in that behalf provided. Wherefore he appointed him to appear again in the Confraternity of *Pauls*, *Feb. 12*, next after, there to answer unto such Articles as then should be propounded against him. At which day and place the Chancellor (first reciting the causes above-mentioned, why he did then proceed against him) objected unto him these Articles following:

1. First, That he was of the Diocese of *London*.

2. Item, That he was a Christian Man, and professed *Christ's* Faith, and the determinations of holy Church concerning the seven Sacraments, and other Articles of the Catholic Faith.

3. Item, That it was not lawful for any Man (especially a lay-man) erroneously and obstinately to hold, teach, or defend any Opinion contrary unto the determinations of the said Church: and that the Person so doing is an Heretic.

4. Item, That within one of the twelve months of the year of our Lord 1511, he had been detected before the Bishop of *Lincoln* that then was, of divers points of Herefy: as that he had affirmed, that the very Body and Blood of *Christ* was not in the Sacrament of the Altar, but material Bread and Wine, and that he had received it at *Essex* with holy Bread: and likewise had affirmed, that the Crucifix and other Images in the Church, were not to be worshipped: and also, that confession made unto a Priest was of none effect: with divers other-like Opinions and Heresies.

5. Item,

Articles as introduced against John Stilman.

Articles as introduced against Thomas Man.

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The rest were so burdened with superstitious and idolatrous Penance and Injunction, that either through grief of Conscience they shortly after died, or else with flame they lived. All which tragical doings and proceedings of the Bishop against these *known and just fast Men*, in these Tables

A black and white woodcut illustration depicting a public execution scene. In the center, a guillotine stands amidst a large, intense fire. A severed head is being held up by a man on the left, while a crowd of people, including men and women in period clothing, watches from the right. The guillotine is surrounded by a large pile of severed heads at its base. The scene is set outdoors with a fence or barrier in the background.

Christopher

K. Hen. 8
Anno
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K. Hen. 8. 15. Item, Whether that Robert Barlet her Brother did ever teach her the Epistle of St. James? and if he did, how often, and where?

16. Item, Whether the said Robert Barlet had taught her, that Pilgrimage was not to be used, and that Images were not to be adored?

17. Item, Whether he knew such a Law and Custom among them, that such as were not of that did contract matrimony only with themselves, and not with other Christians?

18. Item, Whether he did ever hear *Thurston* or any other say, that they only which were of their Doctrine were true Christians?

19. Item, When came to receive, and was confessed, whether he did utter and counsel her Heretics to the Priest?

Unto these captious and cruel interrogatory Articles ministered against *Agnes Wille*, the answered negatively almost to all of them, refusing to utter any Person unto the Bishop. But soon after, being otherwise educated, I cannot tell how, by the Catholics, she was compelled to detect both her self, her Brother *Robert Barlet*, *Therelias Littlepage*, and also *Isabel Marwin*, Wife of *John Marwin*, &c.

Cathol. Articles.

Accusers.

Parties accused, and Crimes objected.

Isabel Barlet was then brought and examined before the Bishop; where the

she confesseth her own works.

Richard Hobbes of Hichenden.
Henry Hobbes of Hichenden.
Helen Wife.
Herna Widow of Amersham.
Thomas Couper of Amersham, Husbandman.

John Stamp, Wheeler of Amersham.
Alice Harding, Wife of *Thomas Harding*.

William Chodet of Amersham.

The Crime laid to *Alice Harding* was this: because when the Priest was coming to *Richard Bonnet* to give him counsel, he went before, and intruded him what he should do.

William Rogers, Tyler.
William Harding,
Roger Harding.

They were detected by *Roger Bonnet*, for that they being admonished to appear before the Bishop's Chancellor at Amersham, neglected it to do.

J. Jennings, Servant to *James Morden*, George, Servant of *T. Toole*.
Thomas Gray, Servant of *Roger Bonnet*.

They were detected for carrying about certain Books in English.

William Smith, Wheeler.
 The Wife of *J. Milford*.
 The Wife of *W. Rogers*.
R. Stamp and his Wife.
 The Wife of *Rob. Barlet*.

For English Books.

Accusers.

Parties accused, and Crimes objected.

Three good Women here named were detected to the Bishop by *Roger Bonnet*, for that upon the Holy-days, when they go to and come from the Church, they use to recite unto one *J. Collingworth's* House, and there to keep their Conventicle.

The Wife of *David Lewis*, and her Father.

This Woman was charged for speaking these Words: That the Churchmen in old times did lead the People as the Hen doth lead her Chickens; but our Priests do now lead the People to the Devil.

Agnes Frank, Wife of *William Frank*,
J. George, *J. Gardiner*.
J. Sammi, *James Morden*.

Because she turned away her face from the Cross, as it was carried about on Easter-day in the morning at the Retirection. *Ex l. o.*

John Scriverer the elder.

For carrying about Books from one to another.

Thomas Rowland,

For these words following: If I lie, curse, flout, swear, chide, light, or threat, then am I worthy to be beat; I pray you, good Master of mine, if I offend in any of these nine, amend me with a good scouring.

Thomas Chafe.

In the like sort also was charged *Thomas Chafe*, because he heard him twice recite the Epistle of St. James, beginning: *James the Servant of God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelve Apostles, &c.*

Also for these words: It was by the days of Herod King of the Jews, that there was a Priest, Zachary by name, and he came of the sort of Abias, and his Wife the daughter of Aaron; but they were put before God, going in all the Commandments, &c.

William Norton,
Agnes Ashford of Chatham.

The Cause laid to this *Agnes* was for teaching in Latin the words following:

*VVe be the Salt of the Earth; if it be purified and washed away, it is nothing worth. A City set upon a Hill may not be hid. Ye rend not a Camel, and put it under a Bough, but sit it on a Camel's back, that it may give a light to all in the House. So before your Lights before Men, as they may see your Works, and glorify the Father which is in Heaven. No stitit nor letter of the Law shall pass over till all things be done. And five times went he to the foreland *Agnes* to learn this Lesson. Item, That the said *Agnes* did teach him to say this Lesson: *Jesus saving his People, as he went up to a Hill, was fit, and his Disciples came to him; he spread his mantle, and taught them, saying, Blessed be the poor Men in Spirit, for the Kingdom of Heaven is theirs. Note, gentle, Blessed be mild Men, for they shall wield the Earth. And hereby twice he came to her to learn this Lesson. Ex Reguli. Long lund, fol. 11.**

And these Lessons the said *Agnes* was bid to recite before six Bishops, who forthwith enjoined and commanded her, that she should teach these Lessons no more to any Man, and especially to her Children. *Ex Reguli. fol. 11.*

The

Accusers.

Parties accused, and Crimes objected.

Richard Ashford, Smith.

Agnes Ashford,
Thomas Chafe.

Because these two did exhort him thrice, that he should keep the things they spake of as secret in his Stomach, as a Man may keep a Thief in Prison.

Thomas Trevelyan of Chatham,
Robert Fry,
John Morden and his Wife.

Because they were heard in the presence of this *James Morden* their Nephew, to recite the Ten Commandments in their House in English.

The foreland *James Morden* detected

Alice Ashkin,

Because of him he learned the *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, and Creed in English, and the five *Marvels* of St. *Agnes*; also another piece of an English Book, beginning, Here endre four things by which a Man may know whether he shall be saved, &c.

Marian Morden his own Sister,

Also that she did not worship Images: And after these little things he intended to teach her of the Sacrament.

W. Ashkin or *Littlepage*,
John Ashkin or *Littlepage*,
Emme Harding or *Ashkin*,
John Philip, Physician.

To this *James Morden*, with other more Abjurers, it was enjoined by Bishop *Smith*, for seven years to visit the Church of *Lincoln* twice a year from Amersham. And when divers had got licence of the Bishop, for length of the Journey, to visit the Image of our Lady of *Middford* for the space of five years, this *James Morden*, when he could not obtain licence to do so, yet notwithstanding for the tediousness of the way went with them to the same Image, and thereupon was charged for violating the Bishop's Injunction.

Also because, to get his living, he wrought half a year out of the Diocese, when he had been enjoined by the Bishop not to go out of the Diocese of *Bedfordham*, *Ex l. 11.*

This *James Morden* confessed, that he used his *Pater noster* and Creed so much in English, that he had forgot many words thereof in Latin, and therefore was enjoined by Bishop *Smith* to say it no more in English, but only in Latin; and because he hept not this injunction, he fell therefore into relapse.

Will. Rogers, Tyler, and his Wife.

W. Harding,
Rog. Harding.

John Jennings,
 George Servant to *Thomas Toole*.

Thomas Gray, Servant of *Roger Bonnet*.
Agnes Frank,
John Collingworth.

W. Smith,
 The Wife of *John Milford*.

Rob. Stamp and his Wife.

The Wife of *Robert Barlet*.

The Wife of *David Lewis* of *Hardy*.

John Frier, Servant to *M. Penn*.

John Tracher.

John Morden Wife.

Richard Ashford.

W. Littlepage sometime Apprentice of *John Scriverer*.

Emme his Wife.

Ja. Scriverer.

Isabel Marwin, for teaching *Cyprian's* Wit her Errors.

Accusers.

Parties accused, and Crimes objected.

John Milford and his Wife.

Rog. Harding and his Wife.

Thos. Bernard.

Thos. Ashkin and his Wife.

W. Rogers.

W. Harding and his Wife.

Kat. Barlet, the Mother of *Robert* and *Richard Barlet*.

Thos. Harding and his Wife.

W. Frank and *Agnes* his Wife.

Because their coming to the Church, and especially at the Elevation-time, would say no Prayers, but mutter (as he termed it) like Beasts. Because *Katharine Barlet*, being of good health, came fast feldom to the Church, but feigned her self sick. And because *Will. Frank* married *Agnes* his Wife, the being before aliquid.

Robert Pope,

Because he fled away when the great Abjuration was at Amersham; also for having certain English Books. *Fol. 16.*

Emme Ashkin, also *Harding*.

John Ashkin.

Henry Milner.

Herna Wife, now the Wife of *Water*.

William Tilford.

Emme Tilford of London.

Thomas Tilford and his Wife.

The Wife of *Robert Tilford*.

William Glasbrook.

Christopher Glasbrook, Miner.

Thomas Grey and *Joan* his Wife.

Thomas Man by *Bripton*.

Henry Milner.

Counted for a great Heretic, and learned in the Scriptures.

John Sheppard.

The elder *John Sheppard* of *Dorset*.

The elder Daughter of *Roger Harding* of Amersham.

Nin. Stokely, Cooper, and his Wife, of *Hatley*.

John Clerke.

Thomas Willby of *Hatley*.

W. Stokely.

Hobbs with his Sons of *Hyebenden*.

The Wife of *John Scriverer* Smith, of *Owborne*.

Thomas Clerke the younger.

Thomas Clerke the elder.

Wigmore Farmer of *Hichenden*.

Robert Carter, Weaver.

John Frier Servant to *M. Pen*.

Elizabeth Hearn, Wife of *Henry Hearn* of *Little Mifford*.

Richard White Fuller of *Buckingham*.

Andrew Randall and his Wife of *Rickmanworth*.

The Father of *Andrew Randall*.

Because they recited into their House *Thomas Man* flying for Persecution; and for reading *Wycliffe's* *VVickes*.

Bonnet W. Ward, Fuller.

This *Bonnet W. Ward* was also denounced by *John Merfyn*, for saying, That it behooveth no Man to pray to our Lady, due to any Saint or Angel in Heaven, but to God only, for they have no power of Mass Soul.

The Wife of *Bonnet Ward* and her Daughter.

For saying, that *W. Pope* was the devoutest Man that ever came in their House; for he would sit reading in his Book to Mid-night many times.

Thos. Taylor and his Wife of *Urbirde*.

Rob. Ryeck, *Rob. Coffin*.

C a

Thomas

K. Hen. 8.

V Anno

1521.

Ex Reguli.

John Ashkin

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K.Hen. 8.	Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
Annus 1521. Ea. Hen. 8. Jo. Linc. Jo. Linc. Jo. Linc.		<i>Thomas Clerke</i> and his Wife of <i>Ware</i> . <i>One Golden</i> about <i>Harford</i> . <i>John Say</i> and <i>W. Say</i> his Son of <i>Little Miffenden</i> . The Wife of <i>John Wallis</i> of <i>Amesham</i> . <i>John Glasbrook</i> , Siller to <i>Will. Glasbrook</i> of <i>Harrore</i> on the <i>Hill</i> . <i>Thos. Sufan</i> , Wheeler. <i>John a Lee</i> , Smith. <i>John Aspy</i> , Sheerman. <i>John Prior</i> . <i>Edmund Harding</i> . <i>John Heron</i> Carpenter of <i>Hambrold</i> . <i>Henry Miller</i> . <i>John Philp</i> . He was very ripe in the Scripture. <i>Emme</i> Wife of <i>Richard Tiffenworth</i> . <i>John Philp</i> . He was a Reader or Rehearser to the others. <i>John Say</i> of <i>Miffenden</i> . <i>VWilliam Stokely</i> . <i>Roger Spire</i> . For saying to <i>Holmes</i> , This is one of them that roseth all this bulfines in our Town with the Bishop; I pray God tear all the Bores of him. <i>Roger Heron</i> . A certain Tanner. <i>John Butler</i> , Carpenter. <i>Richard Butler</i> . <i>William King</i> of <i>Uxbridge</i> . These three late up all the Night in the House of <i>Durdant</i> of <i>Jun Court</i> by <i>Stanes</i> , reading all the night in a Book of Scripture. <i>John Macklyf</i> , Weaver. For speaking against Holy Bread and Holy Water. <i>Thos. Man</i> . For saying, that Christ was not substantially in the Sacrament. <i>Thomas Stilman</i> . <i>Johnkin Butler</i> . For receiving an English Book given him by <i>Cawder</i> his Father, who after his Abjuration done before Bishop <i>Smith</i> , fell sick and died. <i>Richard Valford</i> of <i>Risfip</i> . <i>Haoker</i> . <i>Thomas King</i> . <i>Joan Cady</i> , the Wife of <i>Robert Wywood</i> , Husbandman. For defining of <i>Durdant</i> her Matter, that he being a known Man, would teach her some knowledge of God's Law; and defining the fame alle of the <i>Butlers</i> . <i>Nicholas Durdant</i> of <i>Stanes</i> . <i>Davy Durdant</i> of <i>Akernike</i> . The Wife of old <i>Durdant</i> . <i>The Wife of Nicholas Durdant</i> . These were detected, for that old <i>Durdant</i> of <i>Jun Court</i> , sitting at dinner with his Children and their Wives, bidding a Boy there standing to depart out of the House, that he should not hear and tell, did recite certain places upon them out of the Epistles of <i>St. Paul</i> , and of the Gospels. <i>Rich. White</i> , Father-in-law to <i>Bennet Ward</i> of <i>Beckwithfield</i> . He was detected to be a known Man, because after the death of Bishop <i>Smith</i> he was heard to say these words: My Lord that is		deed was a good Man, and divers known Men were called before him, and he sent them home again, bidding them that they should live among their Neighbours as good Christian Men should do. And now, said he, there is a new Bishop, which is called a blessed Man; and if he be as he is named, he will not trouble the Servants of God, but will let them be in quiet. <i>James Morden</i> her own Brother. For teaching her the <i>Pater noster</i> , Ave, and Creed in English; and that she should not go on Pilgrimage, nor should worship Saints or Images, which she had now done by the space of six years past, following and believing her Brother. <i>John Littlepage</i> . <i>Henry Littlepage</i> . <i>William Littlepage</i> . <i>Joan Littlepage</i> . <i>Radulph Morden</i> his Brother of <i>Chesham</i> . His Wife. <i>Alice Brown</i> of <i>Chesham</i> . <i>Radulph Morden</i> his Brother of <i>Chesham</i> , His Wife. <i>John Philp</i> . <i>Elizabeth Hamon</i> . A Canon of <i>Miffenden</i> . <i>Thos. Grove</i> of <i>London</i> . <i>Isabel Morwin</i> . The Wife of <i>Norman</i> of <i>Amesham</i> . <i>Thos. Cooper</i> of <i>Woodrow</i> . <i>Roger Harding</i> . <i>W. Grinder</i> . Because these two could not say their Creed in Latin. The Wife of <i>Robert Stamp</i> of <i>VWoodrow</i> . <i>Thos. Harding</i> of <i>Amesham</i> . <i>Alice Harding</i> his Wife. Because after their Abjuration in Bishop <i>Smith</i> 's time, divers known Men, as they then termed them, which were abjured before, had much resort to their House. <i>Agnes Spire</i> . For speaking these words: Men do say, I was abjured for Herey; it may well be a Napkin for my Nose, but I will never be ashamed of it. The Vicar of <i>Little Miffenden</i> . <i>Thos. Grove</i> and his Wife. He was detected, for that he did give to <i>Dr. Whitlock</i> twenty Pounds, to excuse him that he might not be brought to open Penance. <i>Thomas Holmes</i> . For that he was heard to say these words, after the great Abjuration, when he had abjured, That the greatest Cols were yet behind. <i>R. Sanders</i> of <i>Amesham</i> . Because he ever defended them which were suspected to be known Men. Also because he bought out his Penance, and carried his Badge in his Purse.

Bishop

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	K.Hen. 8.
John Philp.	Bishop Longland seeking how to convert John Philp of Perjury, (who, being charged with an Oath, did not answer affirmatively unto such Suspitions as were laid upon him by Thomas Holmes, and other several Accusers) did examine Sybil Affrik his own Sister, upon her Oath to declare John Philp her Brother of Relapse; but she so answered, that the Bishop could take by her no great hold of Relapse against him. Wherein is to be noted the singular Iniquity and Abuse in the Church of Rome, which by virtue of Oath setteth the Sister to procure the Brother's Blood. The like also was sought by Thomas Affrik his Sister's Husband; but they had by him no vantage.		Also, because Joan his Wife had lent to this John Scriverer the Gospel of St. Matthew and Mark, which Book he gave to Bishop Smith.	Also 1521. Ea. Hen. 8. Jo. Linc. Jo. Linc.
Joan Butler did approach	John Butler his own Brother, For reading to him in a certain Book of the Scripture, and perswading him to hearken to the same. Richard Carden. Richard Butler his Brother. Henry Uman of Uxbridge. Rich. Ashford of Walton, otherwise called Rich. Naph, or Rich. Tredway. William King of Uxbridge.	The forced John Scriverer forced by his Oath to accuse,	John Marywether, his Wife, and his Son. Durdant by Stanes. Old Durdant. Isabel Wife of T. Harding. Harrop of Windsor. Joan Barret, Wife of John Barret of London. Henry Miller. — Stilman. — Tailor. All these were accused, because at the marriage of Durdant's Daughter they assembled together in a Barn, and heard a certain Epistle of St. Paul read; which reading they well liked, but especially Durdant, and commended the same.	
W. America did detect	Isabel Tracher, Wife of John Tracher, Because she came not to the Church often on the Work-days, being admonished both by the Churchwardens, by the Graduates of the Church, and by Dr. Coeger Commissary, but followed her business at home. Also because she purposed to set her Daughter to Alice Harding, saying, that she could better instruct her than many other. Also because she cursed the Priest after he was gone, which had given to her the Eucharist; saying, that he had given to her his bitter Gall.		Thos. Rowland of Amesham. It was objected to Thos. Rowland for speaking these words: Ah good Lord! where is all our good communication which was wont to be amongst us when your Master was alive?	
	Thomas Clement of Chesham. Alice Holting. For that the being great with child, did dine before she went to Church to take her Rites; saying, that Isabel Tracher did tell her, that she might dine before she received the Sacrament.		Thos. Grove of London, Butcher. Will. Glasbrook of Harrore on the Hill. Christopher Glasbrook of London. William Tiffenworth of London, Goldsmith. Apprentice sometimes to John Barret. These were approached because, they used to resort and confer together of matters of Religion in the House of Thomas Man of Amesham, before the great Abjuration.	
	W. Trever of Amesham. For keeping Thomas Grove in his House on Easter and Christmas-day, because he would not come to the Church.		John Nawatts. He was approached, because he was present in the House of John Barret, at the reading of Scripture.	
Joan Norpman did approach	Robert Coffin. Thomas Man. Alice Harding. For diffusing from Pilgrimage, from worshipping of Images, and from bowing her Money to Saints for health of her Child. Also for saying, that she needed not to confess to a Priest, but to be enough to lift up her hands to Heaven. Also for saying, that she might as well drink upon the Sunday before Mass, as any other day, &c.		John Wood of Healy. William Wood. Lewis of Healy, Servingeman. White and his Son. This White was approached, because he taught the Gospel of Matthew to John Wood and William Wood, after the great Abjuration; and Father Robert did teach them St. Paul's Epistle, which old Father was after that banished at Buckingham.	Father Robert Mary
	Hen. Miller, Wine-drawer, which from Amesham had to Champford. That he abjured and did Penance in Kent before, and afterward coming to Amesham, taught them (as he said) many Heresies.		Thosman Littlepage, Emme his Wife. This Thosman had taught him the saying of Salomon, that Wrath ruleth Chiding; had taught him also the Pater noster and Ave in English. His Creed in English he learnt of his Grandmother. The said Thosman also taught him, Christ not to be corporally in the Sacrament.	
	Jo. Scriverer forced by his Oath to accuse	Will. Littlepage forced by his Oath, did accuse,	John Littlepage his Brother. Alice Wife of Thosman Littlepage. Because he was said to have learned the Ten Commandments in English of Alice, Thosman's Wife, in his Father's House. John Prior. Because the good Prior had taught the said William the ten Commandments in English. Thomas Grove. Henry Wife. The Wife of John Morwin. Richard Barstie, Robert Barstie. Thomas Barstie. Joan Clerk of Little Miffenden: For saying, the never did believe the Sacrament of the Altar, nor ever would believe it. John Heron of Amblyden.	

Accuser.	Parities accused, and Crimes objected.	Accuser.	Parities accused, and Crimes objected.
K.Hen. 8. 1521. R. C. Gifford. John Laing. John Laing. John Laing.	<p>His Sister <i>Agnes VVard</i>. <i>VVard's Wife of Marston.</i> <i>Nicholas Stokely.</i></p> <p>Because that when this <i>Gardiner</i> said, God help us, and our Lady, and all the Saints of Heaven; then she said, What need is it to go to the feet, when we may go to the head?</p> <p><i>VVilliam Stokely.</i> The Wife of <i>VVilliam Dene</i>. <i>VVilliam Ramsay of Newbury.</i> <i>John Simons and his Wife of Marston.</i> <i>John Gray of Marston.</i> <i>David Schymmond.</i> <i>VVilliam Schymmond.</i> <i>Reynold Schymmond.</i></p> <p><i>Christopher Skomaker.</i> <i>John Ogden.</i> <i>Robert Pope.</i></p> <p>This <i>Christopher Skomaker</i> had been burned a little before at <i>Newbury</i>.</p> <p>Bishop <i>Longland</i> seeking matter against <i>Isabel Morwin</i>, (of whom he could take no great advantage by examination) called and caused <i>Elizabeth Copland</i>, her own Sister, to testify against her in manner as followeth:</p> <p><i>Elizabeth Copland</i> witnesseth against</p> <p>Again: When <i>Elizabeth</i> came from the Rood of Rest, <i>Isabel</i> said, that if she knew to much as she hath heard, she would go no more on pilgrimage while she lived; for all Saints, said she, be in Heaven. Then asked <i>Elizabeth</i>, wherefore Pilgrimage was ordained of Doctors and Priests? The other said, for gain and profit. Who hath taught you this, (quoth <i>Elizabeth</i>) Man or Woman? Your Curate, I dare say, never taught you so. My Curate, said she, will never know to much. And moreover, said to <i>Elizabeth</i> her Sister, that if she would keep counsel, and not tell her Husband, she would say more. And when <i>Elizabeth</i> answered that she would not tell: but, said the other, I will have you to swear: and because she would not swear, the other would not proceed any further.</p> <p><i>John Tracer</i> of Cileham.</p> <p>The cause why this <i>John Tracer</i> was denounced was this: for that he taught her in the Gospel this Saying of Jesus, <i>Blissed be they that have the Word of God, and keep it</i>. Also because he taught her the eight Beatitudes in English.</p> <p><i>M. Tilworth</i>, because she refused to detect other by virtue of her Oath, and denied such matter as by Witnesses and by the Bishop's Acts were proved against her, in pain of rebuke, the Bishop enjoined her to make certain Faggots of Cloth, and to wear the same both before her upper garment and behind, to long as she lived. <i>Ex Regis. Longland.</i></p> <p><i>Thomas Afford.</i></p> <p>For asking how his Cousin <i>VVidmore Clerk</i> the elder, and <i>John Philip</i> did at <i>Hindesden</i>? whether they kept the Laws of God as they were wont?</p> <p><i>Roger Parker</i> decreed.</p>	<p><i>John Phip.</i> For saying that Images are not to be worshipped, because they are made and carved with Mans hand, and that such ought not to be worshipped.</p> <p><i>John Gardiner.</i> For that to the said <i>VVilliam</i> this <i>Gardiner</i> said, that all which are burned for this Sect are true Marys.</p> <p><i>John Stillman.</i></p> <p><i>Thomas Gifford</i>, first of <i>Unbridge</i>, then of <i>Isfwich</i>, Taylor. For reading and teaching him in the acts and preachings of the Apostles. Item, for having a Scripture-book in English; which Book the said <i>Gifford</i> gave to the Bishop of <i>London</i> when he was accused. Item, That the said <i>Gifford</i> said, that true Pilgrimage was, to be good and to visit the Poor, Weak, and Sick; for they are the true Images of God.</p> <p><i>Richard Vulford.</i> This <i>Vulford</i> and <i>Thomas Gifford</i> told the said <i>John Butler</i>, that the Host consecrated was not the very true Body of Christ.</p> <p>In proof whereof they said, that let a Mouse be put in the Pix with the Host, and the Mouse would eat it up. And for more proof, they declared unto the said <i>John Butler</i>, That there were two Priests in <i>Essex</i>, which put a Mouse in the Pix to a consecrated Host, and the Mouse did eat it. Afterward, the fact of these Priests being known and brought to the Bishop, one of the Priests was burned for the same.</p> <p><i>John Clerk</i> of <i>Dunham</i>. Also the same <i>Vulford</i> and <i>Gifford</i> told him and <i>John Clerk</i>, That holy Bead and holy Water were but a vain-glory of the World; for God never made them, but they were Mens Inventions: and that God never made Priests, for in Christ's time there were no Priests. Moreover, that <i>Thomas Gifford</i> caused this <i>John Butler</i> divers Sundays to go to <i>consecrated</i> <i>London</i> to hear <i>Dr. Calst</i>.</p> <p><i>Andrew Fuller</i> of <i>Unbridge</i>. Because this <i>Thomas Butler</i> had an old Book of <i>Richard Vulford</i>. Also another great Book of <i>Andrew Fuller</i>, for which he paid six shillings and four pence; and another little Book of <i>Thomas Man</i>, which he brought to the Bishop.</p> <p><i>Thomas Man</i>. Moreover, this <i>Thomas Man</i> was apprehended, because he read to this Dependent ten years ago, how <i>Adam</i> and <i>Eve</i> were expelled out of Paradise; and for speaking against Pilgrimage, and worshipping of Images, and against the Singing-Service used then in Churches. This <i>Thomas Man</i> was burnt and died a Martyr, of whom mention is made before.</p> <p><i>William King</i>. This <i>William King</i> was apprehended because he lodged <i>Thomas Man</i> in his House upon a certain Holy-day at Divine Service; unto whom referred <i>Richard Vulford</i>, and <i>John Clerk</i>, and this <i>John Butler</i>: to whom the said <i>Thomas Man</i> declared that Pilgrimage was naught, and that Images were not to be worshipped.</p>	

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Accuser.	Parities accused, and Crimes objected.	Accuser.	Parities accused, and Crimes objected.	Kthen8
	<p><i>Robert Carder.</i> <i>Durand.</i> <i>Richard Butler</i>, his own Brother. <i>William King.</i></p> <p>To these was said, That <i>Thomas Carder</i> brought this <i>John Butler</i> to <i>Durand</i>'s House at <i>Junco-Care</i> by <i>Sizier</i>, where was <i>Richard Butler</i> his Brother, and <i>William King</i> reading in a certain English Book. At which time <i>Durand</i> desired them not to tell that he had any such English Book in his House, lest he should be burned for the same.</p> <p><i>Richard Nash</i> of <i>Afford</i>.</p> <p>Also another time, that <i>John Butler</i>, with <i>Richard Butler</i> his Brother, and <i>Robert Carder</i>, went to the House of <i>Rich. Afford</i> or <i>Nash</i>, to hear the same <i>Afford</i> read in a certain little Book which contained many good things.</p> <p><i>Richard Vulman</i> of <i>London</i>.</p> <p>This <i>Vulman</i> was detected by this, for that he would have read to this <i>John Butler</i> a certain English Book, and spake against Pilgrimage and Images.</p> <p><i>Henry Utman</i> and his Wife of <i>Unbridge</i>, <i>Radolph Carpenter</i> of <i>London</i>. A Daughter of <i>John Phip</i>. A Daughter of <i>William Phip</i>.</p> <p>This <i>R. Carpenter</i> was detected for having certain Books of the <i>Apocrypha</i> in English. Also for that <i>Carpenter</i> and his Wife did bring him, and the Wife of <i>Henry Utman</i>, to a Corner-House of <i>Friday-Street</i>, where the good Man of the House, having a stump-foot, had divers such Books, to the intent they should hear them read.</p> <p><i>R. Butler</i>, <i>Jeskin Butler</i>, his own Brother. The Mother of <i>Richard Afford</i>. <i>Jes. Butler</i> his other Brother.</p> <p>They were detected, partly for holding against the Sacrament of the Altar; partly also because they were reading two hours together in a certain Book of the Acts of the Apostles in English at <i>Cileham</i> in <i>Afford</i>'s House.</p> <p>The Wife of <i>Robert Pope</i>.</p> <p>For having certain Books in English, one bound in Boards, and three with Parchment-coverings, with four other Sheets of Paper written in English, containing matter against the Romish Religion. Also another Book of the Service of the Virgin <i>Mary</i> in English.</p>	<p><i>Accused.</i> <i>John Clerk</i> of <i>Dunham</i> forced by his Oath to detect, <i>John Maskell</i> decreed</p>	<p><i>Accused.</i> <i>John Clerk</i> of <i>Dunham</i> forced by his Oath to detect, <i>John Maskell</i> decreed</p>	<p><i>Accused.</i> <i>John Clerk</i> of <i>Dunham</i> forced by his Oath to detect, <i>John Maskell</i> decreed</p>
Thomas Tredway compelled by his Oath to detect,				

K Hen. 8.	Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
1521. Ex Heret. John Long and Lind coll.	<i>Rab. Rowland, Will. Franks, Tho. Howe, Tho. Rowland, Joan Franks, John Baker.</i> All these detected.	Another time <i>Thomas Howe</i> coming from <i>Onbarne</i> , the asked, what news? and he said, That many were there condemned of Heresy, and therefore he would lean to that way to more. Then said he, If he did, he would gain nothing thereby. Whereby he had no more work with her Husband, and after was put from the Holy-water Clefship in that Town. Another time, for saying to <i>Thomas Rowland</i> these Words: You may see how <i>Thomas Howe</i> and other, which I have said, have Heretics detected before <i>Bishop Smith</i> , are brought now to Beggery; you may take example by them.	<i>John Butler,</i> For having of him a certain Book in English, containing a Dialogue between a Jew and a Christian. His own Wife deceased, <i>John Clerk</i> of <i>Drisham</i> . For communicating with him against Images, Pilgrimages, and the Sacrament of the Altar. <i>Thomas Gifford</i> of <i>Uxbridge</i> , and his Wife departed. For communicating against the Sacrament of the Altar, whorshipping of Saints, Pilgrimages, &c. <i>Henry Ulman</i> of <i>Uxbridge</i> . For speaking and teaching against the Sacrament of the Altar eleven years ago and saying it was but a Trifle. The Mother of <i>William King</i> of <i>Uxbridge</i> . <i>William King</i> . <i>Robert Carder</i> the elder. <i>John Baker</i> of <i>Uxbridge</i> . <i>Golden</i> the elder. His two Daughters. For being present and hearkning unto <i>Richard Bonnet</i> , reading the Epistle of <i>St. James</i> in English. <i>Emme</i> Sister of <i>William Tistworth</i> , Mary. <i>John Lee</i> Carpenter of <i>Healy</i> .	<i>Richard Pulford</i> detected
	<i>Joan Franks, Will. Franks</i> the elder, <i>Will. Franks</i> the younger, <i>Alice Trede-</i> way detected	<i>Joan Collingbourne</i> . For saying to <i>Joan Timberlake</i> , and <i>Alice Trede-</i> way, ten years ago, That the could never believe Pilgrimages to be profitable, nor that <i>Sinus</i> were to be whorshipped, and defiled them not to tell their Carate, which <i>Alice</i> immediately called her to be called before the Bishop.		
	<i>William Carder</i> upon his Cath was forced to detect	<i>Isabel Treder</i> , Wife of <i>William Treder</i> , his Mitres. For that the being not sick, but in good health, and being retired divers times of her Husband for the same, yet would not go to the Church, but tarried at home, and kept her works, as well Holy-day as Work day, the space of three years together.		
	<i>Isabel Carder</i> and <i>John Gardiner</i> forced by their Oath to detect.	<i>Thomas Rave</i> of <i>Great-Molme</i> . For speaking against Pilgrimages in the company of <i>John</i> and <i>Elizabeth Gardner</i> , as he was going near <i>Lady of Lark</i> for his Penance enjoined by <i>Bishop Smith</i> . Also the same time as he met certain coming from <i>St. John Shorn</i> , for saying they were fools, and calling it Madary. Also in the same Voyage, when he saw a certain Chappell in decay and ruine, he said, Lo, yonder is a fair Mill-houde downe. Item, when he came to <i>Lincoln</i> , he made water in the Chappell at Male-time, excoiting afterward that he did it of necessity. Item, the same time, speaking against the Sacrament of the Altar, he said, that Christ sitteth in Heaven at the right-hand of the Father Almighty; and brought forth this Parable, saying, That Christ our Lord said these words when, he went from his Disciples and ascended to Heaven. That once he was in Sinners hands and would come there no more. Also when he came to <i>Wcomb</i> , there to do his Penance, he bound his Faggot with a filken Laze. Also being denuded of <i>Dr. London</i> , whether he had done his Penance in coming to our <i>Lady of Lincoln</i> ? he answered, That <i>Bishop Smith</i> had refused him to come to our <i>Lady of Miffenden</i> for six years; and three years he came, but whether he came any more, because he did not there register his name, therefore he said he could not prove it. The Wife of <i>Thomas Fattor</i> of <i>Hyehodun</i> .		
	The Vicar of <i>Wcomb</i> .	The Wife of <i>William Tistworth</i> , now of <i>Hankwell</i> . For not thinking Catholically, that is, after the Tradition of <i>Rome</i> , of the Sacrament of the Altar. The Wife of <i>Robert Stamp</i> , For not accomplishing her Penance enjoined by <i>Bishop Smith</i> . <i>Marian Randel</i> .		
	<i>Roger Bonnet</i> forced by his Oath to detect.	<i>John Grefar</i> being put to his Oath, detected. This <i>John Grefar</i> was examined whether he had a Book of the Gospels in English? who confessed that he received such a Book of <i>Thomas Tycht</i> , Morrow-Male-Priest in <i>Milkstreet</i> , and afterward sent the same Book to <i>Thomas Spencer</i> , which <i>Thomas Spencer</i> with his Wife used to read upon the same. After that it was lent to <i>John Knight</i> , who at length delivered the Book to the Vicar of <i>Richmarfworth</i> . <i>Francis Funge</i> and his Brother. <i>Francis Funge</i> was examined for speaking these words to his Brother <i>John</i> , which words he had learned of <i>Thomas Clerk</i> : If the Sacrament of the Altar be very Good and Man, Flesh and Blood, in form of Bread, as Priests say that it is; then have we many		

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	KHen.8.
	many Gods; and in Heaven there is but one God. And if there were an hundred hostled in one Parish, and as many in another, then there must be more than one God. I will not deny but it is an holy thing, but it is not the Body of the Lord that suffered pain for us: for he was once in Man's hands here, and ill treated, and therefore he will never come in initial Mens hands again. Also for speaking these Words: The Pope hath no authority to give pardon, and to release any Man's Soul from Sin, and so from pain: it is nothing but blinding of the People to leave their Money. Also for these words, or fish like: If a Man do sow twenty quarters of Corn, as Wheat, or barley, or other Corn, he ought to deduct his Seed, and of the residue to give, or else he hath wrong, &c.		<i>Christopher Tinker</i> of <i>Wickham</i> . The cause of this <i>Tinker's</i> Trouble was, for that he coming to this Man's House, and complaining to him of the poverty of the World, had these words: That there was never so ungenerous a People, and that they bare themselves to hold upon their Pardons and Pilgrimages, that they cared not whether they did, And so he departed. And seven days after that, this <i>Tinker</i> coming again, asked him, how his last communication with him did please him? and he said, Well. Then the <i>Tinker</i> said he knew more, and that he could tell him more, and had him that he should believe in God in Heaven, for there he was God in Earth, and there is but one God; and that he was once here, and was ill dealt with, and would no more come here till the Day of Doom. And that the Sacrament of the Altar was a holy thing, but not the Flesh and Blood of Christ that was born of the Virgin: and charged him not to tell this to his Wife, and especially to his Wife's Brother, a Priest. Afterward, as the Priest was drying fling-Bread being wet, which his Sister had bought, the forefild <i>Thomas Clerk</i> said, That if every one of these were a God, then were there many Gods. To whom the Priest answered, that till the holy Words were spoken over it, it was of no power, and then it was very God, Flesh and Blood: saying moreover, that it was not meet for any Lay-man to speak of such things. These words of the Priest being after related to the <i>Tinker</i> by the said <i>Clerk</i> , then said he, Let every Man say what they will, but you shall find it as I then say, &c. and if you will take the labour to come to my House, I will show you further proof of it, if you will take heed, &c.	<i>Ann</i> 1521. Ex Heret. John Long and Lind coll.
	<i>Thomas Clerk</i> . For speaking against the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament, unto <i>Francis Funge</i> , as before, &c. <i>Robert Rave</i> of <i>Dorsey</i> . For saying these words, That the Sacrament of the Altar is not that Body which was born of the blessed Virgin <i>Mary</i> . Item, For speaking such words fourteen years past: That Fols were ill occupied, that whorshipped any things graven with Mans hand, for that which is graven with Mans hand is neither God nor our Lady, but made for a remembrance of Saints. Nor ought we to worship any thing but God and our Lady, and not Images of Saints, which are but Stocks and Stones.	<i>Francis Funge</i> and <i>Alice</i> his Wife were put to their Oath to detect.	<i>Thomas Clerk</i> forced by his Oath, did detect	
	<i>Edward Hill</i> of <i>Penco</i> . <i>Robert Freeman</i> , Parish-Priest of <i>Oston</i> by <i>Colebrook</i> . For having and reading upon a fupposed Book, which Book when he perceived to be seen in his hand, he clofed it, and carried it to his Chamber.	<i>Henry Dint</i> forced by his Oath to detect.		
	<i>Thomas Grove</i> and his Wife of <i>Aurham</i> . <i>Matild Philby</i> Wife of <i>Edward Philby</i> of <i>Chaldyng</i> . <i>Joan Gun</i> of <i>Chesham</i> . Because the instructed and taught the said <i>Hill</i> , before his Abjuration, in the Epistle of <i>St. James</i> , and other opinions.	<i>J. Hill</i> forced by his Oath, did detect.		
	<i>William Atkins</i> of <i>Great Miffenden</i> . <i>Richard Marden</i> of <i>Chesham</i> . <i>Emme Marden</i> his Wife. <i>Joan Gudgame</i> his own Wife. For being in the same opinion of the Sacrament that he was of, who nevertheless flandering did force the same not to be true that her Husband said. <i>Alice Nafh</i> or <i>Chapman</i> of <i>Miffenden</i> . One <i>Hagger</i> of <i>London</i> . For speaking in their House, <i>Ann</i> 1520, these Words: That there should be a Batel of Priests, and all the Priests should be flain: and that the Priests should a while rule, but they should all be destroyed, because they hold against the Law of the Holy Church, and for making of false Gods, and after that they should be overthrown.	<i>Will. Gudgame</i> forced by his Oath to detect.		
<i>Apophy.</i>	<i>Matild Symonds</i> , and <i>Jo. Symonds</i> her Husband, put to their Oath, detected.			
	<i>Thomas Atrick</i> , alias <i>Lintpage</i> , and his Wife. To there was objected, that they had communication and conference with this <i>Robert Hill</i> in the Gospel of <i>St. Matthew</i> , before the great Abjuration, in the Town of <i>Aurham</i> . <i>Tho. Serivener</i> , Father to <i>Thomas Holmes</i> Wife. This <i>Servivener</i> was detected, for that the said <i>Pope</i> had of him a Book of the Epistles in English. <i>Bonnet Ward</i> of <i>Redefield</i> , and his Father <i>Edmond Dwyer</i> . To Ward this was said, that the forefild <i>Pope</i> had received a Book of the Ten Commandments. He had also the Gospels of <i>Matthew</i> and <i>Mark</i> . Of the same <i>Vward</i> he learned his Catholick-sense, five parts of the eight Beatitudes. <i>Thomas Harding</i> and his Wife. <i>John Serivener</i> and his Wife.	<i>Rab. Pope</i> , first of <i>Aurham</i> , after of <i>Wethered</i> , caused by his Oath, did detect these following:		

K.Hen.8. Accuser.

Anno
1571.
K. Reg.
Edw. VI.
last line
only.

Parities accused, and Crimes objected.

The Man and his Wife.
Thomas, Man and his Wife.
Thomas Bernard.
They were detected for this, because they had communed and talked with the said *Robert Pope* oftentimes in Books of Scripture, and other matters of Religion, concerning Pilgrimage, adoration of Images, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Body.

Thomas Grove.
Thomas Holmes.
Robert Rase.
William Gudgeone and his Wife.
Nath. the elder, and his Wife.
William Gray of Eghereed, Milner.
Edward Gray and his Wife of Eghereed.
Margery Young Widow of Eghereed.
Yobell Mene, Siller to the said Margery of Eghereed.
Richard Nobis, Fowler, and his Wife, of Eghereed.

Richard Colins of Ginge, and his Wife.
This *Colins* was among them a great Reader, and had a Book of *Wickliffe's* Wickets, and a Book of *Luke*, and one of *Paul*, and a Clofe of the *Apocalypse*.
William Colins his Brother.
Thomas Colins, the Father of *Richard* and *William*.
He had a Book of *Paul*, and a Book of small Epistles.

John Colins of Reterton.
Robert Lysons of Stevenon.
William Lysons of Stevenon.
Father *Amesbury* of Stevenon.
— *Smart* of Stevenon, Milner.
Thomas Hall of Hangerford.
John Eden of Hangerford.
John Ludlow of Hangerford.
Thomas New of Vantage, Thatchter.
John Taylor and her Mother of Bilham.
Hamfry Stonegate of Newbery.
John Semand of Newbery, Fithmonger.
Robert Geydon and his Wife of Newbery, Weaver.

John Edmunds of Barford.
This *John Edmunds* was charged for having a Book named *W. Thorpe*, also for reading in an English Book after a Marriage.

Robert Targus and his Wife of Barford.
John Colins of Barford.
John Colins and his Wife of Athall.

John Clerk of Claxfield.
This Clerk was heard say, That all the World was as well halloved as the Church or Chancel-yard; and that it was as good to be buried in the Field as in the Church or Church-yard.

William Gan and his Wife of Witney, Tailor.
John Baker of VVintny, Weaver.
John Brabant the elder of Stanlake.
John Brabant the younger of Stanlake.
John Kember of Hangerford.
VValter Kember his Brother of Hangerford.
John Rabotes of Chawley.
Thomas VVidmore of Hyckendun.

John Philp.
For reading a certain Treatise upon the *Pater noster* in English, which this *John Philp* did read to him, and to his Father.

Accuser.

Parities accused, and Crimes objected.

This forswid *Robert Pope* moreover detected *Edward Pope* his own Father of *Little Miffenden*, for hearing the Gospel of *Matthew* read unto him, and for communing upon the same with this *Robert Pope* his Son. He detected likewise *Edward Pope* his Brother.
Furthermore, he detected his own *Wife*, who had before abjured under *Bishop Smith*, to continue still in her opinions.

Thomas Clerk the elder of Hyckendun.
Lawrence Horne of Hyckendun.
VVilliam Haliday of Eghereed.
This *Haliday* was detected for having in re to do his custody a Book of the *Acts* of the Apostles in English, which the said *Robert Pope* brought unto him at the taking of *Roger Dodd*.

VVilliam Squire and his Brother of Schow.
Thomas Stephenton and Matild his Daughter, of Cheryn.

Thomas Philip, Pointer.
Lawrence Tailor of London.
For that these two being in the House of *Richard Colins* at Ginge, there did read in an English Book the Epistle of *St. Paul* to the *Romans*; and *Lawrence* did read the first Chapter of *St. Luke's* Gospel.

Andrew Maysey of Bursen.
The Wife of *Richard Colins* of Ginge.

John Harris and his Wife.
Alice Colins, Wife of Richard Colins.
These being together at *Witten* in *John Harris's* House, did talk of the *Apocalypse*, and of the *Acts* of the Apostles, and therefore were suspected, and thus detected. *Ex Regit. Longland, fol. 71.*
Item, Because *John Harris* spoke against Pilgrimage, Images, and was heard to talk of seven lean and seven fat Oxen.

Rob. Colins of Hertford-Wallis, Mason.

Thomas Gray of Wghelred.
For receiving certain Books of this *Robert Pope*.

Margara Houst, Wife of Wk. Houst of Ealginges.
For keeping company, and receiving the Doctrine of *Alice Colins*.

John Nafis of Little Miffenden.
Henry Erkin and his Mother, of Little Miffenden.
Richard Dill of Miffenden.

Richard Colins of Ginge.
First, for that this *Richard Colins* did read unto the said *Robert Colins* the Ten Commandments, and after taught him the Epistle of *St. James*, and another small Epistle of *Paul*; and after that took him the Gospel of *St. John* in English, and had him read therein himself.

Also for teaching him not to worship Images, nor to set up Candles, nor to go on Pilgrimage.
Another crime against *Rich. Colins*, because he taught this *Robert*, that in all such things wherein he offered God, he should only drive himself to God; and in what things he offered Man, he should drive himself to Man.

AUG

Accuser.

Parities accused, and Crimes objected.

Against the
Sacrilege
of an Altar.

Also for teaching him, that the Sacrament of the Altar is not very God, but a certain figurative thing of Christ in Bread; and that the Priest hath no power to consecrate the Body of Christ.

Also, for that the said *Richard* did teach him in *Wickliffe's* Wickets, how that a Man may not make the Body of our Lord which made us; and how can we then make him again? The Father is unbegotten, and unmade: the Son is only begotten, and not made; and how then can Man make that which is unmade, said he?

And in the time Book of *Wickliffe's* Wickets follow the words of Christ thus speaking: If my words be Hereby, then am I an Heretic; and if my words be Learning, then am I a Liar, &c.

Also another Crime against *Richard Colins*: For having certain English Books, as *Wickliffe's* Wickets, the Gospel of *St. John*, the Epistles of *St. Paul*, *James*, and *John*, in English, an Exposition of the *Apocalypse*, a Book of our Lady's Mattens in English, a Book of *Salomon* in English, a Book called the *Prink of Confession*.

John Edmunds of Barford, Tailor.
The Crime against *John Edmunds*: for having a certain English Book of the Commandments.

John Harris.
The Crime against *John Harris*, for communing with him of the first Chapter of *St. John's* Gospel: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God, &c. Also for communing of a Chapter in the *Acts*, of the eighth beatitudes. *Item*, For counselling him not to go on Pilgrimage to Saints, because they were Idols.

Thomas Hall.
Ro. Leonard, W. Leonard, — Burges and Joan his Wife, — Harris and his Wife, Richard Colins.
All these were detected, for that they being together in *Burges's* house at *Barford*, were reading together in the Book of the Exposition of the *Apocalypse*, and communed concerning the matter of opening the Book with seven Clippes, &c.

John Ludisall, or Eden, of Hangerford.
John Colins of Barford.
John Colins and his Wife of Athall.
John Clerk of Claxfield.
The Wife of *Richard Colins* of Ginge.

Thomas Colins and his Wife of Ginge.
This *Thomas Colins* was charged for having a Book of *Paul* and *James* in English.

William Colins.
Robert Pope of Henard.
Hagger of Colemanstreet in London.
Stacy, Brickmaker, of Colemanstreet.
For having the Book of the *Apocalypse*.

Thomas Philip, Lawrence Wharfar of London.
For reading the Epistle of *St. Peter* in English, in the house of *Robert Colins* of *Athall*.

John Colins his own Siller, of *Athall*.
Thomas Colins his Godson, of *Athall*.
Mrs. Brelow of London.
John Colins, Son of Richard Colins, of Ginge.
John Colins, Daughter of Richard Colins, of Ginge.

Accuser.

Parities accused, and Crimes objected.

Henry Stacy, Son of Stacy of Colemanstreet.
Thomas Semmon of Gray in Barfirth.
John Brabant in Stanlake.
John Baker Weaver of Witney.

Richard Colins.
The words of *Richard Colins* were these: That the Sacrament was not the true Body of Christ in Flesh and Blood; but yet it ought to be received, albeit not so as the true Body of Christ.

Thomas Colins of Ginge, his own natural Father.
The Crime against *Thomas Colins*: for that eight years past this *Thomas Colins* his Father had taught this *John* his Son, in the presence of his Mother, the Ten Commandments, and namely, that he should have but one God, and should worship nothing but God alone; and that to worship Saints, and go on Pilgrimage, was idolatry.

Also, that he should not worship the Sacrament of the Altar as God, for that it was but a Token of the Lord's Body. Which thing so much discontented this *John Colins*, that he said he would disclose his Father's Errors, and make him to be burned; but his Mother entreated him not so to do.

John Colins of Barford
appealed to
the Bishop
here named:

Robert Colins of Athall.
The Crime against *Robert Colins*: that this *Robert* read to him in a certain thick Book of Scripture under the name of *John Edmunds* and his Wife.

The Crime laid to *John Edmunds*: For that he read to this *John* the Ten Commandments, and told him that *John Baptist* said, that one should come after him, whose buckle of his shoe he was not worthy to undo.

Alice Wife of Gunne of Witney.

John Hagger and his Son of London.
This *John Hagger* of *London*, coming to *Barford*, brought a Book speaking of the ten Plagues of *Pharaoh*. Also after that, another Book entituled of the seven Sacraments.

Lawrence Tailor of Shoreditch.
Thomas Philip of London.
Philip, Servant of Richard Colins.
W. and P. Fithmonger of the Pize.
Joan Robert.
Burges's Wife.
John Boyer and his Brother, a Monk of Barford.
The Baker, Father to Gunne's Wife of Whateley.

Agnes Daughter of John Edmunds.
The Mother of *John Boyer* of *Barfirth*.
Edward Red Scholemaster of Barford.
Robert Hiquen of Lechdale.

Elmer Hagger of Barford.
This *Elmer* was charged, that the should burn the Sacrament in an Oven.

John Thorough of the Priory of Barford.
The Mother of *Robert Burges's* Wife.

Roger Dodd
of *Barford*,
by his Oath,
was compelled
to utter
these Perors
here named:

*Sir John Drury, Vicar of Windeshill in West-
essex.*
The Crime against this *Sir John Drury* was, for that when *Roger Dodd* came first to him to be his Servant, he gave him upon a Book to keep his counsel in all things; and after that

K.Hen.8.

Anno
1571.
K. Reg.
Edw. VI.
last line
only.The ten
said the
Father.

A. Hen. 8. Acceſſ.	Paries accuſed, and Crimes objeſt.	Acceſſ.	Paries accuſed, and Crimes objeſt.
Auno 1521. F. York. had ſer- vants.	<p>that he threw him a certain Woman in his houſe, whom he ſaid to be his Wife: conſe- quencing moreover the ſaid <i>Roger Dods</i>, upon an Evening day, to ſup with Bread and Cheefe: ſaying, that which goeth into a Man's Body denieth not a Man's Soul: but that which goeth out of the Body, denieth both Body and Soul.</p> <p>Alſo that the ſaid Vicar taught him the <i>A, B, C</i>, to the intent he ſhould have underſtanding in the <i>Apocaly</i>: wherein he ſaid, that he ſhould perceive all the falſhood of the World, and all the truth. He ſaid furthermore unto him, when he had been at the Lady of <i>Worceſter</i>, at the Blood of <i>Halles</i>, which had cutt him 48 peeces, that he had done as an ill husband, that had ploughed his land, and ſown it, but nothing to the purpoſe: for he had worſhipped Man's handi- work, and call away his money, which had been given to the poor: for he ſhould worſhip but one God, and no handi- work of Man.</p> <p>Item, When the people would offer Candles, where he was Vicar, to <i>Mary Magdalen</i>, he would take them away, and ſay they were Fools that offered them thither.</p> <p><i>Elizabeth More</i> of <i>Eaſtward</i>, <i>Robert Pope</i> of <i>Welford</i>.</p>		<p>The Father of <i>Robert Colins</i>.</p> <p>This Father Colins had been of this Do- ctine from the year of our Lord 1480.</p> <p><i>Thomas Baker</i> of <i>Wharley</i>; <i>Robert Linnard</i>; <i>John Symfon</i>; <i>Thomas Stranston</i>; <i>Thomas Reilly</i> of <i>Burford</i>; <i>John Clifton</i> Ser- vant to the Prior of <i>Burford</i>; <i>Jamies Edmonds</i> of <i>Burford</i>; <i>William Gurn</i> of <i>Windy</i>.</p> <p>To theſe was ſaid, that they being in the houſe of <i>John Harvis</i> of <i>Upton</i>, at the mar- riage of <i>Joan</i> the Wife of <i>Robert Burger</i>, did read in a Book called <i>Nicholmas's Gospel</i>, that made the Cloth which our Lord was buried in, (as the <i>Regifter</i> ſaith), and in that Book was the ſtory of the deſtruction of <i>Jeruſalem</i>.</p> <p><i>John Baker</i> Weaver of <i>Witney</i>. The Bailiff of <i>Witney</i>.</p> <p><i>John Hagger</i>; <i>John Brabant</i> and his Wife; <i>John Brabant</i> his Son, with his Wife; <i>John Brabant</i> the younger Son, with his Wife; <i>Kyngnald Brabant</i> of <i>Stanlake</i>.</p> <p>For reading in a certain Engliſh Book of <i>Scripture</i>, they being together in <i>John Brabant's</i> Houſe of <i>Stanlake</i>.</p> <p><i>Henry Pip</i>.</p> <p>The Crime and Detraction againſt this <i>Henry</i>, was, for that he being asked of this <i>Dods</i>, <i>Anno 1515</i>, whether he would go <i>to Worms</i> or not: he answered againſt, that he was choſen Roodman, that is, Keeper of the Roodloft, ſaying, that he might go and find a Candle before his <i>Block</i>, <i>Almough</i> Tr.</p> <p><i>Oliver Smith</i> of <i>Newline</i> and his Wife.</p> <p><i>William Hobbs</i>.</p> <p>This <i>William Hobbs</i> was detrected fiſt by <i>Radulph Hobbis</i> his Brother to <i>Bilph Smith</i>, but was delivered through the ſaid of the Curator of <i>Wob-Wickham</i>.</p> <p><i>Philip Brabant</i>, Servant of <i>Robert Colins</i>.</p> <p>For ſaying that the Sacrament of the Altar was made in the remembrance of Chriſt's holy Body, but it was not the Body of Chriſt.</p> <p>The Sheperds <i>Kalendar</i> was alſo accuſed and detected,</p> <p>Beauſe the ſame <i>Edmonds</i> ſaid, That he was perſwaded by this Book, reading theſe words, that the Sacrament was made in the remembrance of Chriſt.</p> <p>The Book of <i>William Thorne</i> likewise was much complained of, both by this <i>John Edmonds</i> and divers other.</p> <p><i>Richard Colins</i> of <i>Ginger</i>.</p> <p>This <i>Richard Colins</i> was a great doer among the good Menſo was he much com- plained upon by divers, and alſo by this <i>Edmonds</i>, for bringing with him a Book called the <i>King of Borne</i> into his Company, and did read thereof a great part unto them, in this <i>Edmonds</i> houſe of <i>Burford</i>. <i>Alia</i></p>
<p><i>Roger Dods</i> of <i>Burford</i>, by his Oath was compelled to utter theſe perſons here named.</p>		<p>The foreſaid <i>Roger Dods</i> of <i>Burford</i>, by his Oath was compelled to utter theſe Perſons here named.</p>	

For ſeeing the Bible in Engliſh.

Acconfer. Parities accusat, and Crimes oblied. *Acconfer.* Parities accusat, and Crimes oblied.

Alice Colinar, Wife of Richard Colinar. This Alice likewise was a famous Woman among them, and had a good memory, and could recite much of the Scripture and other good Books: And therefore when any Conventicle of the Men did meet at *Burford*, commonly the was sent for, to recite unto them the declaration of the Ten Commandments, and the Epistles of *Peter* and *James*.

Joan Colinar, Daughter of Richard and of Alice Colinar.

This Joan also, following her Fathers and Mothers steps, was noted, for that she learned wisely her Father and Mother the Ten Commandments, the Seven deadly Sins, the Seven works of Mercy, the Five Wits bodily and ghoully, the Eight Bleivings and five Chapters of *St. James* Epistle.

Agnes Edmunds his own Daughter.

This *Agnes Edmunds* was also detected by her Father, that he brought her to the house of *Richard Colinar* for service, to the lawnt he would be instructed the Ten Commandments, the lawnt he had learned likewise the ten Commandments, the five Wits bodily and ghoully, and the seven deadly Sins.

Alice Ganne.
W. Ruffel of Colemanstreet.
One Mother of *Joan*.
Father *John of Hungerford.*
Jane Taylor, Servant of *John Harris* of *Burford*.
Thomas Shuibe, Weaver, of *Reading*.
Philip Barker, Weaver.
John Barker, Clerk of *Amstham*.
John Eding, of *Hungerford*.
This *John*, Brother to *Philip Barker* of *Stanlake*.

Robert Butterfield.

William Defra.

The words of *William Defra* were these: *Thou Edmunds* was of one offic, and offering Candles or other things to Saints, stood in no feald, and was but coft left.

Also when his Wife was going on Pilgrimage, and he asked, Whither? and the said, To our Lady of *Wylton*: Our Lady, said he, is in Heaven.

John Edmunds.

This *John Edmunds* was detected, because that he talking with *Roger Dady* of Pilgrimage, had him go offer his money to the Image of God. When the other asked what was that? he said, that the Image of God was the good People, blind and lame, and said, that he offered Almighty God is going on Pilgrimage.

Henry Philip his own Son.

For committing with *Roger Dady* against Pilgrimage and Adoration of Images.

His own Daughter.

For telling together against Pilgrimage and Molatry.

John Hicker, Rob. Pop.

For reading the Holy Scripture in his Father's House, and for saying these words, *Christ* made his Munday, and said, Take this Bread, eat it; this is my Body: Take this Wine, drink it; this is my Blood: And Priests say by these words, that the Sacrament of the Altar is the Body of *Christ*.

John Barker his Father, and his Mother, For being present when *Hicker* was reading the Scripture in their house.

Philip Barker his Uncle.

The words of *Philip Barker* were these: That it was deadly sin to go on Pilgrimage.

Concerning this *John Barker*, there is tokened the form and effect of the Bilhop's examination: asking and demanding thus of the said *Bilhop*, *dominacione Beati Petri*. That is, Whether he ever heard *John Hicker* read the Holy Scripture against the determination of the Church? by the which words, it he mean that it is against the determination of the Church to read the Holy Scripture, it may thereby appear to be a blind Church. And if they mean that the Holy Scripture containeth any such thing, it is which is against the determination of the Church: then it appeareth their Church to be contrary unto God, seeing it determineth one thing, and God's Word another.

Robert Poppe, Richard Nobbin, John Edmunds.

For speaking against going on Pilgrimage, and Image-worship.

John a VVeden.

When this *John a Lee* had told the said *VVeden*, how the Bilhop had said in his Sermon these words: That all which were of the Cof of *Heretic*, believed that God was in Heaven, but they believed not that the Body of *Christ* on the Altar was God. To this he answering again, said, yea, be hold in that word, deriding the Bilhop in so saying.

William Dwyer of *King-Langley*.

For saying that Images fould for nothing, and that Pilgrimage served to spend folks money, and nothing else.

Alice Colinar.

For teaching the said *John Strevenon* in Lent the Ten Commandments, thus beginning, I am thy Lord God which led thee out of the Land of *Egipt*, and brought thee out of the House of *Strudon*: This flaut have no Alien Gods before me: I neither came to thee any Image graven with Man's hands, that is in Heaven above, neither in the Earth beneath.

Item, for teaching her the first Chapter of *St. John's Gospel*: In it the beginning was the Word, &c.

John Harris.

For teaching her the first Chapter of *Peter*.

K. Hen. 8. Accuser.

Parties accused, and Crimes detailed.

Mr. *Cattimore* of *Brighelm*. Also Mrs. *Co-*
signora, otherwise called Mrs. *Dale*.

For speaking these words to one *John*
Bastian her Servant: That if he went to her
Chamber and prayed there, she should have
as much merit as she who went to *Walsingham*
on Pilgrimage.

Sir *John* a
Priest and al-
so *Robert* *Re-*
bisford, de-
tected

Item, When the said *John* came to her
after the death of *John* *Stainer* her
requiring her to send one *John* *Stainer* her
Servant to our Lady of *Walsingham*, for *Ma-*
ster Cattimore, which in his life-time, being
rich, promised in his own Person to visit that
place (he would not consent thereto, nor
let her Servant go.

Item for saying, that when Women go to
offer Images or Saints, they did not know
their new gire yet; and that Images were
but Carpenter's Chips: and that folks go on
Pilgrimage more for the green way, than for
any devotion.

Thomas Vincent of *London*.

To *Thomas Vincent* was objected, for
giving this *Hagge* a Book of *St. Matthew* in
English.

Mrs. *Cattimore*, otherwise *Daly*.

Richard Colles,
For receiving of this *Hagge* a Book of
the Ten Commandments in English.
Goodwife Bryson of *Woodstreet* in *London*.

William Guntar,
For receiving of *Hagge* a Book of the
ten Plagues sent of God to *Pharaoh*.

John *Hagge*
did detect

The Wife of *Thomas V. Vidmore* of *Gloucester*.

Elizabeth the Daughter of this *Hagge*, and
Robert her Husband, otherwise called *Pit-*
ton of *Newbury*.

William Stokely of *Honley*,
John Steward, and his Wife of *great Marston*.
John *Stokely* of *Honley*,
— *Grinder* of *Cockham*.

John Heron,
For having a Book of the Exposition of
the Gospel's fair written in English.

Richard Grace,
For speaking the words following: That our
blessed Lady was the Godmother to
St. Katherine; and therefore the Legend is not
true, in saying that *Christ* did marry with
St. Katherine, and bade *Adam* put on his
Vestment, and say the Service of Matrimony:
for *Christ* should live in Adultery for marry-
ing with his Godmother; which thing if he
should do, he should be thought not to do
well.

Thomas, *Grace*,
and also *John*
of *Reading*,
put to their
Oath, did
detect

Item, For saying by the Picture of *St. Ni-*
cholas being newly painted, that he was not
worthy to stand in the Rood-loft, but that
it better befitted him to stand in the Bel-
ly, &c.

In this Table above prefixed, thou hast, gentle Reader, to
see and understand'st first, the number and names of
the good Men and Women, troubled and molested by the
Church of *Rome*, and all in one Year: of whom few or
none were learned, being simple Labourers and Artificers,
but as it pleased the Lord to work in them knowledge and
understanding, by reading a few English Books, such as

they could get in corners. 2ly, What were their Opinions
we have also described. And thirdly, Herein is to be noted
moreover the blind ignorance and uncounted dealing of
the Bishops against them not only in that they, by their vio-
lent Oath and capricious Interrogatories, constrained the
Children to accuse their Parents, and Parents the Children,
the Husband the Wife, and the Wife the Husband, &c. But
especially in that most wrongfully they afflicted them,
without all good reason or cause; for the false verity of
God's Word, and reading of Holy Scriptures.

Now it remaineth, that as you have heard their Opinions,
(which principally in number were four) to also we declare and pub-
lish their Reasons and Scriptures whereunto they grounded
their Opinions: and after that consequently the order and manner of Pe-
nance to them enjoined by the Bishops. And first against
Pilgrimage, and against worshipping of Images, they used
the Text of the *apocryphical* *Book of Baruch* in a Vision, and
the heads of them in the heads of *Lincoln's* *finest*, *fire*, and
brimstone came out of their mouths: with these three Plagues,
the third part of Man were slain of the finest, and of the
fire, and of the brimstone that was in the mouths of them.
They that were not slain of these three Plagues, were such as
worshipped no Devils, and Images of Gold and Silver, of
Brass, of Trees, and of Stones, &c. *Ex Regis*, *Longland*,
Fol. 72. Also they used and alleged the first Command-
ment, that there is but one God, and that they ought not
to worship mee Gods than one.

And as touching the Sacrament, and the right Doctrine
thereof, they had their instruction partly out of *Wickliffe's* *works*,
Wicliffe, partly out of the *Shepherd's* *Calendar*: where they
read that the Sacrament was made in remembrance of
Christ, and ought to be received in remembrance of his Body
&c. Moreover they alleged and followed the words of
his Christ spoken at the Supper, what time he was sitting with
his Disciples, and making with them his Maundy: took
Bread, and blessed, and brake, and gave to his Disciples, and
said, Eat ye, this (treaching out his arms, and shewing the
Bread in his hand, and then noting his own natural Body
and touching the same, and not the Bread consecrated) is
my Body which shall be betrayed for you: do this in re-
membrance of me. And likewise touch the Wine and bade
them drink, saying, This is my Blood wherewith of the New
Testament, &c.

Item, That *Christ* our Saviour sitteth on the right hand
of the Father, and there shall be unto the day of Doom.
Wherefore they believed that in the Sacrament of the Altar
was not the very Body of *Christ*.

Item, (said one of them) Men speak much of the
Sacrament of the Altar: but this I bide by, That upon
Chuse Thursday, *Christ* brake Bread unto his Disciples, and
bade them eat it: saying, it was his Flesh and Blood, and
then he went from them, and suffered passion: and then
he rose from death to life, and ascended into Heaven, and
there sitteth on the right hand of the Father: and there he
is to remain unto the day of Doom, when he shall judge
both quick and dead: and therefore how he should be here
in the former Bread, he said, he could not see.

Such Reasons and Allegations as these and others like, ta-
ken out of the Scripture, and out of other Books which he
amongst them. And also there was no learned Man with
them to ground them in their Doctrine, yet they con-
tinuing and conferring together among themselves, did
convert one another, the Lord's hand working with them
marvellously: so that in short space the number of these
known or just *Men* (as they were then termed) did
exceedingly increase: in such sort that the Bishop, being
the matter almost past his power, was driven to make his
complaint to the King, and required his aid for suppression
of these Men. Whereupon King *Henry* being then young,
and unskilful in the bloody practices and blind teachings
of these Apostolical Pretels, incensed with his suggestions and
com complaints, directed down Letters to the Sheriffs,
Bailiffs, Officers, and Subjects, for the aid of the Bishop in
this behalf: The Tenor of which Letters here enu-
merate.

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The Copy of the King's Letter for the aid of *John* *Lang-*
land Bishop of *Lincoln*, against the Servants of *Christ*,
falsely then called *Heretics*.

The Tenor of
the King's
Letter.

Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God, King of Eng-
land and of France, Lord of Ireland, Defender of the
Faith, To all Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and Constables,
and to all other our Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, that they
our Letters bearing or saying, and to every of them, greeting,
Forasmuch as the right reverend Father, and our truly and
right well-beloved Counsellor, the Bishop of *Lincoln* hath now
within his Diocese no small number of *Heretics*, as it is
thought, to his no little discomfort and heaviness: We there-
fore being in that mind and fully to provide for the said
rights well-beloved Father in God and our Subjects, that they, in
none of them, shall bodily be hurt or damaged by any of the
said *Heretics* or their Followers, in the executing and mini-
sting of Justice unto the said *Heretics*, according to the
rights of the Premises, if they or any of them shall require
you, and every of you, as ye tender our high displeasure, to be
aiding, helping, and assisting to the said right reverend Fa-
ther in God, and his said Officers, in the executing of Jus-
tice unto the Premises, if they or any of them shall require
you to do so, not failing to accomplish our commandment and
pleasure in the Premises, as ye intend to please us, and will
avoid the contrary at your uttermost peril. Given under
our Signet at our Castle of *Windsor*, the twentieth day
of October, the thirtieth year of our Reign.

The great
Seal of the
Bishop of
Lincoln.

The Bishop thus being armed, no less with the authority
of the King's Letters, than with his own force-
fulnes, fired no time, but, effusions to accomplish his
moody violence upon the poor Flock of *Christ*, called be-
fore him, sitting upon his Tribunal-seat, both these afore-
named Persons, and all other in his Diocese that he sus-
pected to be either suspected or suspected to incline toward
the same: of whom to such had but newly been taken,
and had not before been, he enjoined most strict and re-
verend Penance. The other in his Diocese, he did send him
religiously, yet, albeit they submitted themselves never to
humbly to his favourable courtesy: and tho also at his re-
quest, and for hope of pardon, they had themselves
great detesters of their Brethren, being moreover of him
fed and nourished therewith: yet notwithstanding, contrary
to his fair words, and their expectation, he feared not, but
read Sentence of Relapse against them, committing them
to the secular Arm to be bound.

And first as touching them, who being brought to Abjura-
tion, were put to their Penance: long it were to recite
the names of all. Certain I thought to recite here in a Ca-
tologue: first reciting the Persons, afterward the rigorous
Penance to them enjoined.

The Names of them which were abjured in the Diocese of
Lincoln, in the Year of our Lord 1521.

William Collins.
John Collins.
John Collins.
Robert Collins.
John Hicklet.
John Brabant the Father.
John Brabant the Son.
John Brabant younger Son.
John Edmonds.
Edward Pope.
Henry Philip.
John Stevenson.
John Stevenson.
Robert Bartlet.
Thomas Clekles.
John Clekles.
Richard Bartlet.
William Philip.
John Butler the younger.
Thomas Cooper.
William Littlepage.
John Littlepage.
John Littlepage.
John Say.
John Prior.

The Towns, and Villages, and Countries where these fore-
said Persons did inhabit, are named chiefly to be shew.

K. Hen. 8.

Amerham.
Uxbridge.
Chesham.
Wickham.
Well-Wickham.
Clewley.
Barnet.
Widford.
London.
Colemanstreet in London.
Clareville in London.
Stretchley in London.
St. Giles in London.
Elkess.
Sussex.
Northwich.

The Books and Opinions which they were charged
withal, and for the which they were abjured, partly are
before expressed, partly here follow in a brief Summary
to be seen.

'A brief Sum of their Opinions.

The Opinions of many of these Persons were, That he
or she never believed in the Sacrament of the Altar, *Ex Regis*.
For that he was known of his Neighbours to be a good
Fellow, meaning, that he was a known Man.

For saying, that he would give forty pence on condition *Fol. 33*.
that such a one knew so much as he did know.
Some for saying, that they of *Amerham*, which had bin
abjured before by *Bishop Smith*, were good Men and perfect
Christians, and simple Folk which could not answer for
themselves, and therefore were oppressed by power of the
Bishop.

Some, for hiding other in their Barns. *Ibid*.
Some, for reading the Scriptures, or Treatises of Scrip-
ture, in English: some, for beating the same read.
Some, for defending, some for marrying with them
which had been abjured.

Some, for saying that Matrimony was not a Sacrament. *Fol. 36*.
Some, for saying that worshipping of Images was *Ma-*
gistry: some for calling Images Carpenter's Chips: some
for calling them flocks and houses: some for calling them
dead things.

Some, for saying that money spent upon Pilgrimage, *Gen. Fol. 33*.
was but to maintain Thieves and Harlots.

Some, for calling the Image in the Rood-loft, *Black*
Almshouse.

Other for saying, that nothing graven with Man's hand *Fol. 37*.
was to be worshipped.

Some for calling them Fools which came from Mr. *John* *Fol. 40*.
Shorne in Pilgrimage.

Another, for calling his Vicar a poll-borne Priest. *Ibid*.
Another, for calling a certain blind Chappell, being in a
field, an old fair Mill-house.

Another for saying, that he shewed God Almshouse *Fol. 41*.
of the Broom.

Another for saying, that Alms should not be given *Fol. 42*.
fore it did sweat in a Man's hand.

Some, for saying, that they which die, pass straight either *Fol. 43*.
to Heaven or Hell.

Others were brought before the Bishop and abjured *Fol. 44*.
for, for lamenting her Husband when the Bishop's Man
came for him, and saying, that he was an undone Man,
and the dead Woman.

For saying, that *Christ*, departing from his Disciples in *Fol. 45*.
to Heaven, said, That once he was in fustiness hands, and
would come there no more.

Robert Rane, hearing a certain Bell in an uplandish
Steeple, said, Lo, yonder is a fair Bell, and it were to hang
about any Cow's neck in this Town: and therefore,
D a

Jeffery Ch
ccr.
Joh. Gou

K. Hen. 8. thy to be matched with these forenamed persons, in commendation of their study and learning. Albeit concerning the full certainty of the time and death of these two, we cannot find; yet it appeareth in the Prologue of *Chaucer's* work, entitled *Confessio Amantis*, that he imited it in the sixteenth year of King *Richard* the second. And in the end of the eighth Book of his said Treatise he declareth that he was both sick and old when he wrote it; whereby it may appear that he lived not long after. Notwithstanding by certain Verbes of the said *Malter Gower*, placed in the later end of *Chaucer's* Works both in Latin and English, it may seem that he was alive at the beginning of the reign of King *Henry* the fourth, and also by a Book which he wrote to the same King *Henry*. By his Sepulture within the Chappell of the Church of St. Mary Overie, which was then a Monastery, where he and his Wife lie buried, it appeareth by his chain and his Garland of Laurel, that he was both a Knight, and flourishing then in Poetry. In the which place of his Sepulture were made in his Grave-diggers three Books: the first bearing the Title, *Speculum mediastini*; the second, *Vite claustranis*; the third, *Confessio amantis*. Besides these, divers Chronicles and other Works were he compiled.

Likewise touching time of *Chaucer*, by his own words in the end of his first Book of *Troilus and Criseyde*, it is manifest that he and *Gower* were both of one time; although it seemeth that *Gower* was a great deal his ancient: both notably leaved, as the last verses of the first time did give, both great Friends together, and both in like kind of study together occupied; so endeavouring themselves, and employing their time, that, exceeding many other in his study and learning, and thus put forth their lives here right worthily and gloriously, to the worthy Fame and Commendation of their name. *Chaucer's* Works be all printed in one Volume, and therefore known to all men.

This I marvel to see the life of the Priests and Clergy-men of that time, seeing they Lay-persons shewed themselves in their kinds of liberal Studies to insatiable and fruitfully occupied; but much more I marvel to consider this, how that the Bishops, condemning and abolishing all manner of English Books and Treatises which might bring the people to any light of knowledge, did yet authorize the Works of *Chaucer* to remain full and to be occupied. Who (no doubt) saw in Religion as much almost as even we do now, and uttereth in his Works no less, and seemeth to be a right Wickelivian, or else there was never any; and that all his Works aloud, if they be thoroughly advised, will testify (albeit it be done in mirth, and covertly) upon the latter end of his third Book of the Testament of Love: for there purely he toucheth the highest matter, that is, the Communion. Wherein, except a man be altogether blind, he may easily find him at the fall. Although in the same Book (as in other he useth to do) under shadows covertly, as under a Veil, he himself in Truth in fact, as both privately he may profit the godly-minded, and yet not be despised of the crafty Adversary. And therefore the Bishops, being, taking his Works but for Jests and Toys, in condemning other Works, yet permitted his Books to be read.

So it pleased God then to kindle the Eyes of them, by the more commodity of his people, to the intent that through the reading of his Treatises, some fruit might redound thence to his Church, as no doubt it did to many. As also I am partly informed of certain which knew the Parties, which to them reported, that by reading of *Chaucer's* Works, they were brought to the true knowledge of Religion: And not unlike to be true. For to omit other parts of his Volume, whereof some are more fabulous than others, what Tale can be more plainly told than the Tale of the Ploughman? or what fanger can point out more directly the Poem which his Pelates to be Antichrist, than doth the poor Peasant reasoning against the greedy Gristen? Under which *Hypocrite*, or *Rofoe*, who is so blind that heeth not by the Pelican the Doctrine of Christ, and of the Lollards to be defended against the Church of Rome? Or who is so impudent that can deny that to be true, which the Pelican there affirmeth to be the pernicious pride of that pretensed Church? Again, what Egg can be more like, or Fig, unto another, than the words, properties, and conditions of that raven-

ning Gryph resembleth the true Image, that is, the Nature and Qualities of that which we call the Church of Rome, in every point and degree? And therefore no great marvel if that nation was exempted out of the Copies of *Chaucer's* Works: which notwithstanding were it disposed again, and is exact for every man to read that is religious. This *Giffrey Chaucer*, being born (as is thought) in *Oxfordshire*, and dwelling in *Westminster*, heeth buried in the Church of the Madder of St. *Peter* & *Winfred* in an Isle on the fourth side of the said Church, not far from the door leading to the Cloister, and upon his Grave-digger first were written these two old Verbes.

*Guilford Chaucer Poet, et Roma Poeta
Materna, hoc facta sunt translatione laeta.*

Afterward about the year of our Lord 1556, one *Matthew Bridgman*, befellowing more cost upon his Tomb, did add thereto these Verbes following.

*Qui fuit Anglorum Vates tre maximus olim,
Colitibus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulus.
Aureum si quare Domus, si tempore munit,
Ecce nota substant, que vixit caecis aeternis.
25 Octob. Anno 1460.*

Here begins the Reformation of the Church of Christ in the time of Martin Luther.

Although it cannot be sufficiently exprest with the Tongue, or Pen of man, into what miserable ruin and defolation the Church of Christ was brought in those later days; yet partly, by the reading of these Stories a few paths, some intencive may be given them which have judgment to mark, or Eye to see in what blindness and darkness the world was drowned during the space of these four hundred years before and more. By the viewing and considering of which Times and Histories, thou mayst understand (gentle Reader) the Foundation of all that Christ, which only consisteth in Spirit and Verity, was wholly turned into outward Observations, Ceremonies, and Idolatry. So many Saints we had, so many Goods, so many Monasteries, so many Pilgrimages, so many Churches, as many Reliques forged and feigned we had. Again, so many Reliques, so many lying Miracles we believed. Instead of the only living Lord, we worshipped dead Stocks and Stones. In place of the Christ immortal, we adored mortal Bread. In stead of his Blood, we worshipped the Blood of Ducks; to whose people were led, so that the Priests were fed, no case was taken. In stead of God's Word, Man's Word was set up. In stead of Christ's Testament, the Pope's Testament, that is, the Canon-Law. In stead of *Paul*, the *Malter* of Sentences took place, and almost full possession. The Law of God was little read, the use and end thereof was left known; and as the end of the Law was unknown, so the difference between the Gospel and the Law was not understood, the benefit of Christ not considered, the effect of Faith not exprest. Through the Ignorance whereof it cannot be told what infinite errors, Sects, and Religions crept into the Church, overwhelming the world, as with a Flood of Ignorance and Seduction. And no marvel; for whereas the Foundation is not well laid, the Building can stand or prosper? The Foundation of all this Christianity is only this: The promise of God in the Blood of Christ his Son, giving and procuring life to all that believe in him: Giving (saith the Scripture) unto none, and not bargaining or dealing with us. And that freely (saith the Scripture) for Christs sake, and not contentiously for our Merits sake.

Furthermore, Freely (saith the Scripture) by Grace; that the Promise might be firm and not made in vain; that we do, which always are doubtful. By Grace (saith the Scripture) through promise to all and upon all that believe, and not by the Law, upon them that do deserve. Rom. 9. For if it come by deserving, then is it not of Grace. If it be not of Grace, then it is not of Promise; and contrariwise, if it be of Grace and Promise, then it is not of works. *saith St. Paul*. Upon the Foundation of God's free Promise and Grace first built the Priests, Kings, and Popes. Upon this same Foundation also built the Church of Christ. Lord builded his Church. Upon which Foundation the Apostles likewise builded the Church Apostolical or Catholic.

The error of the Church of Rome.

The error of the Church of Rome.

The error of the Church of Rome.

The error of the Church of Rome.

The error of the Church of Rome.

This Apostolical and Catholic Foundation for long as the Church did retain, so long it continued sincere and found: which endured a long season after the Apostles time. But after, in process of years, through wealth and negligence crept into the Church, so soon as this Foundation began to be left, came in new Builders, which would build upon a new Foundation, a new Church more glorious, which we call now the Church of Rome. Who being not contented with the old Foundation, and the Head-cornerstone, which the Lord by his Word had laid in place whereof they laid the ground-works upon the foundation and Strength of the Law and Works. Although it is not to be denied, but that the Doctrine of God's holy Law, and of good Works according to the same, is a thing most necessary to be learned and followed of all men: yet it is not that Foundation whereupon our Salvation consisteth; neither is that Foundation able to bear up the weight of the Grace of Heaven, but is rather the thing which is builded upon the Foundation which Foundation is Jesus Christ, according as we are taught of St. *Paul*, saying, We must lay by any other Foundation beside that which is laid, Christ Jesus, &c.

But this new Foundation, which the old ancient Church of Christ laid (as I said) hath been soon of long time forsaken, and in stead thereof, a new Church, with a new Foundation hath been erected and framed, not upon God's Promise, and his free Grace in Christ Jesus, but upon free Justification by Faith, but upon merits and deeds of men's working. And hereon have they planned all their new devices, so infinite, that they cannot well be numbered, as Men's Traditions, Digges, Obsequies, Mattens, and Hours-long Services, Solemnities, night-fing, Bare-foot going, Full-tailing, Lent-fast, Ember-fast, Stations, Rogations, Jubiles, Advocation of Saints, Praying to Images, Pilgrimage-walkings, Works in their Religion, Application of Men's souls to the Sects of Religion, Vows of Chastity, willful Poverty, Pardons, Relations, Indulgences, Penance, and Satisfaction, with singular Confession, founding of Abbies, building of Chappels, giving to Churches: And who is able to recite all their laborious Buildings, falsely framed upon a wrong ground, and all for ignorance of the true Foundation, which is the free justification by Faith in Christ Jesus the Son of God.

Moreover note, that as this new-found Church of Rome was thus deformed in Doctrine, so no less was it corrupted in order of Life and deep Hypocrite doing all things only under pretences and dissimulated Titles. So under the name of *Father's* Chair, they exercised a Majestly above Emperors and Kings. Under the Vizard of their vowed Chastity reigned Adultery: under the cloak of proffered Poverty, they professed the goods of the Temporality under title of being dead unto the World, they use only reigned in the World, but also ruled the World under the colour of the Keys of Heaven to hang under their girdle, they brought all the States of the World under their girdle, and they also into the Purges of men, but also into their Confessions: they heard their Confessions: they knew their Secrets: they dispensed as they were dispensed, and saved what men listed. And finally when they had brought the whole World under their Subjection, yet did their hearts neither cease to ascend, neither could their Avarice be ever satisfied. And if the example of Cardinal *Wolsey* and other Cardinals and Popes cannot satisfy thee, I beteech thee to read the History of the *Ploughmans* Tale in *Chaucer* above-mentioned, where thou shalt understand much more of their Demerour than I have here described.

In these his blind and miserable corrupt days of darkness and ignorance, thou seest, good Reader (I doubt not) how necessary it was, and high time that Reformation of the Church should come, which now most happily and graciously began to be wrought through the merciful and so long desired Providence of Almighty God: who although he suffered his Church to wander and flit aside, through the foolishness of Pride and Prosperity along time, yet at length he pleased his goodness to send forth a new Guide to his Church into the pristine Foundation and reduce again from whence it was pitciously decayed. Whereof I have now consequently to entreat; intending by the Grace of Christ to declare how, and by what means first this Reformation

of the Church began, and how it proceeded, — creating life and light unto this perdition which now we see, and more I must than thee.

And herein we have first to behold the admirable Work of God's Wisdom. For as the first decay and ruin of the Church before began of rude ignorance, and lack of Learning in Teachers: so, to reform the Church again by Doctrine and Learning, it pleased God to send forth the Art of Printing, the time whereof was shortly after the burning of *John Hu* and *Hierome*. Printing being opened, and unconsciously ministered unto the Church the fulminations and Tools of Learning and of Learning, which were good Books and Authors which before lay hid and unknown: The Science of Printing being found, immediately followed the Grace of God, which kindled up good Wits apply to conceive the light of Knowledge and of Learning: by which Light darkness began to be epiced, and ignorance to be detected: Truth from Error, Religion from Superstition, to be discerned, as is above more largely discoursed, where was touched the inventing of Printing.

Furthermore: after these Wits kindled up of God; followed other more, increasing daily more and more Silence, in Tongues, and Perfection of Knowledge: who now were able not only to discern in matters of judgment, but also were to armed and furnished with the help of good Letters, that they did encounter also with the Adversity, uttering the stout and defence of Learning against Barbarity: of Verity against Error: of true Religion against Superstition. In number of whom amongst many other here unnamed, were *Petrus*, and *Franciscus Mirandula*, *Leon*, *Valla*, *Plinius Parrachus*, *De*, *Widmannus*, *Seneca*, *Gracianus*, *Chalcidius*, *Reverendus*, *Erasmus*, &c. And here began the first pull and fault to be given against the ignorant and barbarous Faction of the Pope's pretended Church. Who after they had opened a Window of light unto the World, and had made (as it were) a way more ready for others to come after: Immediately, according to God's gracious appointment, followed *Martin Luther*, with others after him; by whose ministry it pleased the Lord to work a more full Reformation of his Church, as by their Acts and Proceedings hereafter shall follow (Christ willing) more amply to be declared.

And now coming to the time and story of *Martin Luther*, whom the Lord did ordain and appoint to be the principal Organ and Minister under him, to reform Religion; and to subvert the See of the Pope: first, before we enter into the tradition hereof, it shall not be impertinent to the purpose, to insert first Prophesies and Forewarnings as were first before of time of *Luther*, which foretold and prophesied this Reformation of the Church to come.

Prophesies going before Martin Luther.

And first to begin with the Prophesies of *John Hu*, the Prophet and *Hierome*, it is both notable, and also before-mentioned, what the said *John Hu* at the time of his burning prophesied unto his Enemies, saying: That after his hundred years end and gone, they should give account to God and to him.

Where is to be noted, that counting from the year 1415, (which year *John Hu* was burned) or from the year 1416, (which *Hierome* died) unto the year 1516, (when *Martin Luther* began his fight to write) we shall find the Number of an Hundred Years expired.

Likewise to this may be adjoynted the propheticall Vision or Dream, which chanted to the said *John Hu* lying in the Dungeon of the Priests in Constance, a little before he was burned: His Dream, as he himself in his Epistles writing to *Martin Luther* doth record, as I have also before recorded the same, so will I now repeat the same again in like effect of words, as he wrote it himself in Latin; the effect of which is this:

I pray you expound to me this Dream which I had this Night. I saw that in my Church at Bethlehem (whereof I was Pastor) they desired and laboured to a-

Printing of the Church of Rome.

Another Prophesie of John Hu touching the Reformation.

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K.Hen. 8. To publish about a certain impudent and railing Dialogue against him. Unto whom Luther answered again, first alleging the place of the Apostle's 1. Thess. 5. That we must pray all things. Also the place, Gal. 2. That if an Angel from Heaven do bring any other Gospel than that we have received, we might as well receive him as the Devil.

Item, He alleged the place of Augustin unto Hieronymus, where said Augustin faith, That he was wont to give this house only to the Bishops of Canonical Scripture, that whatsoever were the Writers thereof, he believed them utterly not to have erred. But as touching all other Men's Writings, were they never so holy Men, or learned, he doth not believe them to agree, because they so say, but in that respect as they do thereof with the Canonical Scripture, which cannot err.

Item, He alleged the place of the Canon Law's Clem. de Pœni. & remiss. & Abusibus. Wherein he proved, That the Cardinals, in their sitting forth of the Pope's Indulgences, ought to go no further by the Law, than is enjoined them within the Letters of their Communion.

And in the latter part of his Answer, thus Luther writeth to the Reader, *Let Opinions* (faith he) *remains Opinions, so they be not Taken to the Christians. Let us not make Most Opinions equal with the Articles of Faith, and to the decrees of Christ and Paul. Moreover, I am ashamed to speak to you to have the common saying of these Divis. School-Divines, who holding one thing in the Schools, and shaking themselves in their own Judgment, thus are wont to fight among themselves, and with their private Friends talking together, to say, and thus do we hold, and thus do we say, being in the Schools: but you (he saith) he speaks here amongst us, it cannot be so proved by the Holy Scriptures, &c. Ex Paraph. Ab. Ulysses.*

Next after this Salutation, next forth again, and impugned the conclusions of Luther, Against whom encountered D. Andreas Bodeghin, Archdeacon of Wittenburg, making his Apology in defence of Luther.

Then was Martin Luther cited the 7th of August, by one Hieronymus Bishop of Alsace, to appear at Rome, about which time Thomas Cajetan, Cardinal, the Pope's Legat, was then Legat at the City of Angulus, who before had been sent down in Communion, with certain Mandates of Pope Leo, unto that City. The University of Wittenburg understanding of Luther's Citation, efforts directed up their Letters, with their public Seal, to the Pope in Leo's behalf. Also another Letter they sent to Cardinal Melancthon the Pope's Chamberlain, being a German born. Furthermore, good Frederick called not for his part to solicit the matter with his Letters and earnest Suit with Cardinal Cajetan, that the Cause of Luther might be freed from Rome, and removed to Angulus, in the hearing of the Cardinal. Cajetan, at the suit of the Duke, wrote unto the Pope: from whom he received this answer again the three and twentieth of the forecast month of August, That he had cited Luther to appear personally before him at Rome, by Hieronymus Bishop of Alsace, Auditor of the Chamber: which Bishop diligently had done that was commanded him: but Luther, abusing and contemning the gentleness offered, did not only refuse to come, but also became more bold and stubborn continuing, or rather increasing in his former Heresy, as by his Writings did appear. Wherefore he would, that the Cardinal should cite and call up the said Luther to appear at the City of Angulus before him, adjoining with that, the aid of the Princes of Germany, and of the Emperor, if need required: so that when the said Luther should appear, he should be bound upon him, and committed him to safe custody, and after he should be brought up to Rome: and if he perceived him to come to any knowledge or amendment of his fault, he should release him and restore him to the Church again, or else he should be interdicted, with all other his Adherents, Abettors, and Maintainers, of whatsoever fate or condition they were, whether they were Dukes, Marquesses, Bishops, Barons, &c.

Against all which Persons and Degrees, he willed him to extend the same Cause and Malediction (only the Persons of the Emperor excepted) interdicting, by the Sentence of the Church, all such Lands, Lordships, Towns, Temples, and Villages, as should minister any harbour to the said Luther, and were not obedient unto the

Sent of Rome. Contrariwise, to all such as shewed themselves obedient, he should promise full remission of all their Sins.

Likewise the Pope directed other Letters also the same time to Duke Frederick, complaining with many grievous words against Luther.

The Cardinal thus being charged with Injunctions from Rome, according to his Commission, forthwith with all speed forth Luther to appear at Angulus before him.

About the beginning of October, Martin Luther yielding his obedience to the Church of Rome, came to Angulus at the Cardinal's dwelling, (at the charges of the noble Prince Elector, and also with his Letters of Commendation) where he remained three days before he came to his speech: where he remained with his Friends, that he should not enter talk with the Cardinal, before a sufficient Warant or safe Conduct was obtained of the Emperor Maximilian. Which being obtained, efficacious he entered, offering him to the speech of the Cardinal, and was there called to the Cardinal very gently: who, according to the Pope's commandment, propounded unto Martin Luther three things, *as follows*, but two: to wit.

1. That he should repent and revoke his Errors.

2. That he should promise, from this time forward, to refrain from the same.

3. That he should refrain from all things that might by any means trouble the Church.

When Martin Luther required to be informed wherein he had erred, the Legat brought forth the Extravagants of the Canon Law, which beginneth, *Originatus, &c.* because that he, contrary to that Canon had taken refuge in his fifty third Propositions, That the Merits of Christ, are not the treasure of Indulgences or Pardons. Secondly, The Cardinal, contrary to the seventh Proposition of Luther, affirmed, that Faith is not necessary to him that receiveth the Sacrament.

Furthermore, another day, in the presence of four of the Emperors Council, having there a Notary, and Witnesses present, Luther protested for the Cause of Rome in all this manner following.

Impressis, I Martin Luther, a Friar Augustine, professing, That I do reverence and follow the Church of Rome in all my sayings and doings, private, public, and to come; and if any thing hath been, or shall be said by me to the contrary, I count it, and will that it be counted and taken as 'as tho it had never been said. But because the Cardinal hath acquired at the commandment of the Pope, three things of me to be observed:

1. That I should return again to the knowledge of my 'self.

2. That I should beware of falling into the same again hereafter.

3. That I should promise to abstain from all things which might disquiet the Church of God.

I protest this day, That whatsoever I have said, I mean it to be found, true, and Catholic: yet I fear the further proof thereof, I offer to my self personally, either here or elsewhere, publicly to give a reason of my sayings. And if this please not the Legat, I am ready also in writing to answer his Objections, if he have any against me: and touching these things, to hear the sentence and judgment of the Universities of the Empire, Basil, Freiburg, and Lomau. Hereto when they had received an answer in writing, they departed.

After this, Luther by and by prepared an answer to the Legat, teaching, that the Merits of Christ are not committed unto Men: that the Pope's Voice is to be heard where he speaketh agreeable to the Scriptures: that the Pope may be that he ought to be reprehended, *Adh. 15.* Moreover he shewed, that in the matter of Faith, not only the General Council, but also every faithful Christian is above the Pope, if he be to be better Authority and Reason: that the Extravagant containeth untruths: that it is an infallible verity, that none is just: that it is necessary, for him that is to receive the Sacrament, to believe: that Faith in the abolition and remission of sins, is necessary: that he ought not, nor might not decline from the verity of the Scripture: that he ought nothing but the light of the Truth, &c.

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But the Cardinal would hear no Scriptures, he disputed without Scriptures, he devised Clauses and Explications of his own head: and by Diffinitions (wherewith he avoided all things. After this, Luther being commanded to come no more in the presence of the Legat, except he would recant, notwithstanding above three fill, and would not depart. Then the Cardinal sent for Johannes Stupinius, Vicar of the Augustinians, and moved him earnestly to bring Luther to reason of his own accord. Luther carried the next day also, and nothing was said unto him. The third day moreover he tarried, and delivered up his mind in Writing: in which, first, he thanked him for his courtesy and great kindness, which he perceived by the words of Stupinius, toward him; and therefore was the more ready to gratify him in whatsoever kind of Office he could do him service: conferring moreover, that where he had been somewhat flippant and eager against the Pope's Dignity, that was not so much of his own mind, as it was to be ascribed to the impetuosity of certain which gave him occasion. Notwithstanding, as he acknowledged his excess therein, so he was ready to these more modest in that behalf: after, and also promised to make amends for the same unto the Bishop, and that in the Pulpit, if he pleased.

And as touching the matter of Pardons, he promised also to proceed no further in any mention than that his Adversaries likewise were bound to keep silence. But whereas he was prent to retract his sentence before defended: forthwith as he had said nothing but with a good Conscience, and with the conscience of the first Reformation of the Scripture: therefore he refused to be bound to the determination thereof to be learned by the Bishop of Rome: for nothing, could be more grateful to him, than to hear the voice of the Church speaking, &c.

Who doth not see by this so humble and honest submission of Luther, but that if the Bishop of Rome would have been answered with any Reason, or countered with sufficient means, he had never been touched any further of protest, Luther protested for the Cause of Rome in all this manner following.

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left also an Appellation to the Bishop of Rome, from the Cardinals, which he caused to be affixed before his Departure.

After that Luther was thus departed and remained again in his Country, Cajetan writeth to Duke Frederick, thanking and a hating Letter: in which first he signified unto him his gentle entertainment and good-will toward him, and then Duke Luther from his Error. Secondly he complained of the sudden departing of him, and of Stupinius. Thirdly, he declared the pernicious danger of Luther's Doctrine against the Church of Rome. Fourthly, he exhorted the Duke, that as he tended his own Honour and Safety, and regarding the Favour of the high Bishop, he would send him up to Rome, or expel him out of his Dominions, forthwith as he felt a necessity thereof, as that was, could not, neither ought by any means long to be suffered.

To this Letter of the Cardinal the Duke answered again the Duke at large, purging both Luther and himself: Luther, in that he following his Conscience, grounded upon the Word of God, would not revoke that for an Error, which could be proved no Error: and himself he excuseth thus, that where it is required of him to banish him his Country, or to send him up to Rome, it would be little better in him to do so, and lead Conference, unless he knew just cause why he should do so: Which if the Cardinal would or could declare unto him, there should lack nothing in him which were the part of a Christian Prince. And therefore he desired him to be a means unto the Bishop of Rome, that Innocency and Truth be not oppressed before the crime or error be lawfully convicted.

This done, the Duke ended the Letter of the Cardinal unto Martin Luther, who wrote again to the Prince, shewing first how he came obediently unto Cajetan with the Emperor's Warrant: and what talk there was between them: how Cajetan professed him, against his Conscience and manifested Truth, to revoke his former Sentence, that the Merits of Christ's passion were not the Treasure of the Pope's Pardons. Secondly, that Faith was necessary in receiving the Sacraments. Albeit in the first he was content to yield to the Cardinal, as touching the Sacrament, it touched a great part of our Salvation, he could not with a safe Conscience relent, but desired to be taught by the Scripture: or at least, that the matter might be brought into open Disputation in some free place of Germany, where as the Truth might be discussed and judged of learned Men.

The Cardinal not pleased with this, in great Anger cut out many menacing words, neither would admit him any more to his presence or speech: whereas he yet notwithstanding, whilst in his Obedience to the Church of Rome, gave attendance, waiting upon the Cardinal's pleasure a sufficient time.

At last, when no Answer would come, after he had waited the space of five or six days, to his great detriment and greater danger, by the perswasion of his Friends he departed. Whereas if the Cardinal were displeased, he had most cause to blame himself. And now whereas the Cardinal threatened me (faith he) me to be the Action Lili, but that the process thereof shall be pericled at Rome, unless I either come and present my self, or else be banished your Dominions, I am not so much grieved for mine own cause, as that you should furnish for my matter any danger, or peril.

And therefore feeling there is no place nor Country which can keep me from the Malice of my Adversaries, I am willing to depart hence, and to forsake my Country, as that you should furnish for my matter any danger, or peril. And therefore feeling there is no place nor Country which can keep me from the Malice of my Adversaries, I am willing to depart hence, and to forsake my Country, as that you should furnish for my matter any danger, or peril.

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First, before the entry into the Disputation it was agreed, that the A^{ds} should be penned by Notaries, & after divulged abroad. But *Eckius* afterward went from that, pretending, that the penning of the No^{ties} should be an hinderance and a stay unto the whereby the heat of them in their Reasoning should more languish, and their Vehemency abate. But *Catharinus* without Notaries would not dispute. The effect of their Disputations was reduced to certain Conclusions. Amongst which, first came in question to

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Thus *Luther* being egged and constrained to dispute, whether he would or no, the Question began to be propounded touching the Supremacy of the *Bishop of Rome*; which Supremacy *Eckius* did contend to be founded and grounded upon God's Law. *Matter Luther* on the other side denied not the Supremacy of the *Bishop of Rome* as touching the spiritual Power, but he would have it be Universal over all Churches; but only he affirmed it not to be instituted by God's Law. Upon this Question the Disputation did continue the space of five days. During all which season, *Eckius* very uncharitably and uncourtly demeaned himself, judging by all means how to bring his Adversary into the hatred of the Auditors, and into danger of the Pope. The reasons of *Eckius* were these: *First*, *as much as the Church, being a civil Body, cannot be without*

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To this *Edwards* answered on this sort: That the *Bishop* Rome ought not to be called *Universal Bishop*; yet he may be called (faith he) *Bishop of the Universal Church*. And thus much touching the Question of the Pope's Supremacy.

From this matter they entred next to Purgatory, where in *Edwards* kept no order; for when they should have disputed what power the Pope hath in Purgatory; *Edwards*

handle and discontinue: That the Pope call ftop his Council; also what things ought to be handled in Councils: That the pride of the Pope is not to be suffered. What money goeth out of *Germany* yearly to the Pope, amounting to the Sum of three Millions of *Florentines*. The true meaning of this Verse he expoundeth: *Tu supplex ora: tu protege, tuq; labora*. Wherein the three Estates, with their Offices

and Duties are delivered: to wit, the Murther, the Magistrate, and the Subjects. Furthermore, in the said Book is proved and disapproved, that the Emperor is not under the Pope; but contrariwise, that the Donation of Constantine is not true, but forged: That Priests may have Wives: That the Voice of the People ought not to be separate from the Election of Ecclesiastical persons: That interceding and suspending of Matrimony at certain times is brought in of Avance: what is the right use of Excommunication: That there ought to be fewer Holydays: That Liberty ought not to be restrained in Meats: That wild Popery and begging ought to be abolished: What damage and inconvenience have grown by the Confession and Absolution: That there ought to be fewer Holydays: What is to be said and judged of the Pope's Decretals: That the first teaching of Children ought to begin with the Gospel. *Item*, he writeth in the same Book against excommunicative *Interdict* among the *Germans*: Also against their exerts in Spain, &c.

In this year moreover followed not long after the Coronation of the new Emperor *Carolus Quintus*, which was in the Month of *October*, at *Apollonia*.

After which *Carolus*, being acquainted about the Mouth of *November*, *Pope Leo* sent again to *Duke Frederick* two Cardinals his Legats, of whom the one was *Hieronymus Lader*, who after a few words of high Commendation first presented to the Duke touching his better Progeny, and other his famous Vertues, they made two Requests unto his Majesty's self, that he would cause all Books of *Luther* to be burned. Secondly, that he would either see the said *Luther* there to be executed, or else would make him live, and send him up to Rome unto the Pope's presence.

These two Requests seemed very strange unto the Duke, who, answering again to the Cardinals, said, That he being long absent from thence, about other publick Affairs, could not tell what there was done, neither did he communicate with the doings of *Luther*. Notwithstanding this he heard, that *Edwin* was a great Perturber not only of *Luther*, but of divers other learned and good men of his University. As for himself, he was always ready to do his duty: first, in sending *Luther* to *Cajetan* the Cardinal at the City of *Avignon*, and afterward, at the Pope's Commandment, would have sent him away out of his Dominion, had not *Melchior* the Pope's own Chamberlain given contrary Counsel to retain him fill in his own Country, fearing lest if in other Countries he might do more harm, where he was less known: and so now also was ready to do his duty, wherefore Right and Equity did him require. But for so much as in this Cause he feared much Hatred and Violence from the one part, and no easy way could be found on the other part, but that he had need the approbation of divers well learned and good Men of judgment: and forasmuch as also the cause of *Luther* was not yet heard before the Emperor, therefore he desired the said Legats to be a mean to the Pope's Holiness, that certain learned Persons of gravity and upright Judgment might be assigned to have the hearing and determination of this matter, and that his Honor might first be known, before he were made an Heretic, or his Books burned. Which being done, when he should see his Error by manifest and good Testimonies of Scripture reversed, *Luther* should find no favour at his Hands: otherwise he trusted that the Pope's Holiness would cause no such thing of him, which he might lose with Equity and Honour of his Place and Estate, reasonably perform, &c.

Then the Cardinals, declaring to the Duke again, that they could no otherwise do, but according to the Form of their Prefecture-commission, they did thus proceed, and the Books of *Luther*, and shortly after set him upon them, and openly burnt them. *Luther* hearing this, in like manner called all the multitude of Students and learned Men in *Wittenberg*, and then taking the Pope's Decrees, and the Bull lately sent down against him, openly and solemnly, accompanied with a great number of people following him, set them likewise on fire, and burnt them, which was the tenth of *December*.

A little before these things thus passed between the *Kaiser* *S.* *Pope* and *Martin Luther*, the Emperor *Leo* commanded and ordained a Sitting or Assembly of the States of all the Empire to be holden at the City of *Worms*, against the sixth day of *January* next ensuing. In the which Assembly, through the means of *Duke Frederick*, the Emperor gave forth, That he would have the Cause of *Luther* there brought before him, and so it was. For at what time the Assembly was commenced in the City of *Worms*, the day and month afore said, which was the sixth of *January*: Afterward upon the fourth day of *March* following, the Emperor, through the Infatigation of *Duke Frederick*, directed his Letters unto *Luther*'s signifying, that for so much as he had set forth certain Books, and therefore, by the advice of his Peers and Princes about him, had ordained to have the Cause brought before him on his own hearing, and therefore he granted him Licence to come, and return home again. And that he might safely and quietly do so, and be thereof assured, he promised unto him by publick Faith and Credit, in the name of the whole Empire, his Paſſport and safe Conduct: as by the Instrument which he sent unto him, he might more fully be ascertained. Wherefore without all doubt or difficulty, and he will him efforts to make his repair unto him, and to there present the one and twentieth day after the receipt thereof: and because he should not misdoit any fraud or injury thereto, he assured unto him his Warranty and Promise.

Martin Luther being thus provided for his safe Conduct by the Emperor, after he had been first arrested at *Rome* about the first of *January*, by the Pope's command, shortly after *Luther* (freely) his Journey toward the Emperor at *Worms*. Where the said *Luther* appearing before the Emperor and all the States of *Germany*, how constantly he stuck to the truth, and defended himself, and answered his Adversaries, and what Adversities he had, and followed in full History, with the acts and doings which there happened, according as in our former Edition partly was before described.

The Acts and Doings of Martin Luther before the Emperor at the City of Worms.

IN the year of our Salvation 1521, about seventen days Anno sent for by the Emperor *Charles* the fifth of that name, &c. who, the first year of his Empire made an Assembly of Princes in the fore said City. And whereas *Martin Luther* had published three years before certain Popish Books to be dispured in the Town of *Wittenberg*, against the Tyranny of the Pope (which notwithstanding were then in pieces, condemned and burned by the Papists, and yet by no manifest Scripture, nor probable reason convinced) the matter began to grow to a tumult and uproar: and yet *Luther* maintained all this while openly his cause against the Clergy. Whereupon it seemed good to certain, that *Luther* should be called, assigning unto him a Herald of Arms, with a Letter of safe Conduct by the Emperor and Princes. Being sent for, he came, and was brought to the Knights of the Rhodis place, where he was lodged, well entertained, and visited of many Princes, Knights of the Order, Gentlemen, Priests, and the Commonalty, who frequented his Lodging, until night.

To conclude, he came, contrary to the expectation of many, as well Adversaries as others. For albeit he was sent for by the Emperor's Messenger, and had Letters of safe Conduct: yet for that a few days before his accés his Books were condemned by publick Proclamation, it was much doubted of by many, whether he would not come: and the rather, for that his Friends deliberated together in a Village high land, called *Oppenheim* (where *Luther* was first advertised of these occurrences) and many persuaded him not to adventure himself to a present danger, considering that how their Beginnings answered not the Faith of People made. Who when he had heard their whole persuasion and advice, he answered in this wise: As touching me, since I am contented to live for I am refused, and certainly determined to enter *Worms*, in the name of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, you shall I know there were so many Devils to resist me, as there are Titles to cover the *Hypocrites* in *Worms*.

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Luther's Answer to the Emperor's Demands.

The fourth day after his repair, a Gentleman named *Ulrich* of *Pappenheim*, Lieutenant-General of the Men at Arms of the Empire, was commanded by the Emperor before dinner to repair to *Luther*, and to join him at four of the Clock in the afternoon to appear before the Imperial Majesty, the Princes Electors, Dukes, and other Estates of the Empire, to understand the cause of his sending for: Whereunto he willingly agreed, as his duty was.

And after four a clock, *Ulrich* of *Pappenheim*, and *Casper Sturm* the Emperor's Herald (who conducted *Martin Luther* from *Wittenberg* to *Worms*) came to *Luther*, and accompanied him to the Palace of the Emperor, and left the People that thronged in should molest him, he was led by secret stairs to the place where he was appointed to have audience. Yet many, who perceived the pretence, violently pulled in, and were rebuffed, albeit in vain: many ascended the Galleries, because they desired to behold *Luther*.

Thus standing before the Emperor, the Electors, Dukes, Earls, and all the Estates of the Empire assembled there, he was first advertised by *Ulrich* of *Pappenheim* to keep silence, until such time as he was required to speak. Then *John Eckius* afore mentioned, who then was the Bishop of *Trier* general Officer, with a loud and intelligible voice, said in Latin, then in Dutch, according to the Emperor's Commandment, said and proposed this sentence in manner as ensueth, or like in effect:

Martin Luther, the famous and famous Imperial Majesty hath required of all the Estates of the Holy Roman Empire, that thou shouldst be appeared before the Throne of his Majesty, to the end I might demand of thee these two Points.

First, Whether thou canst shew Books here (for he shewed a heap of *Luther's* Books written in the Latin and Dutch tongues) and which are in all places dispersed, entitled with this name, be thine, and thou dost affirm them to be thine, or not?

Secondly, Whether thou wilt recant and revoke them, and all this is contained in them, or rather meanest to stand to that thou hast written?

Then, before *Luther* prepared to answer, *Mr. Jerome Scawfis*, a Lawyer of *Wittenberg*, required that the Titles of the Books should be read. Forthwith the fore said *Eckius* named certain of the Books, and those principally which were imprinted at *Basil*: among the which he nominated his Commentaries upon the *Psalm*, his Book of *Good Works*, his Commentary upon the *Lord's Prayer*, and divers others which were not contentions.

After this, *Luther* answered thus in Latin and in Dutch.

Two things are proposed unto me by the Imperial Majesty: That first, Whether I will answer for mine all those Books that bear my name. Secondly, Whether I will maintain or revoke any thing that hitherto I have devised and published. Whereunto I will answer as briefly as I can.

In the first, I can do none other than recognize those Books to be mine which lately were named, and certainly I will never affirm any clause thereof. In the second, to declare whether I will wholly defend, or call back any thing comprised in them: forthwith as there are questions of Faith, and the Salvation of the Soul, and of this concerneth the Word of God, which is the greatest and most excellent matter that can be in Heaven or Earth, and the which we ought duly evermore to reverence: this might be accounted in me a refusal of Judgment, and even a most dangerous attempt, if I should pronounce any thing before I were better advised: considering I might recite something less than the matter importeth, and more than the truth requirereth, if I did not state that which I would speak. The which two things well considered, doth before mine eyes this sentence of our Lord *Jesus Christ*: wherein it is said, Whosoever shall deny me before Men, I will deny him before my Father. I require then for this cause, and humbly beseech the Imperial Majesty to grant me liberty and leisure to deliberate: so that I may satisfy the Interrogation made unto me, and without prejudice of the Word of God, and peril of mine own Soul.

Whereupon the Princes began to deliberate. This doth *Kaiser* *S.* *Edwin* the Procurator pronounced what was their resolution, saying, Albeit, *Mr. Luther*, thou hast sufficiently understood by the Emperor's Commandment, the cause of thy appearance here, and therefore do not defer to have any further reply given thee to determine: yet the Emperor's Majesty, of his mere clemency, granteth thee one day to meditate for thy answer, to that to morrow at this instant hour thou shalt repair to exhibit thine Opinion, not in writing, but to pronounce the same viva voce.

This done, *Luther* was led to his lodging by the Herald. But herein I must be obnoxious, that in the way going to the Emperor, and when he was in the Assembly of Princes, he was exhorted of other to be courageous, and manly to defend himself, and not to fear them that can kill the Body, but not the Soul: but rather to dread him that is able to feed both Body and Soul to everlasting Fire.

Furthermore, he was encouraged with this sentence: *Verum thou art before King, think not what thou shalt speak, for thou shalt be given to rest in that hour.*

The next day, after four a clock, the Herald came and brought *Luther* from his lodging, to the Emperor's Court, where he should sit at a clock, for that the Princes were occupied in grave Considerations: abating there, and being entreated with a great number of People, and almost finished for the people that was there. Thereafter, when the Princes were set, and *Luther* entered, *Eckius* the Official began to speak in this manner:

Yesterday at this hour the Emperor's Majesty assigned thee to be here, *Mr. Luther*, that thou shouldst appear before those Books that we named yesterday to be thine. Further, to the Interrogation by us made, whether thou wouldst approve all that is contained in them, or abolish and make void any part thereof, thou didst require time of deliberation, which was granted, and is now expressed: albeit thou oughtest not to have opportunity granted to deliberate, considering it was not unknown to thee wherefore we next day. And since thou art now here, thou shouldst have said, whether thou wilt to be faithful, every Man ought to be so prepared, that at all times, whenever he shall be required, he may give certain and constant reason thereof: and thou especially, being counted a Man of faith learnings and so long time exercised in Theology. Then go to, answer ever now to the Emperor's demand, whose bounty thou hast proved in giving thee leisure to deliberate. Will thou now maintain all thy Books which thou hast acknowledged, or revoke any part of them, and submit thy self?

The Official made this Interrogation in Latin and in Dutch. *Martin Luther* answered in Latin and in Dutch in this modestly and lowly, and yet not without flower of stomach, and Christian confidence: so as his Adversaries would gladly have had his courage more humbled and abated, but yet more earnestly desired his recantation, whereof they were in some good hope, when they heard him desire reprieve of time to make his answer.

His Answer was this.

Oh magnificent Emperor, and you most noble Princes, and my most gentle Lords, I appear before you here at the hour prescribed unto me yesterday, yielding the obedience which I owe: humbly beseeching, for God's sake, your clemency, that you will not be angry with me, and Honours, that ye will minister to me this courtesy, to attend this cause beginning, which is the cause (as I trust) of Justice and Verity. And by if ignorance I have not given you any good answer, I will now justify myself, or if I have not observed the ceremonies and comeliness of the Court, offending against them: it may please you to pardon me of your benignities, as one that only hath frequented Cloisters, and not the Courts of Princes. And first, as touching my self, I can affirm or promise no other thing but only this, that I have taught hitherto, in simplicity of mind, that which I have thought to tend to God's Glory, and the Salvation of Men's Souls.

Now as concerning the two Articles objected by your most excellent Majesty, Whether I would acknowledge those Books which were named, and be published in my name: before the Emperor, and whether I would maintain or revoke them: I have given a definite answer to the first, in the which I said,

Khen. 8. and shall persevere for evermore, that these Books be mine, and published by me in my name: unless it hath been hap-
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 pened, by some fraudulent meddling of mine Enemies, there be any thing falsified therein, or corruptly corrected. For I will acknowledge nothing, but that I have written and that which I have written I will not deny.

Now to answer to the second Article I beseech your most excellent Majesty, and your Grace, to vouchsafe to give exte. All my Books are not of one sort, there be some in which I have simply and foundly declared and opened the Religion of Christian Faith, and of good Works, that my very Enemies are compelled to confess them to be profitable and worthy to be read of all Christians. And truly the Pope's Bull (how cruel and tyrannous forever be) judgeth certain of my Books incapable: albeit the Gospel, with severe sentences, thunders against me, and with monstrous cruelty condemneth my Books: which Books if I should revoke, I might worthily be thought to neglect and transgress the office of a true Christian, and that be alone that reprobeth the public condemnation of all people. There is another sort of my Books which containeth Invektives against the Papacy, and others of the Pope's Retraunce, which have with their petulant Doctrines, and pernicious Examples, corrupted the whole face of our Christianity. Neither can any deny or dissemble this (whereunto universal experience and common consent of all men beareth) that the Conciences of all faithful Men be most miserably intruded, vexed, and cruelly tormented by the Pope's Laws and Doctrines of Men. Alas, that the Goods and Substance of Christian People are devoured, especially in this noble and famous County of Germany, and yet without order, and in most detestable manner are suffered to be consumed by the Pope's tyranny, by inordinate tyranny: notwithstanding that their themselves have ordained to the contrary in their own proper Laws, as in the *Dithm. 5. c. 25. Sect. 1. c. 2.* where they themselves have said: That all laws of the Pope, which are repugnant to the Doctrine of the Gospel, and the Opinions of the Ancient Fathers, are to be judged erroneous, and reprobated.

If then I should revoke these, I can do no other, but add more force to their tyranny, and open not only Windows but wide Gates to their Impiety, which is like to extend more wide, and more licentiously than ever it hath heretofore. And by the testimony of this retractation, their insolent Kingdom shall be made more licentious, and less subject to punishment, intolerable to the common people, and also more confirmed and established, especially if it be so bestraited, that I *Luther* have done this by the Authority of your most excellent Majesty, and the sacred Roman Empire. O Lord, what a cover or shadow shall I be then to cloak their naughtiness and tyranny!

The text, or third sort of my Books, are such as I have written against certain and private singular persons, to wit, against such as with tooth and nail labour to maintain the Romish Tyranny, and to deface the true Doctrine and Religion which I have taught and professed. As touching these, I plainly confess, I have been more vehement than in Religion and Proliferation required. For I make my oath to Christ, and I dispute not of my Life, but of the Doctrine of Christ.

And these I cannot without prejudice call back. For by this Retraction it will come to pass, that tyranny and impiety shall reign, supported by my means, and so shall they exercise cruelty against God's people, more violently and rashly than before.

Nevertheless, for that I am a man, and not God, I can none otherwise entreat to defend my Books, than did my very Lord Jesus Christ defend his Doctrine. Who being accused of his Learning before Anna, said, *My I have spoken evil, bear witness of the Evil.*

If the Lord (who was perfect and could not err) referred not to have testimony given against his Doctrine, yet of a most vile servant: how much the more than I, that am but vile corruption, and can of my life do nothing, but err, ought carefully to fee and require if any will bear witness against my Doctrine.

Therefore I require, for God's Mercy, your most excellent Majesty, your Graces and right honourable Lordships, or whatsoever he be of high or low degree, here to lay in

his Testimony, to convict my Errors, and confute me by the Scriptures, either out of the Prophets, or the Apostles, and I will be most ready, if I be instructed, to revoke any manner of Error: yea, and will be the first that shall confute mine own Books and learn them.

I suppose hereby it may appear, that I have perpend and well weighed before the perils and dangers, the divisions and diffinitions which have risen throughout the whole World by reason of my Doctrine, whereof I was vehemently and sharply yesterday admonished. Concerning which divisions of Men's Minds what other Men do yield I know not, as touching my self, I conceive no greater dejection in any thing, than when I consider how greater diffinitions stirred up for the Word of God: For such is the course and proceeding of the Gospel: Jesus Christ said, *I came not to find Peace but a Sword: I came to sit Math. 10. a Man at variance with his Father.*

And further, we must think, that our God is marvelous and terrible in his Counsels: lest perhaps that which we endeavour with earnest study to achieve and bring to pass (if we begin first with condemning of his Word) the same redound again to an huge Sea of Evil: and left the new reign of this young and bounteous Prince Charles (in whom, next after God, we all conceive singular hope) be lamentable, unfortunate, and miserably begun.

I could exemplify this with authorities of the Scriptures more effectually, as by *Pharaoh*, the King of *Babylon*, and the Kings of *Israel*, then most obvious doings of his Son of his Glory, and procured their own ruin, which by false Counsels they attempted to pacify and establish their Governments and Realms, and not by God's Counsels: for it is he that interperch the wily in their Willings, and silvereth Mountains before their eyes. Wherefore it is good, and God's Work, to dread the Lord.

I speak not this, supposing that to be politic and prudent heads have used of my Doctrine and Admonition, but because I would not now to profit my Country, and my Duty or Service, that may tend to the advancement of the same. And thus I humbly commend me to your most excellent Majesty, and your honorable Lordships: beseeching you that I may not incur your displeasures, neither be contemned of you through the pursuit of my Adversaries. I have spoken.

These words pronounced, then *Edwin*, the Emperor's Prolocutor, with a stern countenance began, and said, That *Luther* had not answered to any purpose: neither believed it him to call in question things in time past, concluded and defined by General Councils: and therefore they required of him a plain and direct answer, whether he would revoke or no?

Then *Luther*: Considering (said he) your Sovereign Majesty, and your Honours, require a plain answer: this I say and profess as reluctantly as I may, without dissenting in word, for if I be not convinced by testimonies of the Scriptures, and by probable reasons (for I believe not the Pope, neither his General Councils, which have erred many times, and have been contrary to themselves) my Conscience is so bound and capped in these Scriptures and Word of God which I have alleged, that I will not, nor may I may not revoke any manner of thing: considering it is not godly or lawful to do any thing against Conscience. Hereupon I stand and reit: I have not what else to say. God have mercy upon me.

The Princes concluded together upon this answer given by *Luther*: And when they had diligently examined the same, the Prolocutor began to reit him thus:

*Martin* (said he) thou hast more immediately answered than befeldest thy Person, and also little to the purpose. Thou dost say, that thou art bound in Conscience, and that thou shalt make nothing to the Interrogation proposed: and therefore if thou hadst revoked those wherein the greatest part of thine Errors is contained, the Emperor's Majesty, and the reverence of others would have suffered the rest that be due to fulfill to no injury. But thou dost revive, and bringest to light again that that the General Council of *Constance* hath condemned, which was afterwards by the Nation of *Germany*, and now dost require to be convinced with Scriptures, wherein thou erreth greatly. For what availeth it to rene-

Diffinitions and divisions of Councils, which have been any day made in the history?

Many counsels with God's Word, in unbelief, in unbelief, in unbelief.

*Luther* proceeded to answer himself.

*Luther* also answered.

Confession: on signs of Emperor's Letters.

Great error in *McLuther*.

*McLuther* again replied.

The Princes had many times reit.

diffinition of things to long time past condemned by the Church and Councils, unless it should be necessary to give a reason to every Man of every thing that is concluded? Now whether it be so, that this should be permitted to every one that grudgingly the determination of the Church and Councils, and that be may once get this advantage, to be convinced by the Scriptures, we shall have nothing certain and established in Christendom.

And this is the cause wherefore the Emperor's Majesty requirerh of thee a simple answer, either negative or affirmative, whether thou mindest to defend all thy Works as Christian, or no?

Then *Luther*, turning to the Emperor and the Nobles, besought them not to force or compel him to yield against his Conscience, confirmed with the Holy Scriptures, without manifest Arguments alleged to the contrary by his Adversaries.

I have declared and rendered (said he) mine answer simply and directly, neither have I any more to say, unless mine Adversaries, with true and sufficient probations grounded upon the Scriptures, can reduce and reform my mind, and reveal mine errors which they lay to my charge. I am tied (as I said) by the Scriptures: neither may I, or can with a safe Conscience afford unto them.

For touching General Councils, with which authority only they profess me, I am able to prove, that they have both erred, and have defined many things contrary to themselves: and therefore the authority of them, be said, is so deficient, for the which he should have sought for other authority, that they are not to be trusted, and manifest in the Holy Scriptures, that neither of him is ought to be required, neither could be so do without injury.

Whereunto the Official again answered, denying that any Man could prove the Councils to have erred. But *Luther* alleged that he could, and promised to prove it, and now might approaching, the Lords rose and departed. And after *Luther* had taken his leave of the Emperor, divers Spaniards, French, and English, the good Man in the way going toward his lodging, hallowing and whooping after him a long while.

Upon the Friday following, when the Princes Electors, Dukes, and other Estates were assembled, the Emperor sent to the whole Body of the Council a certain Letter, containing in effect as follows.

#### The Emperor's Letter.

O *Præfector*, who truly were Christian Princes, were obedient to the Romish Church, which Martin *Luther* violently impugneth. And therefore in as much as he is determined to call back his Errors in any one point, we cannot, without great infamy and stain of honour, degenerate from the examples of our Elders, but will maintain the ancient Faith, and give aid to the See of Rome. In answer, we be resolved to peruse Martin *Luther* and his Adversaries, by Excommunication, and by other means that may be devised, to extinguish his Doctrine. Nevertheless we will not violate our Faith, which we have promised him, but mean to give order for his safe return to his place whence he came.

The Princes Electors, Dukes, and other Estates of the Empire, first and consulted about this sentence, on Friday the afternoon, and Saturday the whole day, so that *Luther* had yet no answer of the Emperor.

During this time, divers Princes, Earls, Barons, Knights of the Order, Gentlemen, Priests, Monks, with others of the Empire, all that were present, all at hours in the Emperor's Court, and could not be satisfied with the sight of him. Also there were Bills set forth, some against *Luther*, and some, as it seemed, with him. Nevertheless, on Sunday the afternoon, especially being so well conceived the matter, that this was falsely done by his Enemies, that thereby occasion might be offered to infringe the safe conduct given him. The which the Roman Ambassadors with all diligence endeavoured to bring to pass.

The Monday following, before supper, the Archbishop of *Trier* advertised *Luther*, that on Wednesday next he should appear before him, at supper, and deliverance of his person, and assigned him the place. On St. George's day, a certain Chaplain of the Archbishop of *Trier*, about supper-time,

came to *Luther*, by the commendment of the Bishop, signifying, that at that hour and place prescribed, he must the morrow after have access to his Master.

The morrow after St. George's day, *Luther* obeying the Archbishop's Commandment, entered his Palace, being accompanied thither with his said Chaplain, and one of the Emperor's Heralds, and such as came in his company out of *Saxony* to Worms, and other his chief Friends: whereas Dr. *Vener*, the Marquis of *Baden* Chaplain, began to declare and protest in the presence of the Archbishop of *Trier*, *Jacquin* Marquis of *Brandenburg*, *George Duke of Saxony*, the Bishops of *Ausburg* and *Brandenburg*, the Earl *George*, *John Duke of Strassburg*, *Adam and Paul*, Doctors, that *Luther* was not to be suffered with, or to disputation, but only that the Princes had procured licence of the Emperor's Majesty, through Christian charity, to have liberty granted unto them to exhort *Luther* benignly and brotherly.

He said further, That albeit the Councils had ordained divers things, yet they had not determined contrary matters. And albeit they had greatly erred, yet their Authority was not therefore abashed, or at the least not so forced, that it was lawful for every Man to impugn their Opinions: inferring moreover many things of *Zachary* and the *Ceremonies* of the Councils, and of Constitutions, and of the Councils of *Lateran*, affirming that the same were Ecclesiastical ordinations of Men, affirming that the same were ordained to repress Vices, according to the quality of times: and that the Church could not be destitute of human Constitutions. It is true (said he) that by the Fruits the Tree may be known: yet the same laws and Decrees of Men, many good Fruits have proceeded: and St. *Martin*, St. *Nicholas*, and many other Saints have been present at the Councils.

Moreover that *Luther's* Book would breed great tumults, and incredible troubles: and that he abused the common sort with his Book of Christian liberty, encouraging them to shake off their Yoke, and to confirm in them a disobedient spirit, that the World now was in the way of the Believers were all of one Heart and Soul, and therefore it was requisite and behoeful to have Laws. It was to be considered (said he) albeit he had written many good things, and (no doubt) of a good mind, so desiring *Agitation*, and other matters, yet how the Devil now by crafty means goeth about to bring to pass, that all his Works for ever should be condemned. For by these Books which he wrote last, Men (said he) would judge and esteem him, as the Tree is known, not by the Blossoms, but by the Fruit.

Here he added something of the noon Devil, and of the Spirit coming in the dark, and of the flying Arrow. All his Orations were overflowing, full of rhetorical places of irony, of utility of Laws, of the dangers of Conscience, and of the common and particular evils: repeating oft this sentence in the Poem, Middle and Epilogue of his Oration: that this admonition was given him of a singular good will, and great clemency, that he might be brought to his head and menacings, saying, That if he would abide in his pernicious intents, the Emperor would proceed further, and punish him for the Empire: perceiving him deliberately to proffer, and to advise others, and other things.

*Martin Luther* answered: Most noble Princes, and my most gracious Lords, I render most humble thanks for your benignities and singular good Wills, whence proceedeth this admonition: For I longed to be so far, as by so means I can deserve to be admonished of so mighty Estates.

Then he frankly pronounced, that he had not repented all Councils, but only the Council of *Constance*: and for this principal cause, for that the same had condemned the Word of God, which appeared in the condemnation of this Article proposed by *John Hus*: *The Church of Christ is the communion of the Predestinate*. It is also true (said he) that the Council of *Constance* abolished this Article, and consequently the Article of our Faith: I believe the Holy Church Universal: and said, that he was ready to spend his Life and Blood, so he were not compelled to revoke the manifest Word of God: for in defence thereof we ought rather to obey God than Men: And that in this he could not avoid the scandal or offence of Faith for there be two manner of Offences, to wit, of Charity, and of Faith. The slander of Charity consisteth in manners and in life: the offences of Faith

**K.Hen. 8.** and Doctrines conflict in the Word of God; and as touching this, Luther could escape it no manner of ways; for it lay not in his power to make Christ not to be a those of others. If Christ's Sheep were led with pure Pallure of the Gospel if the Faith of Christ were inwardly preached; and if there were good Ecclesiastical Magistrates who duly would exercise their office: we should not need faith (he) to charge the Church with Meas traditions. Further, he knew well we ought to do obey the Magistrates and higher Powers, how unjustly and preventively focus they lived: We ought also to be obedient to their Laws and Judgments: all which he had obeyed (said he) in all his Wives; a adding further, that he was ready to obey them in all Points; for that they infused him not to deny the Word of God.

These words finished, Luther was bid stand aside, and the Princes consulted what answer they might give him. This said Doctor *Yves* repeated his former matters, almost nothing Luther to submit his Writings to the Emperor, and to the Princes Judgment.

Luther answered humbly and modestly, that he could not permit himself to permit that Men should say he would thus the Judgment of the Emperor, Princes, and superior Powers of the Empire. So far was it off, that he would refuse to stand to their trial, that he was contented to suffer his Writings to be diffused, and judged of the Emperor, and the Holy Scripture: and that the Word of God made too much for him, and was manifest unto him, that he could not give place, unless they could confound his Doctrine by the Word of God. This Luther (said he) he learned of *St. Augustine*, who writeth, *That he gave this honour only to those Books which are called Canonical, that he believed the same only to be true. At touching other Doctors, altho in holiness and excellency of Learning they stood, yet he would not credit them further than they agreed with the Teachings of God's Word.* Further (said he) *St. Paul* giveth us a lesson, writing to the *Thimotheus*, *Prize all things, follow that is good. And to the Galathians, Kiss an other in holiness and in love. Heaven, if he preache any other D. Christ, let him be accursed, and therefore not to be believed.*

Finally, he meekly begged them not to urge his Conscience, captived in the hands of the Word of God and holy Scripture, to deny the same excellent Word. And thus he commended his cause and himself to them, and specially to the Emperor's Majesty, requiring their favour, that he might not be compelled to do any thing, in this matter against his Conscience: in all other causes he would submit himself with all kind of obedience and due subjection.

As Luther had thus ended his tale, *Jacobinus* Elector, Marquis of *Brandenburg*, demanding of his meaning was this, that he would not yield, unless he were convinced by the Scripture? Ye truly, right noble Lord (quoth *Charles*) or else by ancient and evident reasons. And to the Assembly he, and the Princes replied to the Emperor's Court.

After their departure the Archbishop of *Trier*, accompanied with a few of his Familiaris, namely *John Eckius* his Official, and *Cochlin*, commanded Luther to repair into his Parlour. With Luther was *Hieronymus Sessnius*, and *Nicolaus Ameloff*, for his assistants. Then the Official began to frame an Argument, like a Sophist and Canonist, defending the Pope's cause: that for the most part at all times Holy Scripture have engaged Errors, as the Error of *Hilarius* the Heretic, out of all place in the Gospel, where it is expressed: *Joseph* knew how to kill *Christ* till he was delivered of his first Child. Further, he went about to overthrow this Proposition, that the Catholic Church is the Communion of Saints.

*Martin Luther* and *Hieron Sessnius*, reproved (but modestly) these Follies, and other vain and ridiculous matters, which *Eckius* brought forth things not relevant to the purpose. Some time *Cochlin* would contend with his free Ragg, and take care to persuade Luther to desert from his purpose, and lately to restrain themselves to write or teach, and so they departed.

Almost every the Archbishop of *Trier* advertised Luther by *Ameloff*, that the Emperor's Promise made unto him was broken two days, and in the mean time he would confer with him the next day, for that that cue he would find *Paragons* and the Doctor of *Bade*, which was *Yves*, the morning after to him, and he himself would also talk with him.

The Friday after, which was *St. Mark's* day, *Fransinger*, and the Doctor of *Bade*, travelled in the forenoon to persuade Luther, simply and absolutely to submit the judgment of his Writings to the Emperor and Empire. He answered, he would do so, and submit any thing they would have him, if they grounded upon authority of holy Scripture: either wife he would not consent to do any thing; for God said by his Prophet, (saith he) *Truth ye are in Prison, nor in the Children of Men, in whom there is no truth.* Also, *Caroli* said he that *truth* in *Man*, and answering that they did urge him more vehemently, he said: We ought to yield no more to the judgment of Men than the Word of God doth suffer. So they departed, and prayed him to advise for better answers; and said, they would return after dinner.

And after dinner they returned, exhorting him as before, but in vain. They prayed him, that at the least he would submit his writing to the judgment of the next General Council. Luther agreed therewithal with this condition, that they themselves should present the Articles collected out of his Books to be submitted to the Council in such sort as notwithstanding the sentence awarded by the Council, should be authorized by the Scripture, and confirmed with the testimonies of the same.

They then leaving Luther, departed, and reported to the Archbishop of *Trier*, that he had promised to submit his Writings in certain Articles to the next Council, and that in the mean space he would keep himself with Luther never thought: who neither with admonitions, nor yet remedies, could be induced to deny or forfeit his Books to the judgments of Men (he had) to fortify his cause with clear and manifest authorities of the Scripture; which would prove by sacred Scripture, as apparent reasons to the contrary.

It chanced then by the special Grace of God, that the Protestant Archbishop of *Trier* sent for Luther, to dine and hear him. And when he perceived otherwise, then *Fransinger*, and the Doctor of *Bade* had told him, he said that he would go now, but that he had heard himself: *perce* for he did see even now going to the Emperor, to declare what the Doctors had reported.

Then the Archbishop entreated Luther, and conferred with him very gently, first removing such as were present, as well of the one side as of the other. In this Conference Luther concealed nothing from the Archbishop, affirming that it was dangerous to submit a matter of so great importance to them, who after they had called him under false colours, attempting him with new Commandments, had condemned his Opinion, and approved the Pope's Bulls.

Moreover the Archbishop, bidding a Friend of his draw him, required Luther to declare what Remedy might be ministered to help this. Luther answered: That there was no better Remedy than such as *Camillus* alleged in the fifth Chapter of the *Acts* of the *apostles*, as witnesseth *St. Luke*, saying: *If this counsel, or this work, proceed of Men, it shall come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot destroy it.* And so he desired that the Emperor should signify to write the same to the Pope, that he knew certainly if his enterprise proceeded not of God, it would be abolished within three, year within two years.

The Archbishop enquired of him what he would do, if Luther consents. The Archbishop enquired of him what he would do, if Luther consents. The Archbishop enquired of him what he would do, if Luther consents. The Archbishop enquired of him what he would do, if Luther consents.

Then the Archbishop, feeling Luther would be no wiser to give over the Word of God to the judgment of Men gently said Luther answered: who at that instant prayed the Archbishop to let him the Emperor's promise to grant him his precious leave to depart. He answered he would take order for him, and speedily advertise him of the Emperor's pleasure.

Within a small while after, *John Eckius* the Archbishops Official, in the presence of the Emperor's Secretary, who had been *Maximilian's* Chancellor, laid unto Luther in his lodging by the commandment of the Emperor: that since he had been admonished directly of the Imperial Majesty, the Electors, Princes, and Bishops of the Empire, and that notwithstanding he would not return to Germany and concord,

**K.Hen. 8.** concord, it remained that the Emperor, as Advocate of the Catholic Faith, should proceed further: and it was the Emperor's Ordinance, that he should within 21 days return boldly under false colours, and be safely guarded to the place whence he came: so that in the mean while he should have no Commotion among the people in his journey, either in conference, or by preaching.

Luther hearing this, answered very modestly, and churlishly: Even as hath pleased God, it is come to pass, the name of the Lord be blessed. He said further, he thanked most humbly the Emperor's Majesty and all the Princes and Electors of the Empire, for they had given to him benign and gracious audience, and granted him safe conduct to come and return. Finally he said, he desired none other of them, than a reformation according to the sacred Word of God, and conformity of holy Scripture, which effectually in his heart he desired: otherwise he was fittest to suffer all chances for the Imperial Majesty, as life and death, goods, fame, and reproach: rejoicing nothing to himself, but the only Word of God, which he would constantly confess to the latter end: humbly recommending him to the Emperor's Majesty, and to all the Princes and other Estates of the sacred Empire.

The morning after, which was April 26, after he had taken his leave of such as supported him, and other his benevolent Friends that otherwise visited him, and had broken his faith, at ten of the clock he departed from *Worms*, accompanied with such as repaired thither with him: having space of time limited unto him (as is said) for 21 days, and no more. The Emperor's Secretary *Casper Strumfoll* followed and overtook him at *Oppenheim*, being commended by the Emperor to conduct him safely home.

The usual Prayer of Martin Luther.

*O God in us that thou hast wrought, and perfect the Work, that thou hast begun in us, to thy Glory: So be it.*  
Ex. Luther. Philip. Melancthi. Ex. Slesiam. Ex. Parali. Ab. O. Virg. Ex. ex. Cap. P. ewer.

*Martin Luther* thus being dismissed of the Emperor, according to the promise of his safe conduct made (as you have heard) departed from *Worms* towards his Country, April 26, accompanied with the Emperor's Herald, and the rest of his company, having only one and twenty days to him granted for his return, and no more. In the which mean space of his return he writeth to the Emperor, and to other Nobles of the Empire, respecting himself to them the whole action and order of things there done, defining of them their lawful good will and favour, which as he hath always stood in need of, so now he most earnestly craveth, especially in this, that his cause, which is not his, but the cause of the whole Church Universal, may be heard with indifference and equity, and may be decided by the rule and authority of holy Scripture: signifying moreover, that whenever they shall please to lend for him, he shall be ready at their commandment, at any time or place, upon their promise of safety, to appear.

During the time of these doings, the Doctors and Schoolmen of *Paris* were not behind with their parts, but to show their cunning, condemned the Books of Luther, extracting out of them, especially out of his Book *De Captivitate Babylonica*, certain Articles as touching the Sacraments, Laws, and Decrees of the Church, equality of Works, Vows, Contrition, Absolution, Satisfaction, Purgatory, Fire, will, Privileges of the Holy Church, Councils, Punishment of Heretics, Philosophy, School-divinity, and other more. Unto whom *Philip Melancthi* made answer, and also *Luther* himself, albeit pleasantly and jestingly.

It was not long after this that *Charles* the new Emperor, to purchase favour with the Pope (because he was not yet confirmed in his Empire) provided and directed out a *Joannis Witt* of *Quincy* against Luther, and all them that take his part: commanding the said Luther, whosoever he might be gotten, to be apprehended, and his Books burned. By which Decree, proclaimed against Luther, the Emperor proceeded so furiously with the Pope's infatuation that the Pope, seeing to take part with the French King, joined himself wholly to the Emperor. In the mean

time *Duke Frederick*, to give some place for the time to the Emperor's Proclamation, conveyed Luther a little out of light secretly, by the help of certain Noblemen whom he well knew to be faithful and truly unto him in that behalf. There Luther being close out of company, wrote divers Epistles, and certain Books also unto his Friends: among which he dedicated one to his company of *Angustini*

Princes, entitled, *De abroganda Maist*: Which Princes the time being, encouraged by the Emperor's gift to lay down their private Maists. *Duke Frederick* leaving left that would breed some great riot or tumult, called the confute and judgment of the whole University of *Wittenberg* to be asked in the matter: which committed to certain clerics: as *John Jone*, *Philip Melancthi*, *Nic. Ameloffius*, *Joh. Dalsim*.

The minds of the whole University being searched, it was shewed to the Duke, that he should do well and godly, by the whole advice of the Learned there, to command the use of the Maist to be abrogate through his Dominion: and though it could not be done without tumult, yet that was no let why the course of true Doctrine should be stayed for the multitude, which commonly overstep the latter part. Neither ought such disturbance to be imputed to the Doctrine taught, but to the Adversaries, which willingly and wickedly kick against the Truth, whereas Christ giveth us forewarning by *St. Paul*, *For ye know ye know, therefore, we ought not to succumb from that, where we know is to be done, but constantly march go forward in defence of God's Truth; howsoever the World doth either rise or rage against it.* Thus shewed they their Judgment to *Duke Frederick*.

It impud moreover about the same year and time, that *Anna King* Hungary, pretending an occasion to impugn the *1521 Book De Captivitate Babylonica*, wrote against Luther. In which Book, 1. He reproved Luther's Opinion about the Pope's *Pardons*. 2. He defended the supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*. 3. He laboured to set his King's Name in the Sacraments of the Church.

This Book albeit it carried the King's Name in the Title, yet it was another that ministered the motion, another that framed the file. But whosoever had the labour of this Book, the King had the thank and also the reward: for consequently upon the same, the Bishop of *Rome* gave to the said King *Henry*, for the file against Luther, the title and office of *Defender of the Christian Faith*, and to his Successors for ever. Shortly after this, within the compass of the same year, *Pope Leo*, after he had warred against the Frenchmen, and had gotten from them, *thorow the Emperor*, all the Cities of *Harna*, *Placentia*, and *Milan*, he fitting at supper, and replying at three great Gifts that God had bestowed upon him: 1. That he being banished out of his Country was restored to *Florance* again with *Glory*. 2. That he had deserved to be called *Apolliticus*. 3. That he had driven the Frenchmen out of his Country, and had broken their words; he was fructus with sudden *Fever*, and died shortly after, being of the age of 47 years: whom some suspect that he died of poison: Successor to whom was *P. Adrian* the sixth, Schoolmaster sometime to *Charles* the Emperor, who lived not much above one year and a half in his Papacy. During whole of these three special effects were incident: A great Pestilence in *Rome*, wherein above 100000 were slain. It informed, This 1525, after the Council of *Wittenberg*, which the said *P. Adrian* had held against *Francis the French King*. This *P. Adrian* was a German born, brought up at *Louvain* as in his time he exceeded the common lot of Popes, for in moderation of life and manners he seemed not altogether to interpretate as former Popes have been. And yet like a right Pope, nothing degenerating from his See, he was a mortal enemy against Luther, and his Followers.

In his time, shortly after the Council of *Wittenberg*, was broken up, another Meeting or Assembly was appointed by the Emperor at *Nuremberg*, of the Princes, Nobles, and States of Germany, Anno 1527.

Unto this Assembly the said *Adrian* sent his Letters in manner of a Brief, with an instruction also unto his Legat *Christopher*, to inform him how to proceed, and what causes to allege against Luther, before the Princes there assembled. His Letter with the instruction, before they are fully hypocritically shadowed over with a fair show and colour

The Princes consulted a hour while time.

The Word of God, which he learned of St. Augustine.

St. Paul. Gal. 5.

Luther's answer to the Emperor's demand.

Luther's confession.

Luther's answer to the Emperor's demand.

Luther's answer to the Emperor's demand.

Luther's answer to the Emperor's demand.

The Doctors of the University of Paris.

Philip Melancthi.

Luther's answer to the Emperor's demand.

Luther's answer to the Emperor's demand.

Luther's answer to the Emperor's demand.

The Mark had some fault as with a white.

The King's name of the University of Wittenberg.

King Henry's name of the University of Wittenberg.

King Henry's name of the University of Wittenberg.

The school of the University of Wittenberg.

Philip Melancthi.

Philip Melancthi.

Philip Melancthi.

Philip Melancthi.





(a) This Edit of the Emperor above touched, was devised  
 (a) Now except they shall follow the execution of the same, they shall be noted in-constant, or may be thought to favour the same, seeing it is manifest, that they may easily exterminate him if they were disposed.

The fourth Cause is the Injury wrought by *Luther* to

The fifth Cause. The fifth Cause to remove them, is, that they should well advise and consider the end whereunto all these *Lutherian*


This Consequence is to be denied for the power of Magistrates is of God; and he that

The sixth Cause. The sixth cause to move and perswade them against *Lu-*  
*ther.* is this, for them to consider the Fruits which follow

by *John Seckington* a valiant man, and a great favourite of *Luther*, did war against the Archbishop of *Trier*, for withholding two certain persons from judgment, which should have appeared, and by his means did not. (f) As for slanderous words and bitter taunts, with what face can the Pope charge *Luther*, being himself so impudent and bitter, as in this his present Letter is manifest to be seen? wherein he sheweth himself in his own colours what he is.

17th century, and is, that the Princes should confer The figure  
 how *Luther* after the same way of inducing the People of *the*  
 Christ, as hath the venerated *Venerable Malmesbury* *the*  
 praedict in deceiving to many thousands of Souls, in *the*  
 permitting to them the liberty of those things which flesh *the*  
 desireth, and afterward in exempting them from such *the*  
 things as they most need to be bounden to, and to *the*  
 more temperately handle the matter, whereby they may de- *the*  
 ceive more effectually: For (saith *Luther*) give Lincence to *the*  
 have many Wives, and to divorce and marry after at their *the*  
 pleasure. This *Luther*, to draw unto him the favour of *the*  
 Number of Priests, which he thought should be right *the*  
 preacheth that Vows of perpetual Continency be unlawful, *the*  
 and much less to be obligatory: and therefore permiteth *the*  
 unto them that they may marry; forgetting by the way *the*  
 what the Apostle writeth of young Widows, saying, That *the*  
 they will marry again, as the Lord will, they marry *the*  
 having condempned: because they have made void their *the*  
 first Vow, 1 Tim. 5.

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May 59.

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Calisthus  
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propitiate  
more truly.

The Pope  
promiseth  
Reforma-  
tion of his  
own Court;  
but when be-  
ginneeth he?

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and little,  
that nothing  
stall is seen.  
Sudden mu-  
tations be  
not for the  
Popes pur-  
pose: but

the Lord  
promised to  
come sud-  
denly when  
he is not  
looked for.

many times by right Judgment constituted, be observed of all men as inviolable? Wherefore seeing *Luther* and fellows do condemn the Councils of holy Fathers, do break the holy Canons, do confound all things at their pleasure, and do disquiet the whole World; what remaineth, but that they are to be rejected and exploded, as enemies and perturbors of the publick peace?

Further, it is, you shall lay unto them, that we count ourselves, and deny not, but that God suffereth this affliction to be inflicted upon his Church for the sins of men, especially of Priests and Prelates of the Clergy. It is certain it is, *That the hand of the Lord is not shortened, that he cannot save; but our sins have divided between God and us, and therefore he hideth his face from us that he will not hear us.* The Scripture telleth, *That the sins of the Priests shall defile out from the sins of the Priests. And therefore (saith St. Chrysostom) Christ, going about to cure the sick City of Hierusalem, first entered into the Temple, to correct the sins of the Priests like a good Physician, which first beginneth to cure the Disease from the*

**(d)** And how can this be called an holy Ser, where so many abominable Impieties, and manifest Excesses, both in spiritual and carnal things, are so commonly seen and practised? Such Anarchy in the Prelates (that pride themselves in being holy) as the Pope, gives gratie in the name of God, to the grossest Corruption of all things, as you see before us here confests, and

**(e)** True it is, that the wickedness hath begun in the head, that is, at the Court, and thence it hath spread to the whole body, leaving none of the *Præfatus* Physicians, but *God hath first Laid into the* Kings heart, a desire to be cured by a meer Physician to cure his Life, as if he were to be cured by his own way.

shew thus there bene o  
 Wherefore need it is, th  
 all we give glory to God, and that we humble our Sou  
 to him, considering every one of us from whence he ha  
 fallen; and that every one do judge himself before he  
 judged of God in the Rod of his Fury. For the redre  
 whereof you shall insinuate unto them, and promise  
 your behalf, that in us shall be lacking no diligence of  
 better Reformation, first beginning with own Court; the  
 like as the contagion first from thence descended into a  
 the inferior parts: so Reformation and Amendment  
 shall that is amiss, from the same place again, shall take  
 beginning. Whereunto they shall find us so much th

more ready, for that we feel the whole World to deliver  
us from the same. Our selves (as you know) never long  
for Dignity, but rather contend, if we otherwise might  
be able to get rid of it. And yet, we are not so much  
as would utterly have refused the same, had not  
the Will of God, and the manner of our Election, and  
renewing of some Schism to follow after, urged us to take  
it. And yet we were the Burthen upon us, not for our  
own sake, but for the sake of the Church, and for the  
Reformation of the Catholic Church, and for relief  
of the Poor, and especially for the Advancement of Learning  
and the Honour of our Father, which things more, as appea-  
ring to us, than the charge of any other thing, did  
draw us to it. And also of Greeds, Corruptions, and Abuse  
of the State. But to these great things, we were not  
not frantically amended by us, men ought not  
to travel. The Sore is great, and fire grows, and is not  
to be cured, but by the fire together compounded, and  
therefore to the curing thereof we were bound to  
and little, first beginning to cure the greater and the  
dangerous, lest while we intend to amend it, we defile  
it. *It is said in the Scriptures, that the fire of the  
Lord will consume the wicked in a Common-wealth* (I

And whereas in your last Letters you write, that the  
Princes complain, how this See hath been and is prejudicial  
to their Ordinances and Agreements. Hereunto you  
shall thus answer: That such Excesses, which have been  
done before our time, ought not to be imputed to us, who  
always have misliked these Derogations; and therefore bin

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them to assure themselves, that though they had required no such matter, we of our own accord would have restrained the same: partly for that it is good, right and reason, that every one have that which is due unto him: and partly also that the said noble Nation of Germany shall have by us no hindrance, but furthermore rather, so much as in us shall lie.

And as touching the *Process* which they desired to have removed away a *Rota*, and to be referred down to the Parties, you have signifi'd unto them, that we will gratifie them herein as much as we possibly may. But because our Auditors are now presently absent from the City, by reason of the Plague, we cannot be informed as yet touching the quality of those *Process*. As soon as they shall return (which we hope will be shortly) we shall do in the Princes favour what reasonably we may.

Further: Whereas we understand, that there be many kind flourishing *Vices in Germany*, and many well known, which are not seen unto, but be rejected and unlooked to, while in the mean time, through the Apostolical Provisions, Dignities, and Promotions are bestowed upon Tapsters, and Dancers, and unfit persons; And whereas therefore that you inquire out what those learned men have said, who have been of late years, that when any such Vocation of Benefices in *Germany* doth fall, we of our own rovelousness, and uncharitable divide for them accordingly. For why? we consider how much it is against Gods Glory, and against the health and edification of Souls, that Benefices and Dignities of the Church have so long time been bestowed upon unworthy and unable persons.

As touching the Subsidy for *Hungarians*, we lend no other Information to you, but that which we gave you at your departure; save only that we will you to extend your diligence therein, as we also will do the like, in soliciting the matter with the Princes and Cities of *Italy*, that every one may help after his Ability. Ex

*Oratio.* The Popish Suggesters and Intruders of the Pope himself against Luther, I thought, Christian Reade should be before these Eyes, to the intent thou mayst here (as in a Pattern, and go no further) all the Crimes, Objections, Exclamations, Suspensions, Accusations, Standards, Offensions, Contumacies, Rebukes, Uncharities, Cavillations, Railings, whilom used against Luther, as a blasphemous, irreverent, articulate, denounce, infame, or furrm'd against Luther and his teaching. They cry, Heretic, He- retic: but they prove no Heretic. They cry, Councils, Councils: but they prove no Councils more than they themselves. If Councils goe away, why should Luther goe with them: If Councils do give sometime from the Scripture, what Heretic is in Luther in standing with Scripture against those Councils? And yet neither Luther nor I spoken against any Councils, save only the Council of *Constance*, which was a Council of Cardinals and Princes against Luther, and yet they have no cause wherefore. They accuse him for teaching Liberty. If they mean the Liberty of the Flesh, they accuse him for teaching that men need not be bound by the Law, but only by the conscience: and yet they teach wickedly which teach contrary. And yet they have all said, none live so licentiously as these men. They pretend the Zeale of the Church, but undertake to Church, lieth their own private Welfare, and the Liberty of the Conscience. They pretend obedience, and none are so disobedient to Magistrates and Civil Laws, as they. They lay to his Charge Oppression and spoiling of Lay-men's Goods: And who prooveth the Lay-men's Livings to much as the Pope's? They pretend whoredome, and yet they are the best, what he saith out of every Christian Realm. Briefly, to name the Names of the Persons, and instead of *Luther's* Name, place the Name of the Pope, and the chief of this Letter above prefixed, shall agree to the charge of the Popish Prelates, and to the charge of his own Sectaries. Now to proceed further in the Process of this foreaid matter, let us see what the Priests again for their parts answer to these foreaid Sug gestions. I have divided this Answer into three parts, the Answer of *Nuremberg*, in the Council of Luther, the Answer of whom here followeth under-written.



of the Church received, he expounded the meaning thereof to be, not after the Doctrine of *Thomas Aquinas*, or *Socinus*, or such other late School-writers, but after the Doctrine of *Hilary*, *Cyprian*, and *Augustine*, and other ancient Doctors, and yet the Doctrine of the said *Augustine* no further to be received, but as it should agree with the Scripture.

Secondly, As concerning new Books not to be sold nor printed, he expounded the meaning thereof to extend no further, but that the Text of the Bible, and Books of the Holy Scripture might be printed notwithstanding, and published to all Men.

And as for the prohibition of Priests Marriage he wrote to the Princes, and desired them to treat with the weaknes of Men, declaring that branch of their Decree to be very hard; which tho it fited with the Pope's Law, yet it accorded not with the Gospel, neither conduced to good manners, nor to honesty of Life, &c.

An hundred  
of the  
Germans  
against  
the Pope.

Furthermore, Whereas in the late Session of *Nuremberg*, mention was made before of certain grievances collected to the number of an hundred, and exhibited to the Bishop of *Rome*, he wrote likewise to intend them all in yet to give some tale of a few I judge it not superfluous; to the intent that the World may see and judge, not only what abuses and corruptions, most monstrous and incredible, lay hid under the glorious title of the Holy Church of *Rome*; but also may understand, with what hypocrisy and impudence the Pope taketh upon him so grievously to complain upon *M. Luther* and other: when in all the universal Church of *Christ*, there is none so full to be blamed all manner of ways, as he himself, according as by their innumerable complaints of the German Princes, here following, against the Pope's intolerable oppressions and grievances, may rightly well appear. Which grievances being collected by the Princes of *Germany* at *Nuremberg*, to the number of an hundred, I will mention all at large for forth to the fraudless Reader, whereby might appear the foolish flights and intolerable frauds of that pretended Church. But forasmuch as it were tedious to write all, I have thought good to exhibit some part thereof for example, as giving only a certain tale, whereby thou mayest more easily conceive, what to think and esteem of all the rest, which both to me would be tedious to write, and perhaps more grievous to thee to hear.

*Certain Grievances and Oppressions of Germany, against the Court of Rome, collected and exhibited by the Princes, at the Council of Nuremberg, to the number of an hundred, whereof certain Specialities here follow.*

Forth first  
of marriage  
in diverse  
degrees, not  
forbidden by  
Gods Law.

Amongst other burdens and grievances, this is not least to be regarded, that many things are prohibited by Mens constitutions and many things exacted, which are not prohibited or commanded by any precept of God: as the innumerable obstacles of Matrimony invented and brought in, whereby Men were forbid to marry in cases of Kindred, which stand upon diverse degrees: as upon affinity, public honesty, spiritual kindred, kindred by Law, and kindred in Blood, &c. And likewise forbidding the use of Mens, which God hath created for Mens necessity, and taught by the *Apostle* indifferently to be received with thanksgiving. By these, and many other humane constitutions, Men are yoked in bondage, until by money they obtain some dispensation of those Laws, at their hands which made them: Men are yoked that lawful for rich Men, which is clearly prohibited unto the poor. By their inns of Mens Laws and Constitutions, not only great sums of Money are gathered out of *Germany*, and carried over the Alps, but also great iniquity is sprung up among Christians: many offences and privy hatreds do rise, by reason that poor Men do fee themselves intruded with their friends, and their own cause, but for that they do not possess the Thorns of the Gospel: for so Christ doth often call Riches.

#### Times forbidden.

Times of  
Marriage  
and  
Divorce,  
and other  
rites,  
not  
forbidden  
by  
Gods Law.

The like practice also is to be seen in the times restrained from Marriage, by the Heads of the Church of *Rome*, from the *Septuagesima Sunday*, somewhat before *Lent*: when as notwithstanding both the Clergy and the Seculars in the mean time will live licentiously, and that

openly in the face of all the World. But this interdict proceeded to this effect: if a Man shall presume so to do upon his own liberty, without compounding. But otherwise if there be any hope of Money, then that which was before unlawful is now made lawful for every Man to do freely. And this is also another drawing Net, whereby great sums of Money are dragged out of the German Princes, whereupon also hangeth another grievance as great as this: that in suing out a Dispensation, the fate of the poor and of the rich is not indifferently weighed: For where the rich escape many times for little or nought, and goeth clear away, the poor Man shall be sure to pay for the throat.

#### A complaint for selling Remission of sins for Money.

But especially the burden and grievance of the Pope's Indulgences and Pardons be most importunate: whereas the Bishops of *Rome*, under pretence of building fairs, Church in *Rome*, or to war against the Turk, do make out their Indulgences with the Bulls: perfwading and promising to the simple people strange and wonderful benefits of remission a *pena* *et* *calpa*, that is, from their sin, the punishment due for the same, and that not in this life only, but also after this life, to them that be dead hanging in the fire of Purgatory. Through the hope and occasion whereof, the poor are almost extorted in *Rome*, while every evil disposed person promitteth to himself for a little Money, license and impunity to do what him listeth: whereupon followeth Fornication, Incest, Adultery, Perjury, Homicide, Robbing, and Spoiling, Rape, Usury, with a whole flood of all Mischiefes, &c.

#### A complaint against the Immunity of Clergy-men.

Item, Whosoever he be that hath received any Ecclesiastical Orders, great or small, thereby he doth contend to be freed from all punishment of the secular Magistrate, how great offence soever he do: neither doth he unadvisedly presume thereupon, but is maintained in that liberty to be by the principal Estates of the Clergy. For it hath often been seen, that whereas by the Canonical Laws, Priests are forbidden to marry, afterward they diligently labour and go about day and night to attempt and try the chastity of *Marions*, *Virgins*, and of the Wives, Daughters, and Sisters of the Lay-men; and through their continual instance and labour, partly with Gifts and Rewards, and flattering words, partly by their secret confessions (as they call them) as it hath been found by experience, they bring to pass that many *Virgins* and *Matrons*, which otherwise would be honest, have been overcome and moved to live in wickedness: and it happeneth oftentimes, that they do steal and keep away the Wives and Daughters from their Husbands and Fathers, threatening them with Fire and Sword, that do require them again. Thus through their raging, Lust, they heap and gather together innumerable Mischiefes and Offences. It is to be marvelled at, how licentiously, without punishment, they daily offend in Robberies, Murders, accusing of Innocents, Burning, Rape, Theft, and counterfeiting of false Coins, besides a thousand other kinds of mischiefes, contrary and against all Laws both of God and Man, not without great offence of others, trading only upon the freedom and liberty of sin, which they usurp unto themselves by the privilege of their Canons. Whereas they once perceive that it is lawful for them to do what they will without controulment, then they do not only contemn the Civil Magistrates, but also their Bishops and Superiors, whatsoever they either command or forbid them to do.

And moreover, to the intent they may be more maintained in their mischief and wickedness, contrary to all reason and equity it is partly forbidden the Archbishops and Bishops to condemn their Malefactors openly, except they be first degraded, which must be done with pompousness and parade: whereby it happeneth very seldom, that those ancient naughty Priests, do receive condign punishment. Besides that, the Bishops, who are the heads of the Clergy, that they dare not punish any person which hath taken Orders, by the Canonical Laws, be the punishment never so light or small, for reason whereof, the people be filled out, that through this unequal parity between the Laymen and the Clergy, great hatred, discord, and diffamation

R. Hen. 8.

is sprung and risen. It is also not a little to be feared, that if the Clergy, which are the cause of this grievance, and of other mischiefes (which daily they do proceed to perpetrate) have not like Laws, equal Judges, and like Punishment, their offensive Will will move and stir up more great Tumults and Sedition among the common People, not only against the Clergy themselves, but also against the Superiors and Magistrates, for that they leave to notorious Offences unpunished.

Wherefore Necessity and Justice doth require, that the said prelad Privileges of the Clergy should be abrogated and taken away, and their places be provided, ordained, and decreed, That the Clergy, of what order or degree soever they be, shall have like Laws, like Judgment and Punishment as the Laity have: so that they shall pretend no prerogative or freedom in like offence, more than the Laymen; but that every one of the Clergy offending, under the Judge where the offence is committed, shall be punished for his fact, according to the measure and quality of his offence, in like manner as other Malefactors are, with the punishment appointed by the common Laws of the Empire. Which thing (without doubt) will please the true Ministers of the Church, such as are honest and learned, and they will not think their Power and Authority thereby in any wise diminished. By this means it will be brought to pass, that such as are of the Clergy only by name, and otherwise naughty wicked Men, through the obedience due unto their Magistrates, shall be compelled to love more honestly, and all feildness and envy taken from them, and the Laity shall be put away; and finally, thereby the Laity shall be more moved and stirred to love and reverence such of the Clergy as are of a found life.

Prise thought  
to be difficult  
to the same  
punishment as  
the Lay-  
People.

#### Complaint of Excommunication abused.

Item, At *Rome* and in other places many Christians are excommunicated by the Archbishops, the Bishops, or by the Ecclesiastical Judges, for prophaneness, through the desire and covetousness of Money and Lucre. The Confessors of Men, which are weak in faith, thereby are burdened and brought unto desperation. And finally for Money and Lucre, a matter of no importance is made to tend to the destruction both of Body and Soul, contrary to the Law both of God and Man; forasmuch as no Man ought to be excommunicate but only for Heresy, or for some heinous fact perpetrate; nor to be counted as separate from the Christian Catholic Church, as the Scriptures do witness. Therefore the Princes, Nobles, States, and Laity of the Sacred Empire, desire and require the Pope's Holiness, that as a faithful Christian, and loving Father, he will remove the said Burden of Excommunication, used both in the See of *Rome*, and also in the Sees of all other Archbishops and Ecclesiastical Judges; and finally decree, that no Man shall hereafter be excommunicate, but only for a manifest and certain Crime of Heresy: For it is too wicked a thing, that faithful Christians, for every light Offence touching any temporal goods or gain, or for any other worldly matters, that they be cut off from Heresy, or for some heinous fact, should be excluded from Almighty God, and the Catholic Congregation.

#### The Church burdened with a number of Holy-days.

Moreover, the common People are not a little oppressed with the great number of Holy-days, for that there are now so many Holy-days, that the Husbandmen have scarcely time to gather the Fruits of the Earth, which they have brought forth with great labour and travel, being often in danger of Hall, Rain, and other Storms; which Fruits notwithstanding, if they were not letted with so many Holy-days, they would gather and bring home without any loss. Besides that, upon their Holy-days many terrible Offences are committed and done, rather than God honoured or worshipped. Which thing it is manifest, that it needs not witness. For that cause the Estates of the Sacred Empire desire, that the Holy-days among the Christian Commonwealth, that this great number of Holy-days should be diminished, which ought rather to be celebrated in quiet and verry, than with the external Worship, and be better kept with abstinence from Sin.

The number  
of Holy-  
days  
to be de-  
creased.

#### Suspending and halloving of Church-yards painful to the Pope, and chargeable to the People.

Furthermore, if it happen that two or more do fight without any weapon in a Church-yard, only with their fists, or by the hair, that there be never so little blood shed, yet by and by the Clergy have recourse to Interdiction, and do not suffer any more Christian Burials there to be done, before that all the Citizens with great pomp and expenses do cause it to be consecrated and halloved again, with no less charge than when at the first, of a prophane place, it was halloved for Burial: all which things do redound to the charges and costs of the Laity. And tho the Churches or Chapels be never so little which are so halloved, yet the Suffragans do burden and oppress the simple poor Household-ers, be they never so bare and needy, upon superfluous expenses, and require moreover gifts of the People, which is not for their sake to give.

Also the Suffragans have invented, that no other but only themselves may baptize Bulls for the Lay-people: Whereby the simple People, upon the affirmation of the Suffragans, do believe, that such Bulls baptized will drive away evil Spirits and Tempests. Whereupon a great number of Children are appointed, especially such as are rich, at the time of baptizing, holding the Rope where-with the Bull is tied, the Suffragan speaking before them, as is accustomed in the baptizing of young Children, they say together words, and give the name to the Bull. The Bull having a new Garment put upon it, is accustomed to be done unto the Christians; after this they go unto sumptuous Banquets, whereunto also the Gollips are bidden, that thereby they might give the greater reward; and the Suffragans, with their Chaplains and other Ministers, are sumptuously fed. Yet doth not this suffice, but that the Suffragan also must have a reward, which they do call a *Mass* for the prelate: whereby it happeneth oftentimes, that even in small Villages a hundred Priests are consumed and spent in such Chivalries. Which is not only superfluous, but also contrary unto Christian Religion, a seducing of the simple People, and meer Extortion. Notwithstanding the Bishops, to enrich their Suffragans, do suffer these things, and others far worse. Wherefore such wicked and unlawful things ought to be abolished.

#### Complaint against Officials, and other Ecclesiastical Judges.

The Officials also of Archbishops for the most part are evil conditions, taking thought for nothing but only for Money. Also how compelly they live, and continue in notorious crimes and transgressions, it is daily seen. Whereby the Laity, when they ought to correct and punish for their Offences, and intrude in Christian Godliness, are not in any point by them amended, but rather by them encouraged and confirmed in their Offences. Besides this, the Laity are miserably robbed and spoiled of their Goods by these Officials, in whose Conscience there is no light and vile Officials, in whose Conscience there is no spark of Christian Pity and Godliness, but only a wicked Deceit and Covetousness. Which thing the Archbishops and Bishops, if they were indeed such as they are called, that is to say, the Fathers and Shepherds of *Christ*, without doubt they would no longer suffer or commit *Christ's* Flock to wicked and offensive Priests to be fed and nourished.

#### How the Ecclesiastical Judges do annex certain special Causes, being Lay matters, unto their own jurisdiction, and will by no means release the same.

Wherefore any Causes are pleaded in Judgment before an Ecclesiastical Judge, either for ravishing of *Virgins*, or for Children unlawfully born out of Wedlock, or for Servants Wages, or any other matters concerning *Widows*, the Ecclesiastical Judges being called upon by the Superiors of the Laity which do contend, they will neither debar that Judgment, nor by any means will be entreated to remit them to their ordinary Jurisdiction.

Exacting of  
Bulls of  
Indulgence  
from the  
People.

Bulls with  
Gollips  
that  
children  
may carry  
them by  
the hand.

Arch-  
bishops  
and  
Bishops.

Un-  
natural  
and  
un-  
christian  
laws  
which  
they  
have  
made.





thereafter then, as it leaveth now: For then the Doctrine of *Luther* in beginning to spring, and being but in the black, was not yet known whether it should, or no. For the eyes were not yet opened, but rather was fastened to trust to disobedience and sedition; and therefore the Pope hearing of the doings of *Caroloftadius* in *Wittenberg*, and of other like, took his ground thereby to charge the *Doctrines* of *Luther* with uprisings, and diffuse liberty of Life. And this was the cause why *Luther* compelled then by necessity of time to save his *Doctrine* from hands of sedition and tumult being laid to him by the Pope, (as ye have heard) was it would offend with *Caroloftadius* and others, for their violence used against *Luther*. For otherwise had it not been for the Pope's Accusations, there is no doubt but *Luther* would have been well contented with abolishing of Images, and other Monuments of Popery, as he was at the same time contented to write to the Friars Augustines for abrogating of private Masses. And therefore as *Luther* in this doing is to be excused, the circumstances considered; so the like excuse perhaps will not serve the overmuch curious limitation of certain *Luther* in this present Age now; which considering only the fact of *Luther*, do not mark the purpose of *Luther*, neither do expend the circumstances and time of his doings; being not equallable to the ridiculous Initiatives of King *Alexander* the Great, which thought it not sufficient to follow him in his virtues, but they would also contend him in his shouping, and all other gestures besides. But to be living now in the Church, in another age than *Luther* did, it may seem (after my mind) sufficient to follow the same way after *Luther*, or to walk with *Luther* to the Kingdom of *Christ*, tho' they jump not also in every footstep of his, and keep even the same pace and turnings in all points as he did.

And contrarywise, of the other sort, much less are they to be commended, which running as much on the contrary first, as *Luther* did, have been of one sort, as the mill, or for a little following of *Luther* in the Sacrament, and after that they give over the reading of *Luther*, and fall almost in utter contempt of his Books. Whereby is declared, not to much esteem the counsel of these our days, as the kindred that cometh thereby to the Church is greatly to be lamented. For albeit the Church of *Christ* (praised be the Lord) is not unprovided of sufficient plenty of worthy and learned Writers, able to instruct in matters of *Doctrines*; yet in the chief points of our consolation, where the glory of *Christ*, and the power of his passion, and strength of faith is to be opened to our Confidence; and where the Soul, wrestling for death and life, flandeth in need of serious consolation, the same may be said of *Martin Luther*, among all the other variety of Writers, that St. *Cyprian* was wont to say of *Tertullian*. *Da magnifimum*. Give me my *Martin*. And albeit that *Luther* showed was a little weary, and diffident from *Zuinglius* in this one matter of the Sacrament; yet in all other kinds of *Doctrines* they did accord, as appeared in the Synod holden at *Marpurg*, by Prince *Philip* Langrave of *Hesse*, which he held in the year of our Lord 1529, where both *Luther* and *Zuinglius* were present, and conferring together, agreed in these Articles:

1. On the *Unity* and *Trinity* of God. 2. In the *Incar-nation* of the *Word*. 3. In the *Pagans* and *Reformation* of *Christ*. 4. In the *Article* of *Original Sin*. 5. In the *Article* of *Faith* in *Christ* *Jesus*. 6. That this *Faith* cometh out of *Mercy*, but by the gift of God. 7. That the *Faith* is in *Righteousness*. 8. That the *extreme Word* of *Luther* which they agreed in the *Articles* of *Baptism*. 10. Of good Works. 11. Of Confession. 12. Of Magistrate. 13. Of *Mans* *Conscience*. 14. *Of Baptism* of Infants. 15. *Of Mass*, concerning the *Doctrine* of the Lord's Supper. This they did believe and hold, first, that both the *Kind* thereof are to be ministered to the People according to *Christ's* institution; and that the *Mass* is a *work* (on the which a *Man* may obtain grace both for his *Quick*, and his *Dead*). Item, that the *Sacrament* (which they call of the *Altar*) is a true Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord. Item, that the *spiritual* manifestation of his Body and Blood is necessary for every Christian *Man*. And furthermore, that the *Word* of the Sacrament tends to the same effect as doth the *Word*, given and ordained of Almighty God, that thereby living Conscience may be stirred to belief by the Holy-Ghost, &c. Ex *Paral. Abbat. Upp.*

In all these Summs of *Doctrines* above recited, *Luther* and

*Zuinglius* did content and agree; neither were their opinions so different in the matter of the Lord's Supper, but that in the principal points they agreed. For the question he asked of them both, What is the material substance of the Sacrament, which our outward Senses do behold and feel? they will both confesse Bread, and not the Accidents only of Bread. Further, if the question be asked, whether *Christ* be there present? they will both confesse his true presence to be there, only in the manner of presence they desire. Again, ask, Whether the material substance laid before our eyes in the Sacrament be worthily eaten? they will both deny it, and judge it *Melanchy*. And likewise for Transubstantiation, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, they both do abhor, and do deny the same: as also the Communion to be in both kinds administered, they do both assert and grant.

Only their difference is in this, concerning the fence and meaning of the words of *Christ*, *Hoc est corpus meum*. This is my Body, &c. which words *Luther* expoundeth to be taken literally and simply as the letter sheweth, without trope or figure; and therefore holdeth the Body and Blood of *Christ* truly to be in the Bread and Wine, and so also to be received with the mouth. *Widius Zuinglius*, with *Joannes Oronampadius*, and other more, do interpret these words otherwise; as to be taken not literally, but to have a spiritual meaning; and to be expounded by a trope or figure, for the effect of these words. This is my Body, is thus to be expounded: This signifieth my Body and Blood. *Ex Joan. Stid. lib. 5.* With *Luther* confessed the *Saxons*, with the other side of *Zuinglius* went the *Helvetians*. And as time did go, the division of these opinions increased in cities, and spread in further Realmes and Countries: the one part being called, of *Luther*, *Lutherans*; the other having the name of *Sacramentarians*, viz. *Notwithstanding*, in this one unity of opinion, both the *Lutherans* and *Sacramentarians* were agreed, that the Bread and Wine there present is not transubstantiated into the Body and Blood of *Christ*, (as is said) but is a true Sacrament of the Body and Blood.

But herest differences, touching this difference between the *Lutherans* and the *Zuinglians*. In which division, if it be a true Sacrament of the Body and Blood, it is a true Sacrament of the Body and Blood. But herest differences, touching this difference between the *Lutherans* and the *Zuinglians*. In which division, if it be a true Sacrament of the Body and Blood, it is a true Sacrament of the Body and Blood. But herest differences, touching this difference between the *Lutherans* and the *Zuinglians*. In which division, if it be a true Sacrament of the Body and Blood, it is a true Sacrament of the Body and Blood.

They which write the Life of *Saints* use to describe excellently their body Life and godly Vertues, and also to set forth such Miracles as be wrought in them by God. Whereof there lacketh no plenty in *Martin Luther*, but rather time belongeth to us, and opportunity to tarry upon them, having faith like to other things. Otherwise what a miracle might this seem to be, for one *Man* and a poor Friar, creeping out of a little black Cloister, to be set up by the Pope, the Universal Bishop, and God's mighty Vicar in Earth to withstand all his Cardinals, yea, and to withstand the malice and hatred almost of the whole World being set against him; and to seek that against him they did believe and hold, first, that both the *Kind* thereof are to be ministered to the People according to *Christ's* institution; and that the *Mass* is a *work* (on the which a *Man* may obtain grace both for his *Quick*, and his *Dead*). Item, that the *Sacrament* (which they call of the *Altar*) is a true Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord. Item, that the *spiritual* manifestation of his Body and Blood is necessary for every Christian *Man*. And furthermore, that the *Word* of the Sacrament tends to the same effect as doth the *Word*, given and ordained of Almighty God, that thereby living Conscience may be stirred to belief by the Holy-Ghost, &c. Ex *Paral. Abbat. Upp.*

In all these Summs of *Doctrines* above recited, *Luther* and

*Luther* and *Zuinglius* agree in the chief points of our consolation, where the glory of *Christ*, and the power of his passion, and strength of faith is to be opened to our Confidence; and where the Soul, wrestling for death and life, flandeth in need of serious consolation, the same may be said of *Martin Luther*, among all the other variety of Writers, that St. *Cyprian* was wont to say of *Tertullian*. *Da magnifimum*. Give me my *Martin*. And albeit that *Luther* showed was a little weary, and diffident from *Zuinglius* in this one matter of the Sacrament; yet in all other kinds of *Doctrines* they did accord, as appeared in the Synod holden at *Marpurg*, by Prince *Philip* Langrave of *Hesse*, which he held in the year of our Lord 1529, where both *Luther* and *Zuinglius* were present, and conferring together, agreed in these Articles:

A notable miracle of God, that one *Man* and a poor Friar, creeping out of a little black Cloister, to be set up by the Pope, the Universal Bishop, and God's mighty Vicar in Earth to withstand all his Cardinals, yea, and to withstand the malice and hatred almost of the whole World being set against him; and to seek that against him they did believe and hold, first, that both the *Kind* thereof are to be ministered to the People according to *Christ's* institution; and that the *Mass* is a *work* (on the which a *Man* may obtain grace both for his *Quick*, and his *Dead*). Item, that the *Sacrament* (which they call of the *Altar*) is a true Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord. Item, that the *spiritual* manifestation of his Body and Blood is necessary for every Christian *Man*. And furthermore, that the *Word* of the Sacrament tends to the same effect as doth the *Word*, given and ordained of Almighty God, that thereby living Conscience may be stirred to belief by the Holy-Ghost, &c. Ex *Paral. Abbat. Upp.*

In all these Summs of *Doctrines* above recited, *Luther* and

times, so quietly in his own Country where he was born, and died in peace, in the which *Martin Luther* did stand against the Pope was a great Miracle; to prevail against the Pope, a greater: so to die untouched, may seem greater of all, especially having to my Enemies as he had. Again, neither is it any thing less miraculous, to confute what manifold dangers he escaped himself; as when a certain Jew was appointed to come to deliver him by poison, yet was it to the will of God, that *Luther* had warning thereof before, and the fact of the Jew fell to him by chance, whereas he knew him, and avoided the Peril.

Another time, as he was fitting in a certain place upon his stool, a great Stone there was in the Vault over his head where he did sit; which being falled miraculously fell upon him as he was fitting, as soon as he was up, immediately fell upon the place where he fate, able to have cutt off him all in pieces, if it had light upon him.

And what should I speak of his Prayers, which were so delicate unto *Christ*, was (as *Melanchy* writes) that which flood under his Window where he flood praying, might fix his tears falling and dropping down. Again, with such power he prayed, that he (as himself confesse) had obtained of the Lord, that so long as he lived, the Pope should not prevail in his Country; after his death (said he) let them pray who could.

As touching the marvellous works of the Lord, I would have been glad if he in use which is cordily reported by the Learned, what miracle can be more miraculous, than that which is declared of a young *Man* about *Wittenberg*, who being kept bare and needy by his Father, was tempted by a way of Sorcery to bargain with the Devil, or a Familiar (as they call him) to yield himself body and soul into the Devil's power, upon condition to have him with furnished with Money. So that upon the same an Obligation was made by the young *Man*, written with his own blood, and given to the Devil: this call you (as we have homely said) was, and how damnable; now hear what followed. Upon the sudden wealth and alteration of this young *Man*, the matter first being told, began afterward more and more to be suspected, and at length, after long and great adoration, was brought unto *Martin Luther* to be examined. The young *Man*, whether for shame or fear, long denied to confesse, and would be known of nothing; yet God to confute him, being stronger than the Devil, that he uttered unto *Luther* the whole substance of the stuff, as well touching the Money, as the Obligation. *Luther* understanding the matter, and pitying the lamentable fate of the *Man*, willed the whole Congregation to pray, and he himself ceased not with his prayers to labour; so that the Devil was compelled at last to throw in his Obligation at the window, and bid him take it again unto him. *Narratio*, if he be true, as certainly it is of him reported, I fee not the contrary, but that this may well seem comparable with the greatest miracle in *Christ's* Church that was since the Apostles time.

Furthermore, as he was mighty in his Prayers, so in his Sermons God gave him such a grace, that when he preached, they which heard him thought every one a his own Temptation feverally to be noted and touched. Whereas, his indignification was given him by his Friends, and he demanded how that could be; imit his own manifold temptations (said he) and experiences are the cause thereof. For this doth most unadvised (good Reader) that *Luther* from his tender years was much troubled and vexed with spiritual Conflicts, as *Melanchy* in describing his Life doth testify. Albeit *Hieron. Valerus*, Scholar and Disciple of the said *Martin Luther*, recordeth, that he oftentimes heard *Luther* his Master say, upon his knees, that he had been afflicted and vexed with all kinds of temptations, and vexed only one, which was with *Concordance*; with this Vice he never (said he) in all his life troubled, nor once tempted.

And heretofore concerning the Life of *Martin Luther*, who lived till the year of his age sixty three, continued writing and preaching about twenty nine years. As touching the order of his death, the words of *Melanchy* be these:

In the year of our Lord 1546, and the 71<sup>st</sup> of February, Dr. *Martin Luther* sicked a little before Supper of his accustomed Malady, to wit of the oppression of humors in the office or opening of the Stomach, whereof I remember I have seen him die divided in this place. This sickness took

him after Supper, with the which he vehemently contending, required succours to By-stander, and there he rested on for two hours, all which time his pain increased. And as *Dr. Jeger* was lying in his Chamber, *Luther* came in, and prayed him to rise, and to call up *Andreas* his Childrens schoolmaster, to make him in another Chamber. Into the which when he was newly thrust, *Albert Earl of Mansfeld*, (who then was with him, and others, the names of these Letters for haste were not expedit) at that instant came into his Chamber. Finally, seeing his fatal hour to approach, before nine o'clock in the morning, Feb. 18, he commended himself to God with this devout Prayer.

The Prayer of *Luther* at his death.

*M*y heavenly Father, eternal and ever-blessed God, thou hast manifested unto me thy dear Son, our Lord *Jesus* *Christ*. I have taught him, I have known him, I love him as my Father, my Father, and my Redeemer; in whom the World have perished, mangled, and with injury defiled. Draw my Soul to thee.

After this he said as enueth, thrice: I commend my Spirit unto thy hand, thou hast heard me, O God of Truth. God I love the World, that he gave me his Son, that all those that believe in him should have life everlasting. John 3.

Having repeated oftentimes his prayers, he was called to God, unto whom he faithfully and devoutly commended his Spirit; to enjoy, no doubt, the blessed Society of the *Father*, *Sons*, *Prophets*, and *Apostles* in the Kingdom of God the Father, the Father, the Holy-Ghost. Let us now love the memory of this *Man* and the Doctrine which he hath taught. Let us learn to be modest and meek; let us consider the wretched Calumnies and marvellous Chances, that shall follow this *Man* and his doctrine. I beseech thee, O Son of God, succour us for us, and reduplicate *Erasmus's* govern, confound, and defend thy Church. *Hee Melanchy.*

*Fredericus* Prince Elector died long before *Luther*, in the year of our Lord 1525, leaving no issue behind him, for that he had a single life, and was never married; wherefore after him succeeded *Johan Fredericus*, Duke of *Saxony*.

Mention was made a little before of the Ministers of *Strasbourg*, which because of their marriage were in trouble, and being by the Bishop to appear before him, and to be judged, without the presence of the City of *Strasbourg*; whereas there had been a contrary order before between the Bishop and the City, that the Bishop should execute no judgment upon any, but under form of the Magistrate of the said City of *Strasbourg*. Whereupon the Senate and the Citizens taking into their hands the cause of these married Ministers, in defence of their own Right and Liberties, wrote the Judgment there to be saved, and caused the Judgment there to be saved. By reason whereof the matter was brought at length before Cardinal *Compiens*, Legate, sent by Pope Clement to the Affinity of *Nuremberg*, Anno 1524.

The chief order in this matter was one *Theobald Murner*, a Franciscan Friar who had composed a pious complaint against the Senate and City of *Strasbourg*, before the first Cardinal *Compiens*. Wherefore the Senate, to stir up Cardinal *Compiens* for their Embassies, thus clearing their cause, and answering to their accusations: That they neither had been nor would be any Let to the Bishop, but had signified to him before by their Letters, that whatsoever he could lay against the married Priests, conform to the Law of God, they would be to him, but rather a furtherance unto him in his proceeding in his actions. But the Senate herein was not a little grieved, that the Bishop, contrary to the Order and Commandment of the Law, should thus clear them, and call the Ministers out of the Liberties of the City; for so it was between them agreed, that no Ecclesiastical Person should be adjudged but under form of Judge of their own City. But now contrary to their said agreement, the Bishops called the married Priests, conform to the Law of God, claiming the Right and Privilege of the City, were condemned, their cause being neither heard nor known; And now the Senate should have themselves any thing more to do, than to defend the Liberties of the City, and to defend the Right of the City, the People, no doubt, would not take it well, but haply would rise up in some commotion against them in the quarrel and defence of their Franchises and Liberties.

And where it is objected, that they receive Priests and men of the Clergy into the Freedom and Protection of their City: to this they answered, That they did nothing herein, but that which was consequent to the ancient usage and manner of the City before; and moreover, that it was the Bishops own request and desire unto them to do so.

To this the Cardinal again, adding well the Letters of the Bishop, and the whole order of the matter which was sent unto him, declared, that he right well understood by the Letters sent, that the Ministers indeed (as the Ambassadors said) were called out from the freedom and Liberties of the City, and yet to order of Law was broken therein; forasmuch as the Bishop (said he) had there no less power and authority, than he was his own Vice-Delegate, and therefore he desired them, that they would assist the Bishop in punishing the foreaid Ministers, &c.

After much other talk and reasoning, on both Parties, wherein the Ambassadors argued in defence of their Freedom, that the Judgment should not be transferred out of the City: Among other Communications, they inferred moreover, and declared, how in the City of Strasbourg, were many, yet the most part of the Clergy, which lived viciously and unchastely with their Strumpets and Harlots, whom they kept in their Houses, to the great offence of the People, thence to Christ's Church, and penurious Example of others; and yet the Bishop would never once fail to see any punishment or correction therein. Wherefore if the Senate (said the Ambassadors) should permit the Bishop to extend his Curtesy and Extremity against these married Ministers, for not observing the Bishop of Rome's Law, and leave the other notorious Whoremongers, which break the Law of God, to escape unpunished, doubtless it would redound to their greater danger and peril, not only before God, but also among the Commons of their City, ready to rise upon them.

To this Campeius answered, What Compulsion or Bargain was betwixt the Bishop and them, he knew not, but surely the act of the one was manifest, and needed no great Tryal in Law of proving and confuting, and therefore they were acquitted and absolved from the Communion of the Church, *ipso facto*. As for the other sort of them, which keep Harlots and Concubines, also (said he) it is not well done, yet doth it not excite the enmity of their Marriage. Neither was he ignorant, but that it was the manner of the Bishops of Germany, for Money to wink at Priests Lems, and the same also was evil done indeed: And further, that the time should come when they shall be called to an account for the same: but yet nevertheless it is not sufficient that Priests therefore should have Wives. And if Comparison should be made (said he) much greater offence it were, a Priest to have a Wife, than to have and keep at home many Harlots. His Reason was this; for they that keep Harlots (said he) as it is thought that they do so, do they acknowledge their sin: the other perforce, for themselves that they do well, and to continue still without Repentance, or Confession of their Fault. All men (said he) cannot be chaste, as John the Baptist was; yet can it not be proved by any example, to be lawful for Priests, professing Chastity, to leave their single life, and to marry: no not the Greeks themselves, which in Rights be differing from us, do give this Liberty to their own Priests to marry: wherefore he prayed them to give their aid to the Bishop in this behalf.

Whereunto the Ambassadors replied again, saying, That if he would first punish the Whoremongers, he would come thither himself, for they punished accordingly. This Cardinal Campeius, how he was sent by Pope Clement the sixth to the second Assenby or Dyet of Nuremberg, anno 1527, and what there done by the said Cardinal, is before signified. After this Council of Nuremberg, immediately followed another Sitting at Ratisbon, where were present *Ferdinandus*, Campeius, the Cardinal of Salzburg, the two Dukes of Austria, the Bishops of Trent and Ratisbon, also the Legats of the Bishops, *Ramborgh*, *Spreit*, *Strasbourg*, *Ausburg*, *Constance*, *Basel*, &c.

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*Erffing*, *Paffame*, and *Brixiam*. By whom in the said Assenby it was concluded:

That forasmuch as the Emperor, at the request of Pope Leo, had condemned by his publick Edict for first at Worms, the Doctrine of Luther for erroneous and wicked; and also it was agreed upon in both the assenblyes of Nuremberg, that the said Edict should be obeyed of all men; they likewise, as the request of Cardinal Campeius, do well and command the forsaide Edict to be observed through out their Cities and Provinces: That the Gospel, and all other holy Scriptures, should be taught in Churches according to the Interpretation of the ancient Fathers: That all they which receive any old Heresies before against Christ, or teach any new thing contrarious, either against Christ, his blifful Mother, and holy Saints, or which may breed any occasion of Sedition, are to be punished according to the Tenor of the Edict above said: That none be admitted to preach without the Licence of his Ordinary: That they which be already admitted, shall be examined how, and what they preach: That the Law which Campeius is about to set forth for Reformation of manners, shall be observed: That in the Sacraments, in the Mass, and all other things, there shall be no Innovation, but all things to stand as in foris time they did: That all they which approach to the Lord's Supper without Confession and Absolution, or do eat of the Host forbidden, or which do run out of their Order as *married Priests*, *Deacons*, and *Sub-deacons*, that are *married*, shall be punished: That nothing shall be printed without the consent of the Magistrate: That no Book of Luther, or any Lutheran shall be printed or sold: That they of their Jurisdiction, which study in the University of Wittenberg, shall every one repair thither yearly three Months after the publishing thereof, or else turn to some place free from the infection of Luther, under pain of confiscating all their Goods, and taking their Inheritance: That no Benefice, nor other office of teaching, be given to any Student of that University. Item, That certain Inquiries be for the same, appointed to examine and examine the Student. Item, that it may be said, that this Faculty of Luther taketh his origin of the corrupt Life of Priests, the said Campeius, with other his Affiliates in the said Convocation of Ratisbon, chargeable and commandeth, that Priests live honestly, go to dress Apparel, play not the Mercenaries, haunt not the Taverns, be not covetous, nor take money for their Ministrations (such as keep Concubines to be removed, the number also of Holy-days to be diminished, &c.)

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The History of the Helvetians or Switzers, how they recovered their Liberty, and after were joined in League together.

The Helvetians, whom otherwise we call Switzers, are divided principally into thirteen Pages. The Names of them are *Tigurini*, *Benetati*, *Luceratens*, *Urienses*, *Unterwaldenses*, *Tugoliani*, *Glarantini*, *Basilienses*, *Solothurnenses*, *Friburgenses*, *Argovenses*, *Lucernenses*, *Basilienses*, and *Basilienses*. These thirteen Pages, when they were first united together, were not with such a full Band as the other, but conjoined, which were these: *Rheti*, *Lepontini*, *Seduni*, *Veragani*, *Saugavi*, *Multhusiani*, *Retiaenses*. Of these thirteen confederate Pages above recited, there were the first, to wit, *Urienses*, *Solothurnenses*, and *Seduni*, or (as some call them)

Klein 8.

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them) *Unterwaldens*, which joined themselves together. If credit should be given to old Narrations, their three Pages or Valleys\* first suffered great Servitude and Thralldom under cruel Rulers or Governors: in whom that the Governor of *Sylvania* (a) required of one of the Inhabitants a yoke of his Oxen, which when the Townsmen denied to give him, the Ruler kept his servant by force to take his Oxen from him. This when the Servant was about to do, cometh the poor man's son, and cutteth off one of his fingers, and upon the same wounds, the Governor hearing this, taketh the poor man and putteth out his eyes.

At another time in the said *Sylvania*, as the good man the House was absent abroad, the Governor which had then the sole of the Towns service, did command the Wife to prepare for him a Bath, and to let him have his pleasure of her. Whereunto the being unwilling deferred the Bath as long as the might, till the return of her Husband. To whom then the making her complaint, he moved his mind, that he, with his Axe or Hatchet which he had in his hand, flew upon the adulterous Ruler and slew him.

Another example of like violence is reported of the Ruler of *Suisa* and *Sylvania*, who, furnished with his Pike and Dismal against the poor Underlings, caused his Cap to be hanged upon a Pole, charging and commanding by his Servants, all that passed by to do obedience to the Cap. Which when one named *William Tell* refused to do, the Tyrant caused his Son to be tied, with an Apple set upon his Head, and the Father with a Cross-bow, or a like Instrument, to shoot at the Apple. After long relieving, when the would Father could no otherwise discharge his force constrained, but mult twice at the Apples as God would, he smit the Child, and smit the Mark. This Tell being thus compelled by the Tyrant to shoot at his Son's Head brought with him two younglings, that of the said Child with one of the other he should have let drive at the Tyrant. Which being understood, he was appalled and led to the Ruler's House: but by the way escaping out of the Bow between *Uri* and *Basel*, and passing through the Mountains with as much speed as he might by the way secretly as the Ruler should pass, where he discharged his Arrow at the Tyrant and slew him.

And thus were these cruel Governors utterly expelled out of these three Valleys or Pages abroad; and after that such order was taken by the Emperor *Horner* the seventh, and also by the Emperor *Lodovicus* Duke of *Bavaria*, that hereafter no Judge should be for ever them, but only of their own Company, and Town-dwellers. See *St. Maximilian*, *Colloq. lib. 3.*

It followed after this, in the year of our Lord, 1515, that great Contention and War fell between *Fredrick* Duke of *Austria*, and *Lodovicus* Duke of *Bavaria*, fighting and fighting the space of eight years together about the Empire. With *Lodovicus* bled the three Pages above said; who had driven Conflicts with *Lupulus*, Brother to the aforementioned *Fredrick* Duke of *Austria*, fighting in his Brother's quarrel. As *Lupulus* had led a mighty Army of twenty thousand Footmen and Horsemen, and was come to *Egges*, so to pass over the Mountains to subdue the Pages; he began to take advice of his Councils, by what way or passage best he might direct his Journey towards the *Switzers*. Whereupon they were busie in consulting, there arose a Fool by name *Kasus* de *Stroek*, which hearing their advice, thought also to shoot his Bolt withal, and told them, that they should did not like him: For all you (quoth he) be so confident how we should enter into yonder Country, but none of you give any counsel how to come out again after we be entered. And in conclusion, as the Fool said, they found it true. For when the *Switzers* were come into the Streights and Valleys between the Rocks and Mountains, the *Switzers* with their Neighbours of *Uri* and *Sylvania*, lying in privy wait, had them at such advantage, and with turning down Stones from the Rocks, and sudden coming upon their Backs in blind Lanes, did so innumerable them, that neither they had convenient standing to fight, nor room almost to fly away. By reason whereof a great part of *Lupulus* Army then, being included about the place called *Margarten*, left their lives, and many in the Fight were slain. *Lupulus* with them that remained, retired and escaped to *Turgovia*. This Battle was fought Anno

1315, the sixteenth day of November. After this, the Banners of these three Villages, being continually vexed by *Fredrick* Duke of *Austria*, for that they would not acknowledge him for Emperor, alienated themselves in the Town of *Uri*, Anno 1316, and there entered a mutual League and Bond of perpetual Society and Conjunction, joyning and swearing themselves, as in one Body of a Commonwealth, and publick Administration together. After that came to them *Luceratens*, then *Tigurini*, after them the *Tugurini*, next to them followed *Benetati*, the last almost of all were the *Basilienses*, then followed after the other seven Pages above recited.

And thus have ye the Names, the Freedom, and Confession of these *Switzers*, or Cantons, or Pages of *Helvetia*, with the Occasions and Circumstances thereof, briefly exprefied. Now to the purpose of our Story intended, which is to declare the faces of Christ's Gospel and true Religion received among the *Helvetians*: also touching the Life and Doctrine of *Zuinglius*, and order of his Death, as here ensueth.

The Act and Life of *Zuinglius*: and of receiving the Gospel in Switzreland.

IN the tradition of *Luther's* Story, mention was made before of *Ulrich* *Zuinglius*, who first abiding at *Glarona*, in a place called then our Lord's *Berning*, thence removed to *Zarick* about the year of our Lord 1519, and there began to teach, dwelling in the Manner among the Canons or Priests of that Cloister; using with them the same Rites and Ceremonies during the space of two or three years, where he continued reading and explaining the Scriptures unto the people with great travel, and with great praises unto the Lord. The year after he had renewed his Pardons again through all Countries (as is above declared) *Zuinglius* zealously withstood the same, deprecating the Abuses by the Scriptures, and of other things, beginning then in the Church, and do continued by the space of two years and more, till at length *Hugh* Bishop of *Constance* (to whose Jurisdiction *Zarick* then also did belong) hearing thereof, wrote his Letter to the Senate of the said City of *Zarick*, complaining grievously of *Zuinglius*: who also wrote another Letter to the College of *Canons*, where *Zuinglius* was at the same time dwelling, complaining likewise of such new Teachers which troubled the Church, and exhorted them earnestly to beware, and to take diligent heed to themselves. And forasmuch as both the Pope and the Emperor's Majesty had condemned all such new Doctrine by their Decrees and Edicts, he wished them therefore to admit no such new Innovations of Doctrine, without the common consent of them to whom the same did appertain. *Zuinglius* hearing thereof, referreth his cause to the judgment and hearing of the Senate, not refusing to render to them an account of his Faith. And for so much as the Bishop's Letter was read openly in the College, *Zuinglius* directed another Letter to the Bishop again, declaring that the said Letter proceeded not from the Bishop, and that he was not ignorant who were the Authors thereof: defining him not to follow their foolish Councils; for that Truth (said he) is a thing invincible, and cannot be refuted. After the same tenor certain other of the City likewise wrote unto the Bishop, desiring him that he would attempt nothing that should be prejudicial to the liberty and free course of the Gospel: requiring moreover, that he would forbear no longer the filthy and infamous life of Priests, but that he would permit them to have lawful Wives, &c. This was in the year of our Lord 1522.

Besides this, *Zuinglius* wrote also another Letter to the whole Nation of the *Helvetians*, admonishing them to no fault to hinder the passing of his *Reformation*, nor to suffer any molestation to Priests that were married. For as for the Vow and Coaction of their single life, it came (saith he) of the Devil and a devilish thing it is. And therefore whences the said *Helvetians* had such a Right and Custom to their Towns and Pages, that when they received any new Priest into their Churches, they used to present him before to take his Concubine, let he should attempt any mischief with his Wives and Daughters: he exhorted them that they would no less unto them to take to their Wives in honest Marriagety than to take to Concubines and Harlots, against the Precept of God:

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the misordered doings and corrupt examples of the See and Bishop of Rome from time to time, unto the coming of this *Luther*? wherein this appeareth to me, and may also appear to all godly disposed Men to be noted, not without great admiration, that seeing this aforesaid Romish Bishop hath had great Enemies and Gaieties continually from time to time, both speaking and working, preaching and writing against him, yet notwithstanding never any could prevail before the coming of this Man. The cause whereof, altho it be secretly known unto God, and unknown unto Men, yet so far as Men by conjecture may suppose, it may thus not unlikely be thought: That whereas other Men before him, speaking against the pomps, pride, whoredoms, and avarice of the Bishop of Rome, charged him only, or most especially, with examples and rancours of Life; *Luther* went further with him, charging him not with Life, but with his Learning; not with his Doings, but with his Doctrine's; not spilling at the Rites, but plucking up the Root's; not seeking the Man, but flaking his Seat; yea, and charging him with plain Heresies, as prejudicial and relating plainly against the Blood of Christ, contrary to the true sense and direct understanding of the firmiter Testament of God's holy Word. For whereas the Foundation of our Faith, grounded upon the holy Scripture, teacheth and leadeth us to be justified only by the worthiness of Christ, and the only price of his Blood; the Pope proceeding with a contrary Doctrine, teacheth us otherwise to seek our Salvation, not by Christ alone, but by the way of Mens meriting, and delciving by Works. Whereupon role divers sorts of Orders and religious Sects among Men, some professing one thing, and some another, and every Man seeking his own Righteousness, and few seeking the Righteousness of him which is set up of God to be our Righteousness, Redemption, and Justification.

*Martin Luther* therefore, using and relating things to the foundation and touchstone of the Scripture, opened the eyes of many, which before were drowned in darkness. Whereupon it cannot be exprest what joy, comfort, and consolation came to the hearts of Men, some lying in darkness and ignorance, some wallowing in sin, some being in despair, some macerating themselves by works, and some presuming upon their own Righteousness, to behold that glorious benefit of the great liberty and free justification set up in Christ Jesus. And briefly to speak, the more glorious the benefit of this Doctrine appeared to the World after long ignorance, the greater perfection fol-

lowed upon the same. And where the Elect of God took most occasion of comfort and of admiration, thereof the Adversaries took most matter of vexation and disturbance, as commonly we see the true Word of God to bring with it ease diffention and perturbation; and therefore truly it was said of Christ, *That he came not to find Peace on Earth, but the Sword.* And this was the cause why that, after the Doctrine and Preaching of *Luther*, so great troubles and persecutions followed in all quarters of the World; whereby arose great disputes among the Prelates, and many Laws and Decrees were made to overthrow the same, by cruel handling of many good and Christian Men. Thus while Authority, armed with Laws and Rigor, did strive against simple verity, lamentable it was to hear how many poor Men were troubled, and went to wrack, some torn from place to place, some exiled out of the Land for fear, some caulked to abysse, some driven to Caves in Woods, some wracked with torment, and some purged to death with Faggot and Fire. Of whom we have now (Christ willing) in this History following to intreat, first beginning with certain that suffered in Germany, and then to return to our own Stories, and Martyrs here in England.

#### Henry Voes and John Elch Friars Augustines.

IN the year of our Lord 1523, two young Men were burnt at *Brussels*: the one named *Henry Voes*, being of the age of 24 years; and the other *John Elch*, which before had been of the Order of the *Augustine Friars*. They were degraded the first day of July, and flogged of their Friars Weed, at the Suit of *Egmond*, the Pope's Inquisitor, and the Divines of *Louvain*; for that they would not retract and deny their Doctrine of the Gospel, which the Pope's call *Lutheranism*. Their Examiners were *H. destratus*, and others, who demanded of them, What they did believe? They said, The Books of the Old Testament and the New, wherein were contained the Articles of the Creed. Then were they asked, whether they believed the Decrees of the Councils, and of the Fathers? They said, Such as were agreeing to the Scripture they believed. After this they proceeded further, asking, Whether they thought it any deadly sin to transgress the Decrees of the Fathers, and of the Bishop of Rome? That (said they) is to be attributed only to the Precepts of God, to bind the Conscience of Man, or to loose it. Wherein when

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Remondus and others, Doctors of Louvain.

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The burning of Henry Voes and John Elch, Friars Augustines.



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they constantly perfited and would not turn, they were contemned and judged to be heretic. Then they began to give thanks to God their Heavenly Father, which had delivered them through his great goodnes, from that false and abominable Priesthood, and made them Priests of his holy Order, receiving them unto him as a Sacrifice of sweet Odour. There was a Bill written, which was delivered unto them to read openly before the People, to declare what Faith and Doctrine they held. The greatest Error they were charged with, was that they taught to trust only in God, forasmuch as Men are liars and deceitful in their Words and Deeds, and therefore there ought no trust or assurance to be put in them.

As they were led to the place of Execution, which was the first of July, they went joyfully and merrily, making continual proclamation that they died for the Glory of God, and the Doctrine of the Gospel, as true Christians, believing and following the Holy Church of the Son of God; saying also, that it was the day which they had long desired. After they were come to the place where they should be burned, and were disposed of their Garments, they tarried a great space in their Shirts, and joyfully embraced the Stake that they should be bound to, patiently and joyfully enduring whatsoever was done unto them, praising God with *Te Deum laudamus*, and singing Psalms, and reheating the Creed, in testimony of their Faith. A certain Doctor, beholding their pity and mirth, said unto *Henry* that he should have heed to foolishly to glorify himself. To whom he answered, God forbid that I should glory in any thing, but only in the Cross of my Lord Jesus Christ. Another counselled him to have God before his eyes; unto whom he answered, saying that I carry him truly in my heart. One of them seeing that fire was kindled at his feet, said, Methinks ye do throw Roses under my feet. Finally the smoke and the flame mounting up to their faces, chooled their eyes.

*Henry* being demanded amongst other things, whether *Luther* had seduced him or no: yea, said he, even as *Christ* seduced his Apostles. He said also, that it was contrary to God's Law, that they should be burned alive. He desired Power and Jurisdiction of the Magistrate ordained of God, for which as were ordained in Office by the Bishops, have no power, but only to preach the Word of God, and to feed their Flock therewithal. After their death, their Monastery was dissolved at *Antwerp*. The President thereof, by the Papists called *Jacobus Lutharianus*, after divers and sundry rewards and afflictions was forced to recant at *Brussels*; but afterward his mind being renewed by the Holy Ghost, embracing that again which before he had renounced, he fled unto *Luther*. See 6. *Tomus M. Lutheri*, fol. 397.

#### Henry Sturphen, Monk, sent to death in Dietmar.

THE next year after the burning of those two Christians, a Martyr at *Brussels* above mentioned, with like Tyranny also was martyred and burned without order of Judgment or just Consideration, about the City of *Wittenberg* in the borders of Germany, one *Henry Sturphen*, Monk, Anno 1524 of whom mention is partly touched in the Countermunes of *John Bladen* lib. 4. but his History is more amply detailed of *Luther*, of *Paulus Roter* in his *Calendar of Luthers*, *Rabon Crispinus*, and others. This *Sturphen* had been coming with *Martin Luther*, and afterward coming to *Antwerp*, was from thence excommunicated for the Gospel, and came to *Breme*, next to the head there to preach, but that he was minded to go to *Wittenberg*, being driven from *Antwerp*, as is above said. Who being at *Breme*, was there required by certain godly Citizens of *Breme* to make one or two brief Exhortations upon the Gospel. When he there they desired him again the second time, and were so in love with his Doctrine, that the whole Parish required him to tarry amongst them to preach the Gospel, which thing, for fear of danger, for a time he refused. When the religious Rote had understanding hereof, especially the Cardinals, Monks, and Priests, they went about with all endeavour to oppress him, and thrust both him out of the City, and also the Gospel of Christ; for that was their chief seeking; whereupon they went unto the Senate, de-

claring that such an Heretic might be banished the Town, which in his Doctrine preached against the Catholic Church. Upon the complaint of the Canons, the Senate sent for the Wardens and head Men of the Parish where *Henry* had preached, who being come together, the Senate declared unto them the Complaint of the Canons and all the other religious men. Whereunto the Citizens of *Breme*, taking their Preachers part, answered, that they knew none other, but that they had hired a learned and honest Man to preach unto them, which should teach them sincerely and truly the Word of God. Nevertheless if it should be so, that any other man could bring Testimonial or Witness, that the Preacher had taught any thing which either favored of Heresie, or were repugnant to the Word of God, they were ready to hear, with the Chapters-house to persecute him for God forbid that they should maintain an Heretic. But if contrawise the Canons of the Chapters-house, and the other religious men will not declare and shew that the Preacher, whom they had hired, had taught any Error or Heresie, but were let only of malice by violence to drive him away, they might not (said they) by any means suffer the same. Whereupon they desired the Senate, with all humble obedience, that they would not require it of them, but grant them Equity and Justice, saying, that they were minded to assist their Preacher always, and to plead his Cause.

This Answer the Senate commanded to be declared to the Chapters-house. When as the religious felt understood that they could prevail little or nothing with their words, burling out into a fury, they began to threaten, and threatened without thought unto the Chapters-house to certify him how bad was the Citizens of *Breme* were become Heretics, and that they would no longer obey their religious fact, with many other like things in their Complaint, so that it was to be feared, that the whole City shortly should be seduced.

When the Bishop heard all these things, straightway he sent two which were of his Council unto *Breme*, requiring that *Henry* should be sent unto him without delay, if they answered, because he preached against the holy Church. Being again demanded in what Points or Articles, he had nothing to say. One of the Counsellors was the Bishops Suffragan, a naughty pious hypocrite: that sought all means possible to carry away the said *Henry* captive. Finally they received this answer of the Senators, That forasmuch as the Preacher, being hired of the Churchwardens, had not hitherto been convicted for any Heresie, and that no man had declared any erroneous or heretical Article that he had taught, they said they could by no means obtain of the Citizens that he should be carried away; wherefore they earnestly desired the Bishop, that he would speedily send his learned men unto *Breme* to dispute with him, and if he were convicted, they promised without any delay that he should be justly punished and sent away; if not, they would in no wise let him depart. Whereunto the Suffragan answered with a great Prostration, requesting that he might be delivered into his hands for the quietness of the whole Country, taking God to his witness, that in this behalf he sought for nothing else, but only the commodity of his Country. But for all this they could prevail nothing. Whereupon the Senate continued still in their former mind. Whereupon the Suffragan being moved with anger, departed from *Breme*, and would not confirm their Children.

When he came unto the Bishop, he declared the answer of the Senate, and what he had heard and learned of the Priests and Monks there. Afterward, when daily news came, that the Preacher did still more and more preach, and teach more heinous matters against the Religious Rote, they attempted another way, publishing great Men to admonish the Citizens of *Breme* into what jeopardy their Commonwealth might fall by means of their Preacher, preaching contrary to the Decree of the Pope and Emperor. Besides that, they said, that he was the Priest of the Lady *Margaret*, for which cause they had gotten Letters of the Lady *Margaret*, requiring to have her Prisoner sent unto her again.

All these crafts and subtilties did enter at all prevail, for the Senate of *Breme* underwent all things unto admonishing the Bishop saw this his enterprise also frustrate, he attempted another way, whereby he had certain hope, provided that both he, and also the Word of God with him should abide, he wholly opposed. Whereupon they desired a Pro-

the Bishop and Priests complain against the City of Breme.

The Preacher could not appear before the Senate.

the Senate desired to find the Preacher to the Bishop.

The Senate of Breme require a Disputation of the whole City.

The Suffragan would not confirm their Children.

When the Preacher was sent by more than one way to admonish the Citizens of Breme.

Another



whole Treadon they had perfect knowledge of all things. With great violence they burnt into the souls of the Parish Priests, breaking and spoiling all things, as the manner of that drunken People is. If they found either Gold or Silver they took it away. When they had spoiled all things, they violently fell upon the Parish Priest, and with great noise cried out, kill the Priest, kill the Priest. Some of them took him by the Hair of the Head, and pulled him out into the dirt, forcing him to go with them as Prisoner. Other some cried out, saying, that the Parish Priest was not to be meddled with, for they had no Communion to take him. After they had fastened their Lust upon the Parish Priest, with great rage and fury they raised Henry, and drawing him naked out of his Bed, bound his hands hand behind him: when being bound, they drew to and so long, that Peter Hannan, which otherwise was unmerciful and a cruel Persecutor of the Word of God, would them that they should let him alone, for that without doubt he would follow of his own mind. Then they committed the guiding of him to John Bales, who rather drew him by violence, as he would have, when he was brought to Hemmingford, they asked of him how and for what intent he came to *Disincher*? unto whom he gently declared the whole cause of his coming; but they all in a rage cried out, Away with him, away with him; for if we hear him talk any longer, it is to be feared that he will make us also Heretics. Then he being marvelous weak and faint, required to be set on horse-back, for his Feet were all cut and hurt with the ice, because he was led all night barefoot. When they heard him say so, they thought he might give him a foot, saying, Mail we have an Horse for an Heretic, he shall go a foot, whether he will or no? Because it was night they carried him naked to *Hinda*. After they brought him to a certain man's House, named *Calder*, and bound him there with Chains in the Stocks. The Matter of the Office being the cruel deed, taking compassion upon Henry, would not suffer it to be done. Wherefore he was carried away to a Priests house, the Office-Severer of Landis, and that up to a Cupboard, and was kept by the rude People, which all the night mocked and scorned him. A-mongst all other three came unto him, *Simon* in *Disincher*, and *Christian*, Parish Priest of the new Church, both alike ignorant and wicked Persecutors of the Word of God, demanding of him why he had forsaken his holy Habit? unto whom he friendly answered by the Scriptures; but those ignorant Persons understood nothing what he said. Mr. *Gustavus* also came unto him, inquiring whether he had rather be sent to the Bishop of *Breme*, or receive his Punishment in *Disincher*? unto whom Henry answered, If I have preached any thing contrary to God's Word, or done any wicked Act, it is in their hands to punish me therefore. *Gustavus* answered, Hark, I pray you good Friends, hark, he desired to fly in *Disincher*. The common People all the night continued in immoderate drinking and wallowing.

In the Morning about eight of the clock, they gathered together in the Market-place to consult what they should do: Where the rudest People bellowing with drunk, cried out, Burn him, Burn him, to the Fire with the Heretic. Without doubt, if we do it, we shall this day obtain great Glory and Praise both of God and Man; for the longer he liveth, the more he will seduce with his Heretic. What need many words? Sure he was done for they had condemned this good Henry without any Judgment (his Cause not being heard) to be burned. At last they commanded the Crier to proclaim that every man that came at the taking of him, should be ready in Arms, to bring him forth to the Fire. Amongst all other the Friars Franciscans were present, encouraging the drunken rude People, saying, Now you go the right way to work. Then they bound the said Henry, Hands, Feet, and Neck, and with great noise brought him forth to the Fire. As he passed by, a certain Woman standing in her door, bellowing that pitiful sigh, wept abundantly. Unto whom Henry, turning, being himself, said, I pray you weep not for me. When he came to the Fire, for very weakness he fell down upon the ground. By and by there was present one of the Priests named *May*, which with money was used to be corrupted and bribed with money to this purpose, he desired that the said Henry to be burned, pronouncing the Sentence upon him.

Forasmuch as this Thief wickedly preached against the worship of our blessed Lady, by the Commandment and *Rites*. Sufferance of our Reverend Father in Christ, the Bishop of *Kath* *Breme*, and my Lord, I condemn him here to be burned and have judgment. Unto whom Henry answered, I have done no such thing; and, lifting up his Hands toward Heaven, he said, O Lord forgive them, for they offered ignorantly, not knowing what they do; thy Name, O Almighty God, is holy.

In the mean time a certain Woman, the Wife of one *Jungler*, Sister of Peter Hannan, offered her self to suffer a thousand stripes, and to give them much money, for that woman they would pacify themselves, and keep him in Prison, until that he might plead his matter before the whole Convocation of the Country. When they had heard these words, they waxed more mad and threw the Woman down under feet, and trod upon her, and beat the said Henry unmercifully. One of the rustic folk struck him behind on the head with a sharp Dagger. *John Holm* of the new Church struck him with a Mace. Other some thrust him in the Back, and in the Arms. And this was done once or twice, but as often as he began to speak. *Matter Gustavus* cried out, encouraging them, saying, Go to boldly good fellows, only God is with us present.

After this, he brought a Franciscan Friar unto Henry, where the Friar should be contented. When Henry demanded in that manner, Brother, when have I done you injury, either by word or deed, or when did I ever provoke you to anger? Never did I. What should I then confess unto you? The Friar being moved at these words, declared that he was as often as he was kindled, would not burn. Notwithstanding they fastened their minds upon him, striking and pricking him with all kind of Weapons. The old Friar, standing in the mean time in his Shirt before all this rude people, at last the Friar got a great Ladder, bound him hard therewith, and called him into the fire. And when he began to pray, and to repeat his Creed, one struck him upon the Face with his Fitt, saying, Thou shalt first be burnt, and then shalt thou pray and pray as much as thou wilt. Then another treading upon his Breast, bound his Neck to hard to a Mouth and Nose. This was done to strangle him withal, for they saw that for all his fore Wounds he would not die.

After he was bound to the Ladder, he was left upright. Then one running unto him, let his Halberd for the Ladder to lean against (for those Countrymen use no common Hangman, but every man exerciteth the Office with the difference) but the Ladder, flying away from the point of the Halberd, caused that the Halberd struck him through the Body. Then they call this good man Ladder and all upon the Wood, which tumbling down light upon the one side. Then *John Holm* ran unto him, and struck him with a Mace upon the Breast, till he was dead and flung him no more. Afterward they roasted him upon the Coals; for the Wood, as often as it was set on fire, would not burn out. And thus this goodly Preacher finished his Martyrdom, which was about 1524. *Mary* led.

About the same time many other goodly persons, and first as feared God, for the Testimony of the Gospel, were thrown into the River of *Rhene*, and into other Rivers, where their Bodies afterwards were found, and taken up. Also in the field Town *Disincher* another faithful Saint of God, named *John*, suffered the like Martyrdom. Thus three two blessed and constant Martyrs, of two shining Lights up of God, in Testimony of his Truth, offered up the Sacrifice of their Confession sealed with their Blood, in a sweet favour unto God.

At the Town of *Hals* likewise, another Preacher named *M. George*, for standing in both kinds, was martyred and flung like a fire of Condemnation by the Monks and Friars to murder him, near to the Town called *Halschom*. *See Crisp*, or *Faint*.

At *Praxels* in *Bavaria* another, for changing his Monastery into Matrimony, did suffer in the like manner. *See Lud*, *Rab*.

Furthermore, in the same year of our Lord above-mentioned 1524, and the two and twentieth of *October*, the Town of *Milshagen* in *Germany* was taken and sacked, and the divers of the Inhabitants were slain, and many imprisoned for

for maintaining and keeping with them *Caristogladus* to be their Preacher: *See Rab*, or *Faint*. In the same Catalogue of holy Martyrs likewise is to be placed *Gasper Tamber*. Also another called *Georgius*, a Saivener, which both were burned at *Vienne* in *Austria*.

The lamentable Martyrdom of John Clerk of Melden in France.

*Melden* is a City in France, ten miles distant from *Paris*, where John Clerk was just apprehended and taken, *Ann*, 1523, for setting up the Church-door a certain Bill against the Pope's Pardons lately set forth from *Rome*, in the same Catalogue of holy Martyrs likewise is to be placed *John Clerk*. For the which his Punishment was this, That three several days he should be whipped, and afterward have a Mark imprinted in his Forehead, as a note of Infamy. His Mother being a Christian Woman, altho her Husband was an Adversary, when she beheld her Son thus pitifully scourged, and ignominiously deformed in the Face, continually and boldly did encourage her Son, crying with a loud voice, Blessed be Christ, and welcome be these Prints and Marks.

After this Execution and Punishment finished, the said John departed that Town, and went to *Ros* in *Boys*, and from thence removed to *Mars* in *Leharig*, where he remained a certain focus, applying his Vocation, being a Wool-carder by his Occupation. Whereas he the day before that the People of that City should go out to the Suburbs to worship certain blind Idols near by (after an old use of the French) which they called *Idols*, being inflamed with the zeal of God, went out of the City to the place where the Images were, and brant them all down in pieces. The next morning after when the Canons, Priests, and Monks, keeping the City, had sought him, and then the people out of the City to the place of Idols, to worship as they were wont, they found all their Blooms and Stocks almighty broken upon the ground. At the sight whereof they being mightily offended in their minds, let the City on a Gog, to search out the Author thereof, who was not hard to be found: forasmuch as this forehead Clerk, besides that he was noted of them to be a man much addicted that way, he was also seen somewhat late in the Evening before to come from the same place into the City. Wherefore he being suspected and examined upon the same, at first confessed the Fact, rendering also the cause which moved him to do so. The People hearing this and being not yet acquainted with that kind of Doctrine, were moved marvellously against him, crying out upon him in a great rage. Thus his cause being informed to the Judges, wherein he defended the pure Doctrine of the Son of God, he was condemned and set to the place of Execution, where he fastened extreme Torments. For first his Hand was cut off from his right Arm, then his Nose with sharp Pinions was violently plucked from his Face: after that both his Arms and his Fingers were likewise plucked and drawn with the same terrible Pinions, so all that he was looking on, it was an horror to behold the grievous and doleful sight of his Pains: as unto to behold his patience, or rather the Grace of God giving him the life to suffer, it was a wonder. Thus quietly and constantly he endured in his Torments, pronouncing, or in a manner singing the Verses of the hundred and fiftieth Psalm: *Simulacra eorum fatus arguam*, *et aurum*, *Occi*, *Their Images are Silver and Gold, the work only of men's hands*, &c. The residue of his life that remained in of his rent Body, was committed to the fire, and there with consumed: which was about the year of our Lord, 1524. *See Faint*, or *Crisp*.

John Clerk.

The grave of John Clerk.

The grave of John Clerk.

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vants, by whom he was carried from *Gerze* to the Castle of *Nommes*, whereupon the Citizens of *Mars* took to little disposition and governance: who being grievously offended to have their Preacher to be executed and imprisoned, within short space after took certain of the Cardinals Soldiers, and kept them Prisoners for long, until the Abbot of *St. Ambrose* in *Vienne*, called *Theodore* did *Chamoun*, Vicar of the General, as well in *Cardinal* *Seignior* Temporal, through the Jurisdiction both of the Cardinal, and Bishoprick of *Mars*, *Tamfort* and *Verdun*, being furnished with an Officer and Commission from the See of *Rome*, came to the said Town of *Mars*, and did deliver Decretals made to the Pope, and to the other Jurists and Counsellors of the City, he so wrought and caused to pass, that immediately the said Subjects of the Cardinal were sent at liberty: but *John Castellane* was kept still Prisoner in the Castle of *Nommes*, and was most cruelly handled from the time of the fourth day of May, until the twelfth day of January: during all which he perfected continuance in the Doctrine of the Son of God. Whereupon he was carried from *Nommes* to the Town and Castle of *Vile*, always proceeding constantly in the profession of the false Doctrine: so that they proceeded unto the Sentence of his degradation, that he might be delivered over unto the secular Power, according to the custom and manner. And forthwith as the form and manner of the Sentence and Process of degrading is notable, being reported unto us by the same word, we have thought good here to unpeel the flame, to declare the horrible Blasphemies joined with gross and brutish filthiness, in those false Myseries which the Enemies of the Truth do use in their Process against the Children of God: whereby every man may see manifest, may evidently perceive the horrible Blindness that these uncharitable Catholics are blinded withal.

#### The Sentence of Degradation.

Concerning the Process inquiry, formed and given to the said *John Castellane* against the John Castellane, Priest, and Religious: *understanding likewise his Confession which he made of his own good Will, maintaining, self and avowed Doctrine; and marking also how he had the gaily administration, and charitable Exhortation which he made unto him in the Town of Metz, which then he took the Spirit of Alms, but refused and given no more: also confessing thine defense made and received unto Interrogatories by means of those Oaths, in which devilishly thou hadst hidden and kept back, not only the Truth, but also, following the example of Cain, hadst denied to confess thy first and mischievous offence: And finally, hearing the great number of Witnesses sworn and examined against thee, their Perjury and Depositions diligently considered, and all other things worthy of consideration being justly examined, the Reverend Master Nicolas Savin, Doctor of Divinity, and Jesuit, who had faithfully and legal solemnity, whereby it appears, that thou John Castellane hadst often and in diverse places openly and maliciously spread abroad, and taught many erroneous Propositions, full of the Heresy of Luther, contrary and against the faithful Faith, and the Verity of the Gospel, and the holy Apostolic See, and so severally looked back and turned thy face, that thou wast found to be a Lye before Almighty God. It is ordained by the sacred Rites of the Canon Law, that thou shalt through the sharp Darts of thy own Tongue do prevent the Scriptures, and go about with all their power to terrify and infect the Souls of the Faithful, should be punished and corrected with most sharp Condemnation, to the end that others should be the fraud to attempt the like, and apply themselves the better to the study of Christian Concord, through the example for before thee, as well of Severity, as of Clemency. For this Cause and other rising upon the said Process, by the Apostolic Authority, and by the Authority of our own Reverend Lord the Cardinal, which we do use in this our Sentence declare, which we sitting in our Judgment-hall declare in these Writings, God only before our eyes, and fairly*

Do not let the Cardinals be seen to be false.

The Cardinals are seen to be false.

The Cardinals are seen to be false.

The Cardinals are seen to be false.

The Cardinals are seen to be false.

The Cardinals are seen to be false.

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considering, that when *Misfari* we do most unto others, the same shall be misfari to us again: We pronounce and declare fraternally and definitively that John Castellane, being here present before us, and Judge then, because of thy Depravity, to be excommunicate with the most great Excommunication, and thereunto be culpable of *Treason against the Divine Majesty, and a mortal Enemy of the Catholic Faith, and Viceroy of the Gospel: also to be a manifest Heretic, and a Follower and Partaker of the execrable Cruelty of Martin Luther, a stirrer up of old Heresies already condemned; and therefore to show himself to be deprived and deprived of all Priestly Honour and Dignity, of all thy Order, of thy Shaving and religious Habit, of all thy Ecclesiastical Benefice, if thou hast any, and from all Priesthood of the Clergy: So we here, with justly do depose, depose, and separate thee, as a rotten Popish Priest, from the Communion and Company of all the faithful: And being so deprived, we judge that thou oughtest to be actually degraded: that done, we leave thee unto the secular Power, committing the Degradation and actual Execution of this our Sentence unto the Reverend Lord and Bishop here present, with the Authority and Commandment asforesaid.*

Dr. Castellane degraded.

Dr. Castellane degraded.

This Sentence being thus ended with their Catholic Sermon also, the said Bishop of *Niepoles* sitting in his Pontifical in the Judgment-seat, being Surrogate of *Metz*, with the Clergy, Nobles and People about him, proceeded to the degrading (as they call it) of the said *Dr. John Castellane*. Thus the said *Dr. John Castellane* being prepared and made ready to his Degradation by the Officers of the said Bishop, was appeared in his Priestly Attire, and afterwards brought forth of the Chapel by the Priests which were thereunto appointed, with all his Priestly Ornaments upon him, and holding his hands together, knelt down before the Bishop. Then the Officers gave him the Chalice in his hands, with Wine and Water, the Putine, and the Hosts all which things the said Bishop which degraded him, took from him, saying: We take away from thee, or command to be taken from thee, all Power to offer Sacrifice unto God, and to say Mass, as well for the quick as the dead.

Moreover, the Bishop scraped the Nails of both his Hands with a piece of Glass, saying: By this scraping we take away from thee all power to sacrifice, to consecrate, and to bless, which thou hast received by the anointing of

thy Hands. Then he took away from him the Chisel, saying: By good right we do depose thee of this Priestly Office, which ingulpheth Claustrality: for certainly thou hast forsaken the same, and all Innocency. Then taking away the Stole, he said: Thou hast villainously rejected and despised the sign of our Lord, which is represented by this Stole: therefore we take it away from thee, and make thee unable to exercise and use the Office of Priesthood, and all other things appertaining to Priesthood. The Degradation of the order of Priesthood being thus ended, they proceeded to the order of Deacon. Then the Ministers gave him the Book of the Gospels, which the Bishop took away, saying: We take away from thee all power to read the Gospels in the Church of God, for it appertaineth only to such as wear the Vesture that the Deacons use, saying: We deprive thee of this Levitical Office: forasmuch as thou hast not fulfilled thy Ministry and Office. After this the Bishop took away the Stole from behind his back, saying: We justify thee away from thee the white Stole which thou hast received unlawfully, which also thou oughtest to have born in the presence of our Lord: and to the end that the People dedicate unto the name of this Clerical May, take by thee example, we prohibit thee any more to exercise or use the Office of Deaconship. Then they proceeded to the degrading of Subdeaconship and taking away from him the Book of the Epistles, and his Subdeacon's Vesture, depose him from reading of the Epistles in the Church of God: and so orderly proceeding unto all the other Orders, degraded him from the Order of *Beret* and *Collet*, from the Order of *Exorcist* from the *Lectionship*, and last of all, from the Office of *Door-keeper*, taking from him the Keys, and committing him hereafter not to open or shut the Rectory, nor to ring any more Bells in the Church. That done, the Bishop went forward to degrade him from his first shaving, and taking away his Surplice, laid unto him: By the Authority of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by our Authority we take away from thee all thy Clerical Habit, and depose thee of all Ornament of Priesthood: Also we do depose and degrade thee of all Order, Benefit and Priesthood of the Clergy, and as one unworthy of that Priesthood, we commit thee to the servitude and ignominy of the secular State. Then the Bishop took the Sheers and began to clip his head, saying in this manner. We take thee out as an unworthy Child of the Lord's Heritage, whereunto thou wast called, and take away from thy head the Crown,

The burning of John Castellane.



which

which is the Royal sign of Priesthood, through thine own wickedness and malice. The Bishop also added these words: That which thou hast sung with thy mouth, thou hast not believed with thy heart, nor accomplished in work, wherefore we take from thee the Office of singing in the Church of God.

The degrading thus ended, the Procurator Fiscal of the Court and City of *Metz*, required of the Notary an Instrument or Copy of the degrading: then the Ministers of the Bishop turned him out of his clerical Habit, and put upon him the Apparel of a secular Man. That done, forthwith as he which is degraded, according to the institution of *Pope Innocent* the third, ought to be delivered unto the secular Court, the Bishop that degraded him proceeded no further, but said in this manner: We pronounce that the secular Court shall receive thee into their charge, being thus degraded of all clerical honour and privilege.

This done, the Bishop, after a certain manner, intreated the secular Judge, for him, saying, My Lord Judge, we pray you as heartily as we can, for the love of God and the contemplation of tender pity and mercy, and for the respect of our Prayers, that you will not in any point do anything that shall be hurtful to this miserable Man, or tending to his death, or maiming of his Body. These things thus done, the secular Judge of the Town of *Viège*, confirming the foreward Sentence, decreed the foreward *Jo. Castellane* to be burned quick: which death he suffered the twelfth day of *January*, 1525, with such a constancy, that not only a great company of ignorant people were thereby drawn to the knowledge of the Verity, but also a great number, which had already gone false thereof, were greatly comforted by that his constant and valiant death.

Joannes Diazius, a Spanish Martyr, killed of his own Brother at *Noeburg* in Germany, Anno 1546.

OF this *John Diazius*, the full Process and Historie is debated at large, whereof the brief sum is this: *John Diazius*, a Spanish born, first being at *Paris* thirteen years, from thence returned to *Genoa*, then to *Basil*, and after to *Strasbourg*: from whence he was sent Embassador with *Bucer* and others, to the Council at *Ratisbone*: where he talking with *Peter Malveda* his Country-man, the Pope's Factor, he declared his Religion unto him, that *Malveda* wrote to the Friar, which was the Emperor's Censor, touching the said *John Diazius*: at the opening and reading of which Letters, one *Marquina* another Spanish was present. Upon this it followed, whether by this Confessor, or by *Marquina*, that *Alphonse Diazius*, Brother to *John Diazius*, which was one of the Pope's Lawyers in *Rome*, had knowledge given him of his Brother *John*.

When the communication of *Ratisbone* was dissolved and broken up, *John Diazius* from *Ratisbone*, went to the City of *Noeburg*, within the Dominion of *Otto Henry Palatine*, about the expedition of *Bucer's* Book there to be printed. As *John Diazius* was there occupied, it was not long but *Alphonse* his Brother was come from *Rome* to *Ratisbone*, where *Malveda* was, bringing with him a petulant Cat-throat, a notorious Ruffian or Homicide, belonging to the City of *Rome*. *Malveda* and *Alphonse*, consulting together about the dispatch of their devilish purpose, first laboured to hunt out by the Friends of *Diazius*, where *Diazius* was: whereof *Alphonse* and the Homicide having knowledge by certain of his secret Friends, getting great matters of importunity, came to *Noeburg*, where *Diazius* was printing of *Bucer's* Book: where after long debating of Matters of Religion between the two Brethren, *Alphonse* feeling the heart of his Brother *John* to be so callidly planted on the sure Rock of God's Truth, that by no way he could either be removed from his Opinion, or persuaded to ride in his Company (being otherwise commended by *Bucer* and his Friends), joined himself friendly to take his leave of his Brother and to depart: But shortly after, secretly with his ruffianly murderer he returned again, and by the way they bought a certain Hatchet of a Carpenter.

This done, *Alphonse* kenseth his Man, being disguised, with Letters unto his Brother, he himself following after. As *John Diazius* in the morning was risen out of his Bed to read the Letters, the wretched Hangman with his Hatchet, clove his Head unto the Brain, leaving the Hatchet in his Head, and fo he with *Alphonse* took them to their Houses, which place without the City Gate, was as much speed as they might. They of *Noeburg*, hearing of the horrible Act, sent out certain Horsemen, making great journeys after them. Who coming to the *gates*, and hearing the Murderers to be puffed before, were out of hope to overtake them, and so returned. One in the Company, more zealous than the rest, would not return, but pursued them till, and in the City of *Ottobrunn*, caught them to be stayed and put in Prison. *Ottobrunn*, hearing of their taking, writeth to the Magistrates of *Constance* for Judgment. Which Magistrates at first seemed very willing thereunto: But in conclusion, through the practice of Papists, and crafty Lawyers, the Sentence judgment was so delayed, from day to day, then from hour to hour, that the Emperor's Letters came in post-haste, requiring the Matter to be speedily and referred to his hearing. And thus the terrible murder of *Cain* and his Fellow, was boistered out by the Papists. The title whereof, from the memory of *Men*, was never heard of, since the first example of *Cain*, which for Religion flew his own Brother *Abel*. But also true Judgment in this World be perverted, yett fish bloody *Cains*, with their willful murder, shall not escape the hands of him, who shall judge truly both the Committers, and the Bolesters also of all mischievous wickedness. *Ex Claud. Scaue.*

Anno 1546, Charles the Emperor held an armed-Council at *Angela*, after his Victory gotten over the *German*. When *Julius Pflug*, *Michael Sidorius*, and *John Ulsius*, going about to concert together the Gospel of *Chridy*, with the Traditions of the Pope, that is, to make a holdy-poth of them both, drew and framed out a new form of Religion, called *Interim*. Whereupon began a new matter of Persecution in Germany. For the Emperor proceeded frantly against them which would not receive his *Interim*, intending thereby to have wrought some great matter against the Catholics, but the Lord disappointed his purpose.

Among them which withstood this Spanish *Interim*, besides others, were also the Citizens of *Constance*. For the which three thousand Spaniards, privily by night, came against the Town of *Constance*, where they killed three of the Watchmen of the Town, which watching in the Suburbs, went forth to view the noise which they heard in the Woods. The device of the Spaniards in the morning when the Citizens were at the *Seemion*, suddenly to set upon the City and take it: so, no doubt, intending to have gone further. But, as the Lord would, something began to be suspected the next Night, the Watchmen on the Suburbs on the other side the Water, whereby the Council and Citizens had intelligence to be in readiness. When the morning came, the Spaniards were ready at the Gate to break into the City. But being driven from thence, and their Captain *Alphonse* slain, they went to the Bridge, which goeth over the *Rheine*. But being beaten also from thence with shot, and great Pieces from the Walls, and a great number of them drowned in the River, the Spaniards breaking down the hinder part of the Bridge, because the Citizens should not pursue them, they recoiled back into the Suburbs, and burned them with the dead Bodies also that were slain, so that the number of the Spaniards that were slain, is known to be. Only an hundred of honest Citizens were missing, *Ex Juan. Sclid. Lib. 2. 1.*

At the same time many godly Ministers of the Churches in Germany, were in great danger, because they refused to receive the *Interim*: of whom some were called into Prison. In which number of Prisoners, was *Marin Frelich*, Superintendent of *Ulma*, with four other Presbyters: also his Brother *Gregor*, for coming but to take his leave of his Brother and to depart: But shortly after, secretly with his ruffianly murderer he returned again, and by the way they bought a certain Hatchet of a Carpenter.

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It would find another Volume, to comprehend the Acts and Stories of all them, which in other Countries, at the rising of the Gospel, suffered by the same. But before the Lord, every Region almost hath his own History-writer, which sufficiently hath discharged that part of duty, as every one in matters of his own Country is best acquainted: wherefore I shall the less need to overstrain my travel, or to overcharge this Volume therewith. It will suffice me to collect three or four Histories, recorded by *Oecolampadius* and the rest, to bring into my brief Table, and to return to occupy my self with our own Domestical Matters here done at home.

*The History of a good Pastor, murdered for preaching of the Gospel: Written by John Oecolampadius.*

**I**N the year of our Lord 1525, there was a certain good and godly Minister, who had committed something in the commotion, then raised by the ruffal Clowns of the Country, which they said that knew him, was but of small importance; because he had offered his Prince before not with any fact or crime but with some word uttered thrashily spoken, was therefore condemned to be hang'd.

After Sentence was given, there was a Gentleman of a cruel heart sent with a certain troop of Men to apprehend the said Priest, and to hang him. Who, coming into his house, flung him friendly, pretending as tho' his coming had been to make good cheer: for he was a good House-keeper, and the Gentlemen of the Country therefore used oft-times to resort unto his house familiarly. This Priest made ready for them in short space a very sumptuous Banquet, whereof they did eat and drink very cheerfully. After Dinner was ended, and that the Priest was yet at the Table thinking no hurt, the Gentlemen said to his Servants, take you this Priest our Holt and hang him, and that without delay: for he hath well deserved to die very cheerfully. The great offence he hath committed against his Prince. The Servants were marvelously astonished with his words, and abhorring to the deed, said unto their Masters, God forbid that we should commit any sin which is so heinous, that hath intrusted us so greatly: for the meat, which he hath given us, is yet in our stomachs undigested. It were a wicked act for a Nolleman to render to great an evil for a good turn: but especially to murder an innocent. Briefly, the Servants fought no other occasion, but only to give him way to fly, that they might also avoid the execution of that wicked purpose.

As the Gentlemen and his Servants were thus contrading, the Priest did unto them, I beseech you have no such cruelty upon me, rather lead me away captive unto my Prince, where I may purge my self. I am fully accused, and I trust to pacify his anger which he hath conceived against me. At least remember the hospitality which I have ever shewed to you, and all Nolleman at all times resorting to my house. But principally speaking to the Gentlemen, he advertised him of the perpetual truth, which would follow upon an evil Conscience: protesting that he had faithfully and only taught them the Doctrine of the Gospel, and that was the principal cause why he had such evil will: which long time before he had foreseen would come to pass, for so much as he had often times in the pulpit reproved thrashily and openly the horrible Vices of the Gentlemen, which maintained their people in their vicious life, and they themselves were given unto blasphemy and drunkenness, whereas they should have exemplified Faith, true Religion, and Sobriety, but they had oftentimes reviled him, saying, that it was not his part to reprove them, but for so much as they were his Lords, and might put him to death if they would: that all offences which they did were allowable, and that no Man ought to gain say it: also that he went about some things in his Sermons, that would have done him to an evil end.

This good Man, whatsoever he could say, could not make his matter from good; for the Gentlemen continued in his wicked enterprise, and pricked forth his Servants full to accomplish their purpose: for it was resolved by the Prince, that he should be put to death, and thus turning himself unto the Priest, he said, that he could gain nothing by preaching in this sort, but that he should fully determine himself to die, for the Prince had given express commandment to hang him, whose favour he would not live to favour his life.

At last the Servants, after great sorrow and lamentation, bound their Holt, and hanged him upon a Beam in his own house, the Gentlemen standing by and looking upon.

This good Man, feeling no remedy, spake none other words but only Jesus have mercy upon me. Jesus have mercy. This is the truth of this most cruel death: Tush would have scarcely have committed against his mortal Enemy. Now let every Man judge with himself, which of them have the greatest advantage, either they which commit the cruelty against the good, or the good Men, which do suffer the same unjustly. The first sort have a continual gnawing in their Conscience, and the other obtain an immortal Crown.

*The like History of the death of a certain Minister, named M. Pet. Spengler, which was drowned in the year of our Lord 1525: collected by Oecolampadius.*

**I**N a certain Village named *Schlat*, in the Country of *Adelphod*, there was a vigilant Minister, a Man very well learned in the Scriptures, of a good name, for that he lived a godly and a blameless life, having long time faithfully done his Office and Duty, being also courteous, gentle, and well-beloved of Men, but especially of the Bishop of *Constance* with whom he was in great Authority, peaceable and quiet with all Men that he had to do with. He quieted Disputes and Contentions with a marvellous prudence, exhorting all Men to mutual charity and love. In all Affections whereof he came, he greatly commended honest life and amendment of manners. When the purity of the Gospel began to shine abroad, he took to him a great affliction the Holy Scriptures, which long time before he had read, but without any understanding. When he had to render a false judgment, and came to more understanding by continual reading, he said, that the Gospel was the Verity of God, in that order, wherein it is written, seeing it containeth so much touching the Crois, Perfection, and Ignominious death: and yet the Priests lived in great prosperity, and no Man durst maintain any quarrel against them without danger. He also saw that the hour was come that the Gospel should be displayed, that Perfection was at hand, that the Enemies of the Truth began now to rage, that the wicked and proud lifted up their heads on high, and feared not to enterprise and take in hand all kind of mischief and wickedness against the Faithful, that the Bishops, which ought by their virtue and power to defend the Word, were more barbarous and cruel than any Tyrants had been before. His thus considering the present estate of the World, put all doubt from his heart, and gave presently before his eyes, that Jesus Christ had taught the Truth, being by many Bodies of the Faithful were daily tormented, beaten, evil, banished, drowned, and hanged. For who can report the great torments, which the innocent have endured these years passed, even by those which called themselves Christians, and for no other cause, but only for the true confession of Jesus Christ? This good Pastor, considering with himself the Laws and Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* to sever from the truth of Christ, especially in restraining Marriage: to the end that he would not deny himself with *Rome*, he retired to a certain place, his faith an eye feared God, by whom afterward he had many fair Children.

About this time the People of the Country had raised a great Commotion, who in their rage went to the Priests, and Priests bound, as they had bound him, and gave him grimage, and spared nothing that they could find to eat. That which they could not eat, they either cut under feet, or carried it away with them. One Company of this ruffal sort lodged themselves in the house of this good Pastor: for they made no difference between the good and the bad. Their Roffers took from him all that they could find, leaving nothing behind them, inasmuch as they took away

away the very Hofs from his Legs, for all that he could do: albeit that he greatly intreated them, heaving that it was Theft and a hanging matter that they did, yet they continued full in their mad-like Beasts.

As they were departing out of the house, the good Priest could not refrain himself from weeping, saying unto them, I tell you before, these your inordinate doings will redound to some great mischief to your selves. For what ye do now, this? what meneth this rage and tumult, wherein you keep no order or equity, neither have any respect between Friend and Fo? Who thus threateth you up? what counsel do you follow, or to what end do you this? Like Thiersen you spoil whatsoever you can lay hands upon. And think you not but these things which you now rob, raven, and steal, you shall be compelled hereafter to restore again to your great detriment. What folition did ever come to good out of you pretend the Gospel, and have no peace of the Gospel either in your mouths or in your hearts. These excoffes, said he, ye never learned of me, who ever have taught you the true Word of God. This your Gospel, said he, is neither the Gospel of the Devil than of God, which weareth all the World with violence and wrong, spoiling and robbing without regard. The true Gospel of Jesus Christ teacheth you to do good unto all Men, to avoid dissensions and perjury. This I say unto you, that in these your doings you offend God, and provoke his just vengeance to plague you, which will never suffer the Evils to escape unpunished. You shall find written in the Gospel, that *God will punish all that do not do as they are taught*. You offend also the Nobility, and your lawful Magistrates, whom you are sworn and bound unto. It is no small matter, I tell you, to raise up Sedition, to fling up others, and to disturb the due of the Commonwealth: and when the multitude shall be misled, what then shall your Noblemen do? Shall they not rife you as fast, and of your goods make themselves rich, and then fill of you betray another. These with such other words he flood greater, being almost naked; and with all this would not prevail with those Men, who, after all these gentle admonitions and fair words, departed out of his house, giving him foul language, and calling him old Drard. Amongst all other, one more wicked than the residue said unto him in this manner: O Master Carate, we have been long deceived by your lying of Matthe, by feigning us with Purgatory, by your Digges and Trentals, and so have we been spoiled: wherefore we do nothing now, but require again the Money which you robbed us of. And so mocking and scorning him, they departed.

After that this Sedition of the Peasants was partly appeased, their Armor being laid away, and they taken unto grace; after that also divers of the principals of that Conspiracy were taken here and there in the Villages, and executed: this good Pastor, fearing so much thing, for the me and sincere preaching of the Gospel, whereas many took great indignation, was taken in the night by certain Soldiers, which bound him hand and foot with a great Rope, before his Wife and Children, and so for him upon a Horse, and led him away to *Prigheim*. What grievous lights, tears, sorrow, and lamentation was there! It would have moved any heart, (I went it as hard as Flint) to a doleful compassion, especially to see the lustre and defoliated children, tame, and extreme cruelty shewed, by their proud Popish Soldiers against the innocent Priest. Such beastly Tyrants the World is never without. Such godly Ministers we have had but a few.

The People, hearing this pitiful noise and lamentation in the night, came running out, not the Men, but only the Women, whom the Soldiers would to go home again, and that their Men should come forth and keep the Town, as their Men durst not appear. Then from *Prigheim* thence they conveyed him to *Prigheim*.

After they had long kept this Man in Prison, and that he had endured most terrible Torments, as well as the Priests members, as in other parts, they judged him to death. If you will know the cause what they had to lay to his charge, it was only this, That he had married a Wife secretly in his own house with a few Witnesses. Other Crimes they were brought to him, neither that he was a false witness, nor a godly and wicked Man, nor that he had committed any other offence, albeit they had gathered divers wicked Persons out of sundry places, to pick out of his Sermons the order and

manner of his behaviour. When he was led unto the place of Execution, he answered gently and quietly unto all Men that came to comfort him. But there were divers Monks and Priests which troubled him in his first against the foolish belief, as he was striving in his first against the horror of death making his prayer unto Almighty God, saying nothing else but to turn him away from his heavy and earnest contemplation. For when they desired him that he should hold their peace, saying, that he had already confessed his sins unto the Lord Jesus, nothing at all doubting but that he had received absolution and forgiveness of them all. And I, said he, did he by the same absolution, which he had received from my Saviour Jesus Christ, for I have done no such thing wherefore I am now condemned, which might displease my Lord God, who in this behalf hath given me a good and quiet Conscience. Now therefore let them which thrive for innocent Blood, and find the same, diligently advise themselves what they do, and know that they offend even him unto whom it pertaineth truly to judge the hearts of Men: for it is said, *Vengeance is mine, and I will punish*. And afterwards as he was a very lean Man, he added this moreover, saying, It is all one, for shortly I must have forgiven this Sinner, which already scarcely I thought to have forgiven. I know well that I am a mortal and a sinful creature, and have nothing in me but corruption. I have long time defied my latter day, and have made my request that I might be delivered out of this mortal Body, to be joined with my Saviour Jesus Christ.

I have suffered, through my weakness, to be committed against my Saviour Christ, my Crois; and my Saviour Christ hath borne the Crois, and hath died upon the Crois; and for my part, I have not glory in any other thing, but only in the Crois of Jesus Christ, which I have committed against him. There were present by certain naughty Persons which could not endure to bear this godly Exhortation, but made signs unto the Hangman to call him down into the River. After he was thrown down, he was not so far from the Water, in such fort that the River wazened him, and he said with loud faith. This was a certain sign and token that innocent Blood was that day shed. They which were there present, beholding that deed and happened, were greatly amazed and astonished, considering with themselves what the staining of the water with the blood should signify. Every Man returned home penitent and sad, marveling at the cruel deed that was done that day: notwithstanding no Man durst open his mouth to speak one word, because that all things were executed with great cruelty. This was done in the Town of *Prigheim*, the 1525.

These things I did understand by one which did behold them with his eyes. The Lord of his great grace be merciful unto us, and forgive us our sins. *See Oecolamp.*

Such was the wickedness of them of those days, as yet is still, that whatsoever was perceived to favour the Gospel, or any thing to dilute the doctrine of the Pope's Church, he was hated and despised of the Priests, Lawyers, and all other Papists through the whole Country about, but especially of the Priests, Monks, and Friars. And do the life of the Gospel were never so good and upright, as when such as the Priests and malice of the Pope's Priests against them, that they never ceased to seek all occasions, and devise matters how to bring them to death.

It was happened a little before this present time, that there was a commotion of the rude and ruffal People of the Country rising in armour inordinately against their Rulers, for the great disturbance of the whole Country of *Germany*, and no less to their own destruction, of whom were slain above twenty thousand. At length when this Rebellion was appeased, and all things quiet, such as were the Pope's friends, to show their malice against the Gospel, took occasion thereby not long after to accuse and entangle such as they knew to be Gospelers and Protestants. And also the false Gospelers were never so inculpable and clear from all rebellion, yet they suffered not, for causes were made, if false witness brought, corrupt Judges allowed to condemn the innocent, and many were put to death, their cause being neither heard nor known. By reason whereof a great number of good and innocent Christians were miserably brought to their end and martyrdom: in the number of whom was this poor Man also, whose Story by *Oecolampadius* is thus described.



Another History of a certain Man of the Country, wrongfully put to death, collected by the said John Occompladus.

There was, faith he, a certain Man of the Country, in which his judgment was a good Man, and a lover of Justice, and a mortal Enemy of all the Exactions of the Gentlemen, which oppressed the poor People. This Man, after the Turnell and Commotion of the Country was appeased, was grievously vexed and contented because he had cried an Alarm, when as a great number of Horsemen ranged about the Country to seek out those which had been the Authors of that Sedition. This poor Man was taken by Policy, and so apprehended for his Crimes, that they made him confess whatsoever they required. He, thinking that they would not have put him to death, was cast into Prison, whereas he was long time detained, and well chastised, to take away all suspicion from him: but after he had tarried a long time in Prison, they put him to the Pinbanks, laying divers and many grievous Offences to his charge, where they kept him hanging in the Trust of the Good the space of six hours, hanging a great Stone fastened at his feet.

The Sweat that dropped from his Body for very pain and anguish, was almost Blood. In this distress he cried out pitifully, but all that could not once move the Tormentors' Hearts. When as all the power and strength in his body began to fail him, with great violence they let him fall down. There this poor Man lay even as a Stock, not moving any part or member of his Body, but a little drawing his breath, which was taken that there was no more in him. Here the Tormentors were in great doubt how to do with the Man, whom they thought by all means to destroy, in what place they might put him, that he would not die of that torment.

Amongst them there was one which brought Vinegar and Rose-water, and rubbing him therewithal, they did somewhat recover him. After that they had cauled him to eat and drink (such as they provided for him), they let him down into a deep Dungeon, where he could see neither Sun nor Moon. All this was done to the intent to put him to more torment, when he had somewhat recovered his strength again. There they let him continue eighteen days, after which time they brought him again to examination, propounding certain Articles unto him, which he constantly denied. They devised divers and sundry kinds of Torments, to the intent they might even of force extort something of this poor Man, which might seem worthy of death: yet for all that they were fain to depart without their purpose. The twentieth day after these Tyrants hired a Hangman, (a Man free worthy of his Office) which left no kind of Cruelty unpunished. Yet did he mis of his purpose also, and was constrained to leave his Cruelty, and to pronounce even with his own mouth, that the Man was innocent, in that he had so constantly endured so many horrible and grievous Torments. But these Tyrants came again the fourth time, and flogged two Witnesses against him, this concluding, that he was worthy of death because he had cried Alarm after the Truce was taken, and would have moved a new Sedition. The day was appointed when he should suffer, and they brought unto him the Hangman and a Friar into the Prison.

In the mean time this poor Man thought with himself, that they would have flogged him the like cruelty as they had done the night before. They called him out of the Dungeon where they had let him down, certifying him that they had things to tell him for his profit. This they did because he should not die in prison.

Then they let down a Cord and a Staff, but they could not persuade him to fit thereupon, saying, that he would rather chide to die there, than he would endure any more such cruel and grievous Torments. Notwithstanding, if they would promise not to put him any more to the Trust of the Cord, nor to put him to death, but to bring him before just Judges, on that condition he would come out, also he had fully determined never to have removed from thence, but to have ended his Life in that Dungeon. There were present certain Councils which promised to perform his Request; and thereupon he was taken out of the Dungeon. As soon as he saw the Friar, he cried out with a loud voice, saying,

O miserable and wretched Man that I am! now am I betrayed and deceived, for my latter hour is at hand: I see well the Doom which I have deserved this night will come to effect, for they do handle me tyrannously, and condemn me not being heard. The Friar brake him off from his purpose, and pulling a wooden Crook out of his Sleeve, presented it unto him, declaring that he must be quiet, because they had already given sentence against him, and that he should gain nothing by so much talk. Poor Man (said the Friar) thou hast had good and gentle Judges, at the least thou shalt go to God, therefore confess thy Sins in thy heart, and after thou hast received absolution as thy bounds, doubt not but this day thou shalt go forth to the Kingdom of Heaven. The poor Man answered, Thou wicked Friar, get thee away from me, for I have long face bewailed my Sins and Offences, and that before the face of my Lord Jesus, who hath already forgiven me all that which I have committed against his Majesty: wherefore I have need of thy Absolution, which thou thyself dost not understand. This is most certain, that long time face thou shouldst have amended thine own wicked and hypocritical Life. I know well enough what a foul art, thou playest the Ape with me, but thou hast a subtil and a crafty Heart, which hath deceived much simple People. If thou hast any Comfort or Consolation out of the Gospel to comfort me withal, let me have it; if not, get thee away from me with thy Porcini. The Friar was so confounded and amazed with these words, that he knew not what to do or say. The Hangman, being wiser than the Friar, had him read unto the poor Man something of the Passion, wherein the poor Man would take great pleasure. This foolish Friar had no other consolation to comfort him withal, but to hold the Circles of Wood before him, saying, Behold thy Saviour which died for thee, look upon him, and thou shalt be comforted. Then said the poor Man, I have another Saviour, this is none of my Saviour; get thee away from me, thou naughty Porcin, with thy Manner of Wood: my Saviour dwelleth in Heaven, in whom I trust that he will not deliver my Soul to eternal death. The Friar crossed himself, shewing the semblance of a Man that was very sorry and aggrieved, thinking with himself that this poor Man was fallen into desperation. Then were he led forth to the Market-place, where according to the custom, offered before all the People, his Confession was read with a loud voice, which contained no other thing, but only that the Man had been a seditionary Person, and that the time of the Truce he had cried Alarm, even in the night, when all Men were at rest.

When he was come to the place where he should suffer, being compassed in with Gieves and Halberds hired for the purpose, after he had said the Lord's Prayer, the Hangman bid him kneel down, but he refused to do, declaring that he had yet something more to say before the People, thinking that he should be denied to speak in that place, as he was before the wicked Judges. These (said he) which know me, shall be sufficient good Witnesses on my behalf, that from my youth upward I have always lived in good name, fame, and honesty, being never before accused for any offence, addition, or perjury.

In an evil time have I happened into these cruel days, when as all ways both of God and Man are turned topsy-turvy. I was adherent to the Turnell and Sedition of the Men of the Country, as many other were which drew me thereabout; but what then? Are not there also many Gentlemen which followed the Peasants Army, and many strong Towns which went also with them? I was not the Author of any sedition, which always I have mortally hated. I never gave counsel unto any Man to move any Broil or Tumult in any place. We asked counsel of our Gentlemen what we should do, when the Bands of the Peasants were assembled in the Fields; but they gave us neither counsel nor comfort. And to speak of my self, I did never understand or know what the Articles were that were published, neither was there ever any Man that told me wherefore they were published; neither did I know wherefore the Bands of the Countrymen were risen, neither wherefore every Man moved his Neighbour to put on Armour. Wherefore then have ye taken me as a seditionary Man, and made me to endure so great Torments? He continued a long time in declaring his Innocency; but, notwithstanding all his excuses and defences, the Hangman drew his Sword,

## The Martyrdom of Wolfgangus Schuch.

and at the commandment of the Judge, struck off his head, as he had made an end of his Prayers. His tongue moved a long time after in his head, by means of the force of the words which he had before spoken.

Thus this good Man of the Country ended his days, against whom the false Judges could find no crime or offence to object, albeit they had diligently sought by witneses to have information of all his life and living. The Lord grant his Spirit to all those which suffer for his sake. Ex *huan. Occompladus.*

### Wolfgangus Schuch a German in Latharing, Martyr.

Wolfgangus Schuch, coming to a certain Town in Latharing, bearing the name of St. Hippolitus, and being received in the said Town to be their Pastor, laboured by all means how to enter out of the hands of the People Idolatry and Superstition. Which, through the grace of Christ working with him, he in short time had brought prosperously to pass according to his desire: inasmuch that the celebration of Lent, Images, and all Idols, with the abomination also of the Mass, in the same Town was utterly abolished: so reformation God made the Hearts of the People there, and such affection had they to their Minister. It was not long but the rumor thereof came to the hearing of Duke Anthony, Prince of Lorraine, (under whose dominion they were) through the swift report of the Adversaries, falsely being their Hippolitans to the Duke: as also they, in relapsing the Doctrine and Faction of the confuciancy, went about to repress and shake off all Authority and power of Princes, and all superior Governors. By the means of which insinuation report they incited the Prince to such displeasure and indignation, that he threatened to punish and utterly to destroy the Town of Saint Wolfgangus, having word of this, wrote unto the Duke his Uncle in most humble and obedient wit, in defence both of his Ministry, of his Doctrine which he taught, and of the whole cause of the Gospel.

In which Epistle first he excused the People to be innocent and blameless, and said that those slanderous reporters were rather worthy to be blamed and also punished for their false rumors and forged slanders raised up against them. And that he opened and explained the cause and fate of the Gospel, and of our Salvation, confiding only in the free Grace of God, through Faith in Christ his Son, comparing

also the same Doctrine of the Gospel with the confused Doctrine of the Church of Rome.

That done, thirdly, he proceeded to our obedience, honour and worship, which, first we owe to God and to Christ, next under him to Princes here and Potentates, whom God hath placed in his room, and endowed with authority here in Earth: unto whom they offered themselves now and at all times present and most ready to obey with all service and duty, &c.

But when this Epistle Wolfgangus did nothing prevail, either for that it was written by the way, or else for that the false accusations and wicked tongues of the adversary part took more effect to win credit with the Duke, than could the simple defence of verity. Whereupon Wolfgangus, when he saw no other remedy, rather than the Town should come in any danger for his cause, the good Man, I say, of his own accord came to the City of Nancy, (which is the lead-Town of Lorraine) there to render a Confession of his Doctrine, and also to deliver the Town himself.

As soon as he was come thither, incontinently hands were laid upon him, and he laid fast in a stink and stinking Prison, where he was thruply and bitterly handled under custody of the durstful and cruel Keepers. All this notwithstanding, Wolfgangus, continuing in that Prison the space of a whole year, yet would not be moved from his constancy, neither with the flatteries of the Prisoners, nor with the hardness of his Keepers, nor yet with the compassions of his Wife and Children, which he had about six or seven. Then he was had to the House of the Gray-Friars, to profess there his Faith, where he both wittily and learnedly confuted all them that stood against him.

There was a Friar named Bonaventura, Provincial of that Order of face, body, and belly monstrous, but much more gross in blind ignorance, and a Man utterly rude, a confessor of all civility and honesty; who being long Confeffor to the Duke, and of great authority in Lorraine, as he was an Enemy to Verity and Learning, so he was ever persecuting the Duke to banish out of the Court and Country of Lorraine all learned Men; neither could he abide any Person which seemed to know more than his Elders knew before. The sum of all his Divinity was, that he was sufficient to Salvation only to know the *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria*. And thus was the Duke brought up and trained, and in nothing else, as the Duke himself did-time

### The Burning of Wolfgangus.



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**I**N *Holland* also the same year 1527, was martyred and burned a good and vertuous Widow, named *Wendel-*

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to his breast, he gave her Neck willingly to be bound, with an ardent Prayer commending her self to the hands of God. When the time came that she should be fringed, modestly she closed her eyes, and bowed down her head as one that would take a sleep: which done the Fire then was put to the Wood, and the being fringed, was burned afterward to Ashes, instead of this Life, to get the immortal Crown in Heaven. *Ann 1527. Ex Fautal.*

**Petrus Fliteldius, and Adolphus Clarebachus, put to death at Colen.**

IN the number of these German-Martyrs, are also to be comprehended *Petrus Fliteldius* and *Adolphus Clarebachus*, two Men of singular learning, and having ripe knowledge of God's holy Word. Which two, in the year of our Lord 1529, for that they did dissent from the Papists in divers Points, and especially touching the Supper of the Lord, and other the Pope's Traditions and Ceremonies, after they had endured imprisonment a year and a half by the commandment of the Archbishop and Senate, were put to death and burned in *Colen*, not without the great grief and lamentation of many good Christians, all the Fault being put upon certain Divines, which at that time preached, that the punishment and death of certain wicked Persons should pacify the Wrath of God, which then plagued *Germany* grievously with a new and strange kind of *Disease*, for at that season the sweating Sickness did mortally rage and reign throughout all *Germany*. *Ex com. Joan. Sleus. dan. lib. 6.*

A Preface to the Table following.

IF thou well remember in reading this Book of Stories (loving Reader) it was before mentioned and declared,

A Table of the Names and Causes of such Martyrs, which gave their Lives for the testimony of the Gospel, in Germany, France, Spain, Italy, and other Foreign Countries, since Luther's time: In which Table is contained, within the first space between the lines, the Persecutors; next the Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

### The Martyrs of Germany.

Of divers which suffered in *Germany* for the witness of the Gospel; partly some rehearsal is made before, as of *Voss* and *Eghe*, of *Supplin*, *John Gellidius*, *Pet. Spingler*, with a certain godly Minister, and another simple Man of the Country mentioned in *Oecolampadius*: Also of them in *Dietmar* and *Prague*, of *M. George of Hala*, *Galsper*, *Tambert*, *Adolphus of Vienna*, *Wolfgangus Souch*, *John Hingius*, *George Carpenter*, *Leonard Keyser*, *Wendelmutter*, *P. Fliteldius*, *Adolphus Clarebach*, and others.

The residue follow in order of this Table here to be shewed.

Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

Charles the Emperour.

Nicholas of Amsterr.

Two Servants of a Butcher did appear here at Amsterr, An. 1514.

On Nicholas of Antwerp.

THE Curate of *Melais* by *Antwerp*, had used to preach to a great number of People without that Town. The Emperour hearing thereof, gave leave to take the uppermost Garment of all them that came to hear, and offered thirty Guilders who would take the Priest. Afterward, when the people were gathered, and the Curate sat there, this *Nicholas* stepped up in place and preached. Wherefore he, being apprehended by the two Servants of a Butcher, was put in a Sack, and drowned by the Curate at *Antwerp*, 1524.

**Joan. Pistorius, a learned Man of Holland, and partly of Kin to Erasmus Rotod.**

The story of *Pistorius* is largely fit forth by *Grævæus*. First, He was a Priest when he married, after that he preached, coming from *Prattiberg*. He spoke against the Mass and Pardon, and against the sinful abuses of Priests. He was committed unto Prison with ten Malefactors, whom he did comfort; and to one being half naked, and in danger of cold he gave his gown.

Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

Mathias Inquil.

M. Johannes Loven. Vice-Vic of Wesel. An. 1514.

Stephen Brast.

Brast, Abbat. in Swabia. An. 1515.

Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

His Father visiting him in Prison, did not divide him, but had him be constant. At last he was condemned, and degraded, having a Fools Coat put upon him. His fellow-Prisoners at his death sang, *To Down*. Coming to the Scales, he gave his Neck willingly to the Band, wherewith he was first fringed, and then burned, saying thus, *Death, where is thy cost?*

**Mathias Weibell, Schoolmaster,**

For saying somewhat against the Abbot's first Mass, and against the carrying about Reliques, was through procurement of the Abbot he was hanged by *Capitalism* in *Swabia*.

A certain gaily Priest.

This Priest being commanded to come and give good counsel to sixteen Country-men that should be beheaded, afterward was laid down self to kneel down to have his Head cut off, no cause nor condemnation further being laid against him, but only of mere hatred against the Gospel. *Ex Joan. Galsper.*

George

### The Martyrdom of George Scherter.



Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

George Scherter.

Ge. Scherter Martyr.

Ex. Mat. Flac. Myll.

The name of the persecutor appears not in the story.

A strange miracle of God in making his Gospel.

Ex. Reussberg. An. 1518.

A good Priest married to the own house.

Balthasar, for, O. fical.

A popish Priest, and a wicked Murderer.

After that this *George* had instructed the People in knowledge of the Gospel in *Rafst*, ten miles distant from *Saltzburg*, he was accused of his Adversaries and put in Prison, where he wrote a confession of his Faith, which *Matthias Ulricus* hath set out with his whole story. He was condemned to be burned alive: but means was made, that first his head should be cut off, and his body afterwards be cast into the fire. Going towards his death, he said, crying aloud, That you may know, I say, that I die a true Christian. I will give you a manifest sign: and so he did by the power of the Lord: For when his head was taken off from his shoulders, the body, falling upon his belly, continued the space while one might eat an Egg. After that, softly it turned it self upon the back, and covered the right foot over the left. At the sight whereof, they which saw it were in a great marvel. The Magistrates, which before had appointed to have burned the body after his beheading, seeing this Miracle, would not burn it, but buried it with other Christian men's bodies; and many by that example were moved to believe the Gospel. Thus *God* was able to manifest the truth of his Gospel in the midst of persecution, who is to be blessed for ever. Amen.

**Henry Fleming at Dietrich, 1536.**  
This *Henry* a Free, sometimes of *Standart*, forsook his habit, and married a Wife. Who being offered life of *Balthasar*, if he would confess his Wife to be an Heretic, denied so to do, and so was burnt at *Dietrich*.

A good Priest dwelling not far from *Basil*, 1539.  
There was a certain wicked Priest a notorious Adversary, a Deceit, and a vile Drunkard, given to all wickedness and ungraciously, without all fear, regarding nothing what mischief he did: moreover, a Man fit and ready to leave the affection of the Papists at all turns. It chanced that

Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

this Priest was received and lodged in the house of another Priest dwelling not far from *Basil*, which was a good Man, and a sincere favourer of the Gospel.

This drunken Priest, sitting at supper, was so drunk, that he could not tell what he did, or else forced himself to drink of purpose, the better to accomplish his intended mischief. So it followed, that this Wretch after his first sleep rose out of his Bed, and brake all the glass Windows in his Chamber, threw down the Stairs, and rent all his Host's Books that he found. The Host, awaking with the noise thereof, came to him, asking him how he did? whether there were any Thieves or Enemies that was in fear of defiling him to show what he said. But so soon as the good Host had opened his Chamber door, the wicked Cut-throat ran at him with his Sword, and flew him. The Host, after the Wound received, fell down and died. Upon this a clamour was made through all the streets, and the Neighbourhood came in, the Murderer was taken and bound: and all the Friends and Kinsfolks that the good Priest had, could not make that infernal Calf, that was the Murderer, to be executed: the superior Powers did so take his part, saying, That it should be sent to his Bishop. The Townsmen did grievously cry out and complain at the bolstering out of manifest Villany: So did the Noblemen, that was the Lord of the Place, saying, That so many good Men and married Priests were drowned and beheaded for such small crimes, without any regard had by the Bishop; but a Murderer might escape unpunished. It was answered to them again, That what the superior Powers would do, they had nothing to do withal: the time was otherwise now, than it was in the commotion of the rustic People: The superior Powers had authority to govern as they would, say they; it was their parts only to obey. And so was he sent bound to the Bishop, and shortly after strangled, having all a greater Benefice given him for his worthy act; for he so favoured himself, that he had slain a Lutheran Priest. *Ex Tom. 2. Convulsion Sermones Joan. Geshl. Et ex Pantal.*

Thomas

Persecut. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

Twenty eight Christian Men and Women of Louvain. Paul a Priest. Two aged Women. At Antwerp.

Two Men at Louvain. 1543. When certain of the City of Louvain were suspected of Lutheranism, the Emperors Procurator came from Brussels thither to make Inquisition. After which Inquisition made, certain Bands of armed men came and beset their houses in the night, where many were taken in their Beds, plucked from their Wives and Children, and divided into divers Prisons. Through the terror thereof, many Citizens revolted from the Doctrine of the Gospel, and returned again to Idolatry. But twenty eight there were which remained constant in their Persecutions. Unto whom the Doctors of Louvain, Enchasmus especially the Inquisitor, and Latomus sometimes, when they came and dispersed, thinking no less, but either to confound them, or to convert them. But to thoroughly the spirit of the Lord wrought with his Saints, that the other went rather comforted away themselves.

When no Dispensation could serve, that which lacked in cunning, they supplied with Torments, by enforcing and afflicting them severally every one by himself. Among the rest there was one Paulus a Priest, upon the Age of sixty years; whom the Rectors of the University, with their Colleagues, accompanied with a great number of Bills and Gloves, brought out of Prison to the Arch-Bishop, where, after many foul Words of the Rector, he was degraded. But at length for fear of death he began to stagger in some Points of his Confession, and so was laid out of Louvain, and condemned to perpetual Prison, which was a dark and stinking Dungeon; where he was fastened neither to read nor write, nor any Man to come at him, commanded only to be fed with Bread and Water. After this, other two were there, which because they had revolted before, were put to the fire and burnt, constantly taking their Martyrdom.

Then was there an old Man, and two aged Women brought forth; of whom the one was called Antonia, born of an ancient flock in that City. These also were condemned, the Man to be beheaded, the two Women to be buried quick, which death they received likewise very cheerfully. Certain of the other Prisoners, which were not condemned to death, were deprived of their Goods, commanded in a white sheet to come to the Church, and there kneeling with a Taper in their hand, to ask forgiveness; and they which refused to do, and to abjure the Doctrine of Luther, were put to the fire. Ex Fran. Encense.

Master Perseus at Louvain, Anno 1544.

Not long after this was one Master Perseus in the same University of Louvain, singularly well learned, who for representing certain Popish Superstitions and something speaking in commendation of the Gospel, was thrown into Prison. Then being accused of Lutheranism, because he stood to the same, and would not be considered to the Pope's erroneous Religion, he was adjudged to perpetual Prison, there to be fed only with Bread and Water: which Punishment he took patiently for Christ's sake. Nevertheless certain Citizens, taking compassion of him, sent him Wine and Beer. But his Keepers being charged under a great Penalty, durst let nothing come unto him. At last what became of him no Man could learn nor understand. Some judge that he was either starved for hunger, or else that he was secretly drowned. Ex Fran. Encense.

Persecut. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

Johannes Insberg at Brussels, Anno 1544.

Johannes Insberg, a Skinner of Louvain, being suspected of Lutheranism, was found in his House to have the New Testament, and certain Sermons of Luther; for the which he was committed, and the Jaylor commanded that he should speak with none. There was the same time in the lower Prison under him, Egidius, and Franciscus Encense a Spaniard; who secretly, having the Doors left open, came to him, and confirmed him in the Cause of Righteousness. Thus is the Providence of the Lord never lacking to his Saints in time of necessity. Shortly after came the Doctors and Masters of Louvain, to examine him of certain Articles touching Religion, as of the Pope's Supremacy, Sacrifice of the Mass, Purgatory, and of the Sacraments. Whereunto when he had answered plainly and boldly, after the Scriptures, and would in no wise be removed, he was condemned to the fire: but through Intercession made to the Queen, his burning was postponed, and he only beheaded. Ex Fran. Encense.

Giles Tillemans at Brussels, Anno 1544.

This Giles was born in Brussels of honest Parents. By his Occupation he was brought up from his youth to be a Cutler. In the which Occupation he was so expert, and cunning, that he waxed thereby rich and wealthy. Coming to the years of thirty, he began to receive the light of the Gospel, through the reading of the Holy Scripture, and benefited therein exceedingly. And as in zeal he was fervent, so was he of Nature human, mild, and pitiful; passing all other in those parts. Whatsoever he had, that necessity could spare, he gave it away to the Poor, and only lived by his Science. Some he redressed with his Meats furnished with Clothing; to some he gave his Shoes; some he helped with Household-stuff; to other some he maintained whole families of good Doctrine. One poor Woman there was brought to bed, and had no Bed to lie in, to whom he brought his own bed, himself contented to lie in the straw.

The said Egidius being detected by a Priest or Patron of Brussels, was taken at Louvain for that Religion which the Pope doth call Heretic. Where his Adversaries extended great care and diligence to reduce him to their Doctrine, and to make him abjure. But as he was a Man well reasoned, and singularly witty, they went away many times with shame. Thus being detained eight Months in Prison, he was sent to Brussels to be judged: where he comforted divers which were there in Prison (among whom was also Franciscus Encense) exhorting them to the constancy of the Truth unto the Crown which was prepared for them. At the Table he ministered unto them all, being contented himself with a few cups which they left. In his Prayers he was so ardent, kneeling by himself in some secret place, that he seemed to forget himself. Being called many times to meat, he neither heard nor saw them that stood by him, till he was lifted up by the Arms, and then gently he would speak unto them as one waked out of a sweet sleep.

Certain of the Gray Friars sometimes were sent unto him by two and two, to reduce him; but he would always order them to depart from him, for he was not a Priest; and when the Friars at any time did mis-call him, he

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he ever held his peace at such private Injuries: informing that those Blasphemers would say abroad, that he had a dumb Devil in him. But when they talked of any Religion, there he found rest, but answered them fully by Evidences of the Scripture, in such sort, that divers times they would depart marvelling. At sundry times he might have escaped, the doors being left open, but he would not for bringing his Keeper in peril.

At length about the Month of January, he was brought to another Prison, to be confined with Torments to confess Purgatory, and to utter more of his Fellows. But no Torment would serve. Wherefore upon the two and twentieth of January he was condemned to the Fire, but privately, contrary to the use of the Country; for openly they durst not condemn him for fear of the People, so well was he beloved. When tidings of the Sentence came unto him, he gave hearty thanks unto God, that the hour was come when he might glorify the Lord.

The Martyrdom of Giles.

The Martyrdom of Giles Tillemans.



Great Persecution in Gaunt, and other parts of Flanders. At Gaunt, Anno 1543, 1544.

As Charles the Emperor did lie in Gaunt, the Friars and Doctors there obtained, that the Edict made against the Lutherans, might be read openly twice a year. Which being obtained, great Persecution followed: so that there was no City nor Town in all Flanders, wherein some either were not expelled, or beheaded, or condemned to perpetual Prison, or had not their Goods confiscated: neither was there any respect of Age or Sex. At Gaunt especially many there were of the head Men, which for Religion sake were burned.

Afterward the Emperors coming to Brussels, there terrible slaughter, and Persecution of God's People, namely in Brabant, Henegou, and Artois; the Honor and Cruelty whereof is almost incredible: informing that at one time as good as two hundred Men and Women together were brought out of the Country about into the City, of whom some were drowned, some buried quick, some pri-

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As he was brought to the place of Burning, where he saw a great heap of Wood piled, he required the greater part thereof to be taken away, and given to the Poor; a little, said he, would suffice him. Also seeing a poor Man coming by, as he went, that lacked Shoes, he gave his Shoes unto him; better, said he, to do, than to have his Shoes burnt, and the Poor to perish for cold. Standing at the stake the Hangman was ready to thrangle him below; but he would not, saying, That there was no such word that his Pain should be mitigated, for I fear not, said he, the fire; do thou therefore as thou art commanded. And thus the blessed Martyr, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven in the middle of the flame, died to the great Lamentation of all that stood by. After that time, when the Friars of that City would go about for their Alms, the People would say, It was not meet for them to receive Alms with bloody Hands. This bloody History you shall find more copiously declared in Franciscus Encense. Ex Fran. Encense.

Martinus Horenbloek, Fishmonger at Gaunt, Anno 1545.

This Martinus was almost of his later Age, was a Man much given to all Wickedness and fleshly Life: so long as he continued a follower of the Pope's Superstition and Idolatry. Afterward (as God hath always his calling) through the occasion of a Sermon of his Parish Priest, beginning to taste some workings of Grace and Repentance of his former Life, he went out of Gaunt for the space of

Martinus Horenbloek, Fishmonger at Gaunt, Anno 1545.

Persecuted. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

three Months, feeling the Company of godly Christians, such as he heard to use the reading of the Scriptures; by whom he being more groundedly instructed returned again to the City of *Gauze*, where all his Neighbours first began to marvel at the sudden change of this Man. The Franciscans which knew him before for beneficial unto them, now seeing him so altered from their ways and Superstition, and seeing him to visit the Captives in Prison, to comfort them in Persecution, and to confirm them in the Word of God, which went to the fire, conspired against him: whereby he was detected and laid in Bonds. After that with sharp and grievous Torments they would have constrained him to utter other of the same Religion. To whom thus he answered: that if they could prove by the Scripture that his detesting and accusing of his Brethren, whom they would afflict with the like Torments, were not against the second Table of God's Law, then he would not refuse to prefer the Honour of God before the safeguard of his Brethren. Then the Friars examined him in the Sacrament, asking him why he was so earnest to have it in both kinds, seeing (said they) it is but a naked Sacrament, as you say? To whom he answered, That the Elements thereof were naked, but the Sacrament was not naked, forasmuch as the faith Eaten and Drunk, was being received after the Institution of Christ, do now make a Sacrament and a mystical Representation of the Lord's Body, communicating himself to our Souls. And as touching the receiving in both kinds, it is the Institution of the Lord, who is he (said he) that dare alter the same? Then was he brought before the Council of *Flanders*. The Causes laid against him were the Sacrament, Purgatory, and praying for the Dead: and for which he was condemned and burnt at *Yvetot* place, all his Goods being confiscated. As he stood at the Stake, a Franciscan Friar said to him, *Martin*, unless thou dost turn, thou shalt go from this live to everlasting fire. It is not in you, said *Martin* again, to everlasting fire. For this the Friars after were so hated, that many Ballads and Rhymes were set forth in divers places against them. *Ex Panta.*

*Nicholas Vampole,*  
*John de Buck, and his Wife,*  
At *Gauze*, Anno 1545.

The next day after the burning of *Martin* afore said, which was the ninth of May these three also were burned for the same Causes likewise, for the which the other was condemned and burned the day before; but only that the Woman was buried alive. All which took their Martyrdom joyfully and with much cheerfulness.

*Ursula, and Maria; Virgins of Noble Stock.*  
At *Delden*, Anno 1545.

*Delden* is a Town in lower Germany, three miles from *Dassau*, where these two Virgins of Noble Parentage were born. Who, after diligent frequenting of Churches and Sermons, being instructed in the Word of the Lord, defended that being the Benefit of our Salvation cometh only by our Faith in Christ, all the other Merchandise of Men, which he useth to sell to the People for Money, was needless. First *Mary*, being the younger, was put to the fire; where she prayed assiduously for her Enemies, and commended her Soul to God. At whose constancy the Judges did greatly marvel.

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Then they exhorted *Ursula* to turn, or if she would not, at least that she should require to be beheaded. To whom the said, That she was guilty of no Error nor defended any thing, but what was consonant to the Scripture, in which she trusted to persevere unto the end. And as touching the kind of punishment, she said, she feared not the fire, but rather would follow the Example of her dear Sister that went before. This was marvelous, that the Executioners could in no wise confine their Bodies with fire, but left them whole lying upon the ground white: which certain good Christians privily did work to the night and bond. Thus God many times sheweth his power in the midst of Tribulations. *Ex Lud. Rab. Panta.* &c.

*Andrew Thiffen,*  
*Katharine his Wife,*  
*Nicholas Thiffen,*  
*Francis Thiffen, Brethren,*  
At *Meichlin*, Anno 1545.

*Andrew Thiffen*, a Citizen of *Meichlin*, of his Wife *Katharine* had three Sons and a Daughter, whom he instructed diligently in the Doctrine of the Gospel, and detested the doings of Popery. Wherefore being hated and persecuted of the Friars and Priests there, he went into *England* and there died. *Francis* and *Nicholas* his two Sons went to *Germany* to study, and returning again to their Mother, and Sister, and younger Brother, by diligent instruction brought them to the right knowledge of God's Gospel: which being unknown to the Parish there of *St. Katharine*, he called to them *Dr. Rapardus*, *Tapping*, and other Masters and Friars, who took Council together with *William de Clerk*, the head Magistrate of the Town of *Meichlin*, agreed, That the Mother with her four Children should be sent to Prison, separate one from another: where great house was employed to reclaim them home unto their Church, that is, from light to darkness again. The younger, to wit, the Daughter with the younger Brother, being yet not felled neither in years nor Doctrine, something inclined to them, and were delivered. The Mother which would not consent, was condemned to perpetual Prison. The other two, *Francis* and *Nicholas*, standing firmly to their Confession, defended. That the Catholic Church was not the Church of *Rome*; that the Sacrament was to be ministered in both kinds; that Auricular Confession was to no purpose; that Invocation of Saints was to be left; that there was no Purgatory. The Friars they called Hypocrites, and contemned their dreamings. The Magistrates, after Discussions, left to Tormentors to know of them who was their Master, and what fellows they had. Their Master, they said, was Christ which bare his Cross before. Fellows, they said, they had innumerable, dispersed in places. As laid they were brought to the Judges: their Articles were read, and they condemned to be burned. Commencing to the place of Execution, as they began to exhort the People, Cages or Balls of Wood were thrust into their Mouths, which they through vehement speaking threw out again, defying for the Lord's sake that they might have leave to speak. And so lying with a loud voice, *Credo in unum Deum*, &c. they went, and were suffered to the stake, praying for their Persecutors, and exhorting the one the other, they did abide the fire patiently. The one feeling the flame to come to his Beard, Al! said he, what a trial pain is this, to be compared to the Glory to come? Thus the patient Martyrs committing their Souls to the hands of God, to the great admiration of the lookers on, through constancy achieved the Crown of Martyrdom. *Ex Phil. Melanct.*

*Martin*

Persecuted. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

*Martin, Wife of Adrian Taylor.*

At *Dornick*, Anno 1545.  
In the same Persecution against *Brussels* and his Company in *Dornick*, was apprehended also one *Adrian* and *Martin* his Wife. The cause of their trouble, as also of the others, was the Emperor's Decree made in the Council of *Worms* against the Lutherans mentioned before. *Adrian*, not so strong as *Martin*, for fear gave back from the Thrust, and was but only beheaded. The Wife, through that a Woman, did withstand their threats, and abide the utmost, and being included in an Iron Grate formed in the shape of a Palace was laid in the Earth and buried quick, after the usual Punishment of that Country, for Women. When the Adventurers first told her, that her Husband had relented, she believed them not: and therefore, as she went to her death, passing by the Tower where he was, he called to him to take her leave; but he was gone before. *Ex Panta. lib. 4.*

*Matthias Peter Bruly, Preacher*  
at *Dornick*, Anno 1545.

*Matthias Peter Bruly* was Preacher in the French Church at *Strasbourg*. Who at the earnest request of faithful Brethren came down to visit the lower Countries about *Andri* and *Dornick* in *Flanders*; where he most diligently preached the Word of God unto the People in houses, the doors standing open. When upon whom the Magistrates of *Dornick* had that the Gates of the Town, and had made search for him three days, he was privily let down the Wall in the night by a Basket: and as he was let down to the Church ready to take his way, one of them which let him down, leaning over the Wall to bid him farewell, caught unawares a plank to flip out of the Wall, which falling upon him broke his Leg by reason whereof he was heard of the Watchmen complaining to God, by whose Providence he was there laid to serve the Lord in that place. So long as he remained in Prison, he ceased not to supply the part of a diligent Preacher, teaching, and confirming all them that came to him in the word of Grace. Being in Prison he wrote his own Confession and Examination, and sent it to the Brethren.

He wrote also another Epistle unto them that were in Persecution: another also to all the faithful: also another Letter to his Wife the lady that he was bound. He remained Prison four Months. His sentence was given by the Emperor's Commissioners at *Brussels*. That he should be burned to Ashes, and his Ashes thrown into the River. Although the Priests and Friars made the fire but small, to multiply his pain, yet he more cheerfully and constantly took his Martyrdom, and suffered it. The Letters of *Duke Frederick*, and of the Landgrave came to intreat for him; but he was burned a little before the Letters came. *Ex Lud. Rab. lib. 6.*

*Peter Minius, Bergian.*  
At *Dornick*, Anno 1545.

The coming of *Matthias Peter Bruly* into the Country of *Flanders*, did exceedingly much good among the Brethren, as appear by diverse other good Men, and namely by *Peter Minius*, which went by his Occupation a Silk-weaver. This *Peter* before he was called to the Gospel, led a wicked life, given to much Ungratefulness, and almost to all kinds of Vice. But as he took the Title of the Gospel began to work in him, so clean it altered him that former Man, that he excelled all other in godly Zeal and Vertue. In his first Examination he was asked, Whether he was one of the Scholars of

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*Peter Minius*? He said he was, and that he had received much Fruit by his Doctrine. With whom then defend his Doctrine, said they? Yes, said he, for that it is consonant both to the Old Testament and to the New: and for this he was shortly after a deep Dungeon under the Castle-ditch, full of Thorns and thistles. When the Emperor's Decree made in the Council of *Worms* was, that he should be burned to Ashes, and his Ashes thrown into the River. Although the Priests and Friars made the fire but small, to multiply his pain, yet he more cheerfully and constantly took his Martyrdom, and suffered it. The Letters of *Duke Frederick*, and of the Landgrave came to intreat for him; but he was burned a little before the Letters came. *Ex Lud. Rab. lib. 6.*

not seem to himself more wicked now than ever he was before? But he seeing the Friar at night, had him, Avantur Friar, saying, that he had to talk with the Senate, and with him. The Senate then began to examine him of certain Articles of Religion. To whom as he was about to answer boldly and expressly to every point, they interrupting him, bid him say in two Words, either Yes or Nay. Then, said he, if it will not suffice me to answer for my self in matters of such importance, then find me to my Prison again among my Toads and Frogs, which will not interrupt me while I talk: my Lord my God, The boldness of whole Spirit and courage, as it made done down through their teeth, so force it made so wonderful, and multiplied to come great Confirmation.

There was also one *Bergian* the same time in Prison, who had been a forward Man, and a great one in the Gospel, before the coming down of *Bruly*. Who being allowed to fight for at the taking of *Bruly*, and being then not found at home, either by chance not knowing, or else he conveyed himself out of the way for fear, conceived thereof of such sorrow in his mind, that afterwards when his Wife, nor Children, nor any Friends could find him, he would needs offer himself to the Judges, saying unto the Ruler, being asked why he came. The Magistrates came to see him, said he, and now I am come to know what they would. Whereupon the Ruler, being sorry of his coming, yet notwithstanding committed him to Prison, where he remained confined a certain while. But after the Commissioners had threatened him with cruel Torments, and horror of death, he began by little and little to waver and shrink from the Truth. At the fair words of the false Friars and Priests, to whom he promised, changed, and to be beheaded, he was fain to grant unto their bidding; and Request: whereupon the Advisees taking their Advantage, came to *Minius*, and told him of *Bergian's* Retraction, willing him to do the like. But he stoutly persisting in the Truth, induced to the Fire, where, having Powder put to his Breast, was so put to death, and died. The Friars, hearing the crack of the Powder upon his Breast, told the People, that the Devil came out of him and carried away his Soul. *Ex Rab. & alia.*

A Priest of Germany.

*Johannes Gellius Constanzianus Serm. Hic*, *Joannes*, writeth of a certain Priest, but doth not name him, of a certain Priest out of the Eyes of a good Priest, that he had the Maid to be no Saint, in that he was many Priests to dole. Neither did the cruel Prince immediately put him to death, but first kept him in Prison a long time, afflicting him with divers Torments. Then he was brought forth to the Execution, after a barbarous and tyrannous manner. First, they gave the crown of his Head, then rubbed it hard with Salt, that the Blood came running down his shoulders. After that they made passed the tops of his fingers with cruel pain, that no favour of his holy Oyl might remain. At last the patient and godly Martyr, four days after yielded up his Life and Spirit. *Ex Joh. Gellius lib. 1.*

Persecut. Martyrs, and the cause of their Martyrdom.

## A godly Priest in Hungary.

In Hungary a certain godly Priest preached, that the eating of Flesh must be prohibited in Scripture: for which the cruel Bishop, after he had imprisoned him certain Weeks, caused him to be brought out, and his body to be tied over with Hares, Geefe, and Hens hanging round about him: and so the wretched Bishop made Dogs to be let upon him, which cruelly rent and tore whatever they could catch: And thus the good Minister of Christ, being driven about the City with the barking of Dogs, died, and was martyred. The light whereof as it was lamentable to the godly, so it seemed ridiculous to the wicked. But within few days after, the impious Bishop by the frolic of Gods just hand, fell sick, became hopeles, and so ravaging without end or wit, miserably died. Ex Tom. 2. *Conuivialium Sermonum Johannis Gagli.*

John Frederick of Saxony, Elector,  
Anno 1547.

Among their godly and constant Saints of Christ, may well be reckoned *John Frederick, Duke of Saxony*: who when he had recovered again all his Dominions (which Duke *Maximilian* had taken from him being King of *Saxony* with his Army) and at last was taken Prisoner of the Emperor of *Spain*, the fourth and twentieth of *April*, Anno 1547, yet could never be induced to yield to the Emperor in revoking his Faith and Doctrine of the Gospel wherein he stood: For which he was detained from his Wife and Children, and bereaved of all his Goods, and carried about with the Emperor the space of five years. This admirable constancy of the Duke, was a Wonder to all his Adversaries. At last, in the year of our Lord 1552, through the Benefit of Almighty God, he was set again at liberty, and returning home to his Wife and Children, continued in his Religion till the hour of his death. Ex *Sted. lib. 19.*

Much like was the case also of *Philip Landgrave of Hesse*, who likewise being taken and spoiled of the Emperor, continued the space of five years in the cruel Custody of the *Spaniards*; and albeit he had sued unto the Emperor, and was promised to be let free out of Prison, the Emperor and his Council dallying with their Promise, expounded his Imprisonment not to be perpetual. And though great Labour and Intercession was made for him, yet all would not help. For when the Emperor sent him away, then *Mary the Emperor's Sister* took him by the way, finding *Charles the Emperor's* heart: whereby he again committed into the hands of the *Spaniards*, till at length, through the dispoiling of God's Mercy, first the Duke of *Saxony*, and then six days after the *Landgrave* also, were both freed out of long captivity and sent home. Ex *Com. Sted. lib. 129, 24.*

Hermannus Archbishop of Cologne, Anno 1547.

With these holy Martyrs above recited, may also be numbered *Hermannus Archbishop of Cologne*, who, a little before the Emperor laid War against the Protestants, had reformed his Church from certain Papistical Superstitions, using therein the Aid and Advice of *Martin Bucer*. Whereupon *Charles the Emperor* sent word to *Cologne*, that he should be deposed which he patiently did suffer. In his room was set *Adolphus Earl of Saxe-Burgomaster*, Ex *Sted. lib. 18.*

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Matthias Nicholas Fischman.  
Marion, Wife of Augustinus, Anno 1549.

Matthias Nicholas and Barbara his Wife: also Augustinus a Bohemian, and Marion his Wife both about *Hannover*, after they had been at *Geneva* a space, came into *Germany*, thinking that way to pass over into *England*. By the way coming to *Hannover*, Augustinus desired *Matthias Nicholas* (because he well learned) to come to *Berlin* to visit and comfort certain Brethren therein: which he willingly did. From thence passing by *Danewik* (or *Torony*) they held on their Journey toward *England*. But in the way *Augustinus* and his Wife, being known, were detected to the Lieutenant of *Danewik*, who, in all speedily haste following after them, overtook them four miles beyond *Danewik*, *Augustinus* (how I cannot tell) escaped that time out of their hands, and could not be found. The Soldiers then lying, laid upon *Nicholas* and the two Women, brought them back again unto *Danewik*. In returning by the way, when *Matthias Nicholas* at the Table gave thanks (as the manner of the faithful) the wicked Ruler coming then, and observing like a Tyrant, said, Now let us see how low these Heretics, whether thy God can deliver thee out of my hand. To whom *Nicholas* answering again modestly, asked, what had Christ ever offended him, that he should thus Swear him to fear him in pieces? defining him, that if he had any thing against Christ, rather he would wreak his anger upon his poor Body, and let the Lord alone. Thus they being bound hands and feet were brought to *Berlin*, and there laid in the Dungeon. Then *Duke Arifonso*, accompanied with a great number of Priests, and Franciscan Friars, and with a Doctor which was their Warden, came to talk with them. *Nicholas* standing in the midst of them, being asked what was, and whether he would? answered them perfectly to all their Questions: and moreover he confounded the Priests that they went away ashamed, saying, That he had a Devil, and crying, To the fire with him, Lutheran.

As they continued still looking for the day of their Execution, it came to the Rulers minds to ask of *Nicholas* in what house he was lodged when he came to *Berlin*? *Nicholas* said, He had never been there before, and therefore being a stranger he could not tell the name of the house. When *Nicholas* would confess nothing, *Duke Arifonso* came to *Barbara, Nicholas* his Wife, to know where they were lodged at *Berlin*, promising many fair words of delivery, if he would tell. She being a weak and timorous Woman, uttered all. By the occasion whereof great Persecution followed, and many were apprehended. Where this is to be noted, that shortly after the same time, the Son of the said Duke *Arifonso* was slain, and buried the same day when *Augustinus* was burned. To be short, *Nicholas* shortly after was brought before the Judges, and there condemned to be burned to death. At which sentence giving, *Nicholas* blessed the Lord, which had counted him worthy to be a Witness in the cause of his dear and well-beloved Son. Going to the place of Execution he was commanded to speak nothing unto the people, or else he should have Ball of Wood thrust into his mouth. Being at the stake, and seeing a great multitude about him, forgetting his silence promised, he cried with a loud voice: O *Charles, Charles*, how long shall thy heart be hardened? And with that one of the Soldiers gave him a blow. Then said *Nicholas* again, Ah miserable people! thou art not worthy to whom the Word of God should be preached. And thus he spoke as they were binding him to the stake. The Priests came out with their old Songs. Then he had a Devil to whom *Nicholas* spoke the Verbe of the Psalm: Depart from me, all ye wicked, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping. And thus this holy Martyr, patiently taking his death, commendeth his Spirit unto God in the midst of the fire. Ex *Lud. Rab. Pent. & alibi.*

Marion

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Persecut. Martyrs, and the Cause of their Martyrdom.

Marion Wife of Aulsten, above mentioned, at  
Bergis in Hennegow, Anno 1549.

After the martyrdom of this Mr. *Nicholas*, *Marion* the Wife of *Aulsten* was called for. With whom they had much talk about the manner and state of *Geneva*, asking her how the Sacraments were administered there, and whether she had celebrated there the Lord's Supper? To whom she answered, That the Sacraments there were celebrated after the Lord's Institution, of which she was no celebrator, but a partaker. The sentence of her Condemnation was this, That she should be interred quick: When she was let down to the Grave, kneeling upon her knees, she desired the Lord to help her: and before she should be thrown down, she desired her face might be covered with a Napkin or some linen Cloth, who being so covered, and the earth thrown upon her face and body, the Hangman stamped upon her with his feet, till her breath was quite taken.

Aulsten the Husband of Marion. At Bellmont  
in Hennegow, Anno 1549.

Ye heard before how *Augustinus* escaped before at the taking of *Nicholas* and the two Women: that he gave himself to sell Spices, and other petty Ware from place to place. Who at length coming to the Town of *Bellmont* in *Hennegow*, there was known and detected to the Magistrate. Where he having some Intelligence before, let his Wife and children away. And seeing moreover the house before him, he was very afraid, and hid himself in a bush: for he was very timorous, and a weak-spirited Man. But the hour being come which the Lord had appointed for him, it happened that certain standing upon the Town wall, which might well see him go into the Thicket or Bush, gave knowledge thereof to the Soldiers, which followed him to the bush, and took him. Being taken, he was had to *Berlin*, the head Town of *Hennegow*, where being examined, valiantly standing to the defence of his Doctrine, he answered his Adversaries with great boldness.

Wherein here is to be noted and marvelled to see the Work of the Lord, how this Man being before of nature so timorous, now was so strengthened with God's Grace, that he nothing feared the force of all his Enemies. Among other things he named the Warden of the gray Friars, with a long Oration, performing him to relent, or he should stand in Hell fire perpetually. To whom *Aulsten* answering again, said, Prove that you say by the Authority of God's Word, that a Man may believe you: you say much, but you prove nothing. I will give you the Word of Truth, &c. At last, he being there condemned to be burned at *Bellmont*, was brought to the Inn where he should take Horse: where was a certain Gentleman, a stranger, who, drinking him in a cup of Wine, desired him to have pity upon himself: and if he would not favour his Life, yet that he would favour his own Soul. To whom said *Aulsten*, after he had thanked him for his good will, but you prove nothing. I will give you the Word of Truth, &c. 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## Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

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Steffens  
Chancellor  
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Cologne,  
and the  
Fishes  
there.

He heard that there was a black Friar, which used to preach good Doctrine to the People. Wherefore he, being delicious to hear, came to his Sermon; where the Friar, contrary to his expectation, preached in defence of Transubstantiation. At the hearing whereof his heart was so full, that he had much ado to refrain, while the Sermon was finished. As soon as the Friar was come down, he bent out and charged him with false Doctrine, perverting the People, as well as he could be heard, by the Scriptures, that the Bread was but a Sacrament, only to the Lord's Body. The Friar, not willing to hear him, made signs unto him to depart. All the throng of the People was such, that it carried him out of the doors. He had not gone far, but *Hefilins* the Chamberlain overtook him and carried him to Prison. Then were Doctors and other Friars, as *Pfister*, and *Bauderlin*, brought to reason with him, of the Sacrament, of Invocation of Saints, and Purgatory. He ever stood to the trial only of the Scripture: which they refused. Then it was agreed that he should declare his mind in writing: which he did. He wrote also to his Wife at *Enden*: comforting her, and requiring her to take care for *Samuel* and *Sarah* his Children. When he was condemned, he was commanded not to speak to the People. *Hefilins* the Officer made great hate to have him discharged. Wherefore he, mally like a Lamb, praying for his Enemies, gave up his body, and patiently taking what they would do against him: whom first they fringed, and then consumed his Body being dead with fire.

And this was the Martyrdom of *Hefilins*. Ex Lud. Rak. lib. 6.

Joannes Frisius Abbat in Bavaria, Anno 1534.

*Joannes Stidan*, lib. 25. maketh record of one *Johannes Frisius*, Abbat of *Nentad*, within the Dioceses of the Bishop *Hieronymus* in Bavaria: Who, being suspected of *Lutheranism*, was called to account of his Faith: and strongly perishing in his Affections, and defending the same by the Scriptures, he was therefore displaced and removed from all his Jurisdictions, the five and twentieth of June, Anno 1555. Ex *Stid.*

Bertrand de Blas, at Donick, An. 1555.

The story of *Bertrand* is lamentable, his Torments incredible, the Tyranny shewed unto him horrible, the Contumacy of the Martyr admirable. This *Bertrand*, being a silk Weaver, went to *Wipfolt* for the Cause of Religion. Who being delicious to draw his Wife and Children from *Donick*, to *Wipfolt*, came thence from thence to perforce let to go with him childer. When he in no wife could be interested, he, remaining a few days at home, let his house in order, and desired his Wife and Brother to pray that God would establish him in his enterprise that he went about. That done he went upon *Christmas-day* to the high Church of *Donick*, where he took the Cake out of the Priest's hand, so he would have lifted it over his head at Mass, and stamp'd it under his feet, saying, That he did it to the Glory of that God, and what little power he hath: with other words more to the people, to persuade them that the Cake or Fragment of Bread was not Jesus their Saviour.

At the sight hereof the People being stricken with a marvellous damps, stood all amazed. At length such a stirring thereupon followed, that *Bertrand* could hardly escape with life. It was not long but the noise of this was carried to the Bailiff of *Hanngow*, and Governor of

Philip de  
Cordet  
Chief  
Councillor  
In Criminal  
Cases.

Nicholas  
Chaudre.

Peter de  
dieter.

## Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

James de  
George.

Nicholas  
de  
Fornage.

M. Herman  
of  
Wipfolt,  
one of the  
Council for  
the said  
Bailiff.

the Castle of *Donick*, which lay sick the same time of the Gout at *Bielle*. Who like a mad Man cried out, that ever God would or could be so patient, to suffer that Continently, he to be broken under the foot by such a Mill: adding moreover, that he would revenge his Cause in such sort, as it should be an example for ever to all Posterity; and forthwith the furious Tyrant commanded himself to be carried to the Castle of *Donick*, *Bertrand* being brought before him, was asked whether he repented of his Fact, or whether he would go to do, it were to be done again? Who answered, that if it were an hundred times to be done, he would do it: and if he had an hundred lives, he would give them in that quarter. Then was he thrice put to the Pinack, tormented most miserably, to utter his fetters on, which he would never do. Then proceeded they to the Sentence, more like Tyrants than Christians. By the tenour of which Sentence, this was his punishment:

First, He was drawn from the Castle of *Donick* to the Market-place, having a Ball of iron put in his mouth. Then he was set upon a Stage, where his right hand where with he took the Host, was crushed and pressed between two hot Irons, with sharp iron edges neryed, till the form and fashion of his hand was misshapen. In like manner they brought other like Irons for his right foot, made fire-hot, whereunto of his own accord he put his foot, to suffer as his hand had done before, with marvellous constancy and firmness of mind. Then done, they took the ball of iron out of his mouth, and cut off his tongue, who notwithstanding, with continual crying, called not to call upon God: whereby the hearts of the People were greatly moved: Whereupon the tormentors thrust the iron ball into his mouth again. From thence they brought him down to the lower Stage, he going of the same no less cheerfully and quietly, than if no part of his body had been hurt. With his legs and his hands were bound find him there with an Iron Chain going about his body, and he was let down flat upon the fire: whom the fore said Governor, then standing by and looking upon, caused to be let up again, and so down and up again, till at last the whole body was spent to ashes, which he commanded to be cast into the River: when this was done, the Chappel where this Male-god was so intreated, was locked up, and the Board whereupon the Priest stood was burnt, the marble Stone whereupon the Host did light, was broken in pieces. And finally, forasmuch as the said *Bertrand* had received his Doctrine at *Wipfolt*, commandment was given, that no Person out of that Country should go to *Wipfolt*, or there occupy, under incurring the danger of the Emperor's Placeard, Ex *Crisp. Pentat. ad Adrian.*

Two hundred Ministers of Bohemia, Anno 1555.

The same year two hundred Ministers and Preachers of the Gospel were banished out of a Bohemia for preaching against the superstition of the Bishop of *Rome*, and extolling the Gospel of Christ. Ex *Com. Johan. Stid. lib. 25.*

The Preachers of Locarne.

*Locarne* is a place between the *Alpy*, very subject to the *Helvetians*. When these also had received the Gospel, and the five Pages of the *Helvetians* above-mentioned were not well pleased therewith, but would have them punished, and great contention was among the *Helvetians* about the same, it was concluded at length, that the Ministers (the said) should: whom the *Helvetians* did receive. Ex *Pent.*

## K. Hen. 8.

Persecut.

Persecut.

Persecut.

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Persecut.

## Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

Germany, which were secretly drowned, or banished, or otherwise in Prison made away: whose names although they be not known to us, yet they are registered in the Book of Life. Furthermore, in the Dutch Book of *Adrian*, divers other be numbered in the Catalogue of these German Martyrs, which likewise suffered in divers places of the lower Country: the names of certain be these:

John Mulo.  
Dimitri Witroche.  
Walterus Calier.  
John Porcean.  
Julian, vander Swerde.  
Adrian Loppins.  
Bodwinne.

At *Bergin* or *Bergen* in *Hannow*, were burnt in the year of our Lord 1555, *John Mulo*, *Dimitri Witroche*, *Walterus Calier*, *John Porcean*. At *Alfa* also suffered one *Julian*, Anno 1541, and *Adrian Loppins*, Anno 1555. At *Bruxel*, Anno 1559, one *Bardwin* beheaded. Another called *Gillertus Tilmans* burnt, Anno 1551.

Add moreover to the same Catalogue of Dutch Martyrs burnt and consumed in the lower Countries under the Emperor's Dominion, the Names of these following: *Willelmus Smole* burnt at *Mechlin*, Anno 1529. *Nicholas Van Pole* at *Gant* beheaded. *Robert Oreyer*, and *Jan his Wife*, with *Baudouin*, and *Martin Oreyer* their Children, which suffered at *Lille*, Anno 1556. *Nicholas* burnt at *Mons* in *Hannow*: *Lawrence* of *Bruxel*, at *Mons*: *John Palfan* at *Mons*: *Corneilus Veleart* at *Bregis*, Anno 1555. *Habert* the Painter, and *Philibert Tupper* at *Bregis*, Anno 1553. A Woman burnt with *Thomas* under ice: *Peter le Root* at *Bregis*, Anno 1552. At *Mechlin* suffered *Francis* and *Nicholas*, two Brethren, Anno 1555. At *Antwerp* were burnt *Adrian* a Painter, and *Henry a Tailor*, Anno 1555. Also *Corneilus Hadenius* Locksmith, and *Herman Tansin* the same year. Mrs. *John de Camp* Schoolmaster, Anno 1557, with a number of other belides, which in the said Book are to be seen and read.

Anno 1525, we read also in the French History, of a certain Monk, who, because he refused his abominable Order, and was married, was burnt at *Prague*.

A Preacher poisoned at Erford.

In the Collections of *Henry Estalieu*, we read also of a certain godly Preacher to be poisoned, for preaching the Word of Truth, by the Priest of *Erford*. Ex *Eligia capifada ori deli in Plantat.*

And here ceasing with these Persecutions in Germany, we will now, Christ willing, proceed further to the French Martyrs, comprehending, in a like Table the Names and Causes of such as in that Kingdom suffered for the Word of God, and Cause of Righteousness, as in this brief Summary consequently hereunder ensueth.

Another

## Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

Francis Wanat, Alexander Daykes, at Donick, Anno 1562.

After these two good Men, being born in the lower parts of Germany, had been constant in divers reformed Churches in other Countries: at last, for Conscience sake they returned home again to do good in their own Country of *Donick*, and thereabout.

So upon a time, as the people there referred to a back-field or Wood without the City, with a certain Preacher, to hear the Word of God, and to pray, the Adversaries, having thereof some intelligence, so purified them, that they took of them above thirty, of whom these two among the rest were apprehended: and thinking no less but that they should be burned, they began to sing Psalms. At length being brought forth, first one, then the other, they were both beheaded. And where the Judges had intended to quarter their Bodies, and to fet them up by the high Ways, yet was it so provided, God working in the hearts of the People, that they were both committed to Sepulture. Ex *Lud. Rab.*

Gilloots Viveri  
James Faber his Father-in-Law.  
Michael Faber Son of James.  
Anna Wife of Gilloots, and Daughter of James Faber.

These in the Cause of the Gospel suffered at *Valence*.

*James Faber*, being an old Man, said, That although he could not answer or fortify them in reasoning, yet he would constantly abide in the truth of the Gospel.

*Anna* his Daughter, being with Child, was required: after the use delivered, the followed her Husband and Father in the like Martyrdom.

Michella Gaignocle, at Valence, Anno 1550.

*Michella*, Wife of *James Clerk* which was before married, when he was offered to be married, and to be carried out of the Country to some reformed Church, refused to do so, but would abide the adventure of her Vocation, and so was condemned with *Gilloots* to be burned. Ex *Crisp.*

Godfridus Hamelle, at Donick, An. 1552.

This *Godfridus* a Tailor was taken and condemned at *Donick*, or *Tournay*. When they had condemned him by the name of an Heretic's Nephew (said he) not an Heretic, but a Servant of Jesus Christ unrepentant. When the Hangman went about to strangle him to diminish his punishment, he refused it, saying, That he would abide the Sentence that the Judges had given. Ex *nd.*

Besides these Germans above specified, a great number there was, both in the higher and lower Countries of

Another Table of them which suffered in France, for the like witness of the Gospel.

The French Martyrs.

Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

James De-  
maris  
Martyr.

Dr. Mar-  
ialis  
Paris.

James Pavane Schoolmaster at Paris, 1524.

**T**his James, first being taken by the Bishop of Meulan, or Meaux, was compelled to recant by Dr. Marialis. Afterward returning again to his Confession, he was burned at Paris, in the year 1525. Ex Jo. Crisp.

Dionisius de Rieux, at Meulan, Meux, 1528.

This Denis was one of them which was first burned at Meulan, for saying, that the Mass is a plain denial of the Death and Passion of Christ. He was always wont to have in his mouth, the words of Christ; *He that denieth me before Men, him also will I deny before my Father*; and to make upon the same earnestly. He was burnt with a slow fire, and did abide much torment. Ex Crisp. & alii.

Johnnes de Caducro, Bachelor of the Civil Law, Anno 1533.

This John, first for making a Sermon of Exhortation to his Countrymen of Languedoc in France, upon *Albion-days*; and after sitting at a Feast where it was propounded, That every one should bring forth some sentence; for that he brought forth this, *Christ reigns in our hearts*; and did prosecute the same by the Scriptures in much length of words: was thereupon accused, taken and degraded, and after burned. At his Degradation, one of the Black Priests of Paris preached, taking for his Theme the words of St. Paul, 1 Tim. 4. *The Spirit speaketh, that in the later days, Men shall depart from the Faith, giving heed to lying Spirits, and Doctrines of Error*, &c. And in handling that place, either he could not, or would not proceed further in the Text. Caducro cried out to him to proceed, and read further. The Priest dumbfound could not speak a word.

Then Caducro, taking the Text, did prosecute the same, as follows: *Teaching false Doctrine in hypocrisy, having their Conscience seared with a hot Iron, forbidding to marry, and to eat Meats, created of God to be eaten with thanksgiving*, &c. Ex Jo. Crisp.

Bartholomew Myler, a Lame Cripple.  
John Burgess Merchant, the Receiver of Nautes.  
Henry Houille of Couberon.  
Caterella a School-mistress.  
Steven de la Forge Merchant.  
Anno 1535.

These five here specified, for certain Bills cast abroad and set up, founding against the abomination of the Mass, and other superstitious Abominations of the Pope, were condemned and burned in the City of Paris. Henry of Couberon had his tongue bored through, and with an Iron Wire tied fast to one of his Cheeks; who likewise with the other was burned as is aforesaid. Ex Jo. Crisp.

Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

Alexander Causus Priest, afterwards called Laurentius Cruces, at Paris, Anno 1533.

For the sincere Doctrine and Confession of Christ's true Religion, he was burned in Paris, having but a small fire, and did abide much torment. Ex Henric. Fast.

John Pointier a Surgeon, at Paris, Anno 1533.

This Surgeon being detected and accused by John Pointier the Priest, and such as he had cured before of the French Pox, was first condemned to be otherwise punished, and then burned; but afterward, because he would not do homage to a certain Lord coming at the commandment of a Friar that came to confute him, his Sentence was turned to have his tongue cut off, and so to be burned. Ex Crisp.

Peter Gaudet, Knight Justice of Rhodes, Anno 1533.

This Peter, being at Geneva with his Wife, was trained out from thence by his Uncle, put in Prison for defence of the Gospel; and, after long torments there sustained, was burned. Vide Crisp.

Quoquillard, Anno 1534.

At Bezançon, in the County of Burgundy, this Quoquillard was burned for the confession and testimony of Christ's Gospel. Ex Jo. Crisp.

Nicholas a Scrivener.  
John de Poix.  
Stephen Barlet, Anno 1534.

These three were executed and burned for the like cause of the Gospel, in the City of Aras: namely Nicholas a Scrivener, John de Poix, Stephen Barlet. Ex Jo. Crisp.

Mary Becaudella, at Fontaines, Anno 1534.

This Mary being veraciously instructed of her Matter where she lived; and being afterward at a Sermon, where a Friar preached, after the Sermon, found fault with his Doctrine, and refuted the same by the Scriptures. Whereat he disdainfully, procured her to be burned at Fontaines. Ibidem.

John Cornon, Anno 1535.

John Cornon was a Husbandman of Meulan, and unlettered: but one to whom God gave such wisdom, that his Judges were amazed, when he was condemned by their Sentence and burned. Ex Crispin.

Martin Gonin, in Dolphin, Anno 1536.

This Martin being taken for a Spy in the Borders of France, towards the Alps, was martyred to Prison. In his going out, his Jaylor committed to him Letters of Farewell, and

George Be-  
rel, Tay-  
lor.

A Gray  
Friar in  
the City  
of Roches.

A certain  
Knight of  
Arles  
killed in  
this year.

Dr. Cleric  
a School-  
ma.

Dr. Mar-  
ialis  
Paris.

Dr. Mar-  
ialis  
Paris.

Dr. Mar-  
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Persecut. Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdom.

**Dr. John Picard.** when they could find no advantage, but rather flame at his hands, they were angry with the Judges for killing them dispute with Heretics.

This done, the Judges consulting together upon his Condemnation could not agree: so that *Chapot* (as it seemed) might have escaped had not a wicked person the reporter of the Process fought and wrought his Condemnation, which Condemnation was at length concluded thus, That he should be burned quick, only the cutting off of his tongue was pardoned. The Doctor appointed to be at his Execution was *Mailard*, with whom he was greatly incumbered. For this Frier called upon him full not to speak to the People, but he desired him that he might pray. Then he bar' him pray to our Lady, and confes'd her to be his Advocate. He confes'd that the was a blessed Virgin, and recited the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and was about to speak of the Mass, but *Mailard* would not let him, making haste to his Execution, and said, unless he would say *Ave Maria*, he should be burnt quick. Then *Chapot* prayed, O Jesus Son of David, have mercy upon me. *Mailard* then bad him say, *Jesus Maria*, and so he should be fringed. *Chapot* again confes'd, that he was so weak, that he could not speak. Say, said *Mailard*, *Jesus Maria*, or else thou shalt be burned quick. As *Chapot* was thus striving with the Frier, suddenly as it happened, *Jesus Maria* escaped out of his mouth, but he by and by repelling said, O God, bid me what I will, I pardon me, O Lord, to thee only have I sinned. Then *Mailard* commanded the Cord to be plucked about his Neck to frange him: notwithstanding yet he felt something the fire. After all things done, *Mailard* all full of anger, went to the Council-house, called *Les Chanceliers*, declaring what an Upstart had there almost happened among the People; saying that he would complain upon the Judges, for suffering such Heretics to have their tongues. Whereupon immediately a Decree was made, that all which were to be burned, unless they recanted at the fire, should have their tongues cut off. Which Law diligently afterward was observed. Ex *Johanne Crispino lib. 6.*

Statinus Nivet at Paris, Anno 1546.

After the burning of those fourteen, whose Names be described before, this *Statinus* (which was a lame Cripple) with his Wife removed out of *Mans* to *Mimbold*, where when he had continued a while in safe liberty of Religion, and saw himself there to do no good, but to be a burden to the Church, call'd in his mind to return home to *Mans* again, and so did: where at last, as he was selling certain small Wares in the Fair, he was there known and apprehended. Whereof when Information was given, he being examined, at the first confessed, and more than they were willing to hear. In the time of this Inquisition, as they were examining him of certain Points of Religion, and asked him whether he would stand to that he said, or not? He gave this Answer again, worthy to be registered in all Men's hearts, saying, And I ask you again, Lord Judges, dare you be so bold to deny that it is to plain and manifest by the open words of the Scripture? So little regard had he to save his own Life, that he desired the Judges both at *Mans*, and at *Paris*, for God's sake, that they would rather take care of their own Lives and Souls, and to consider how much innocent Blood they spilled daily in fighting against Christ Jesus and his Gospel.

**Mr. Peter Lefie** president of the Council of Paris.

At last, being brought to *Paris*, through the means of *Matter Peter Lefie*, a great Prebendary, for that they of *Mans* should take by him no encouragement, there he

Persecut. Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdom.

was detained, and suffered his Martyrdom; where no kind of Cruelty was lacking, which the innocent Martyrs of Christ Jesus were wont to be sent unto. Ex *Hen. Pantul. & Hipp. Galis.*

Stephen Polliot at Paris, Anno 1546.

**Stephen Polliot** coming out of *Normandy* (where he was born) unto *Mans*, tarried there not long, but was compelled to fly, and went to a Town called *Pons*, where he was apprehended and brought to *Paris*, and there cast into a foul and dark Prison. In which Prison he was kept in Bands and Fetters a long space, where he flew almost no light. At length being called for before the Senate, and his Sentence given to have his Tongue cut out, and to be burned alive, his Sachel of Books hanging about his Neck: O Lord, said he, is the World in blindness, and darkness full? for he thought, being in Prison for long, that the World had been altered from its old darkness to better knowledge. At last the worthy Martyr of Jesus Christ having his Books about his Neck, was put into the fire, where with much Patience ended this transitory Life. Ex *Hen. Pantul.*

John English, Anno 1547.

He was executed and burned at *Sens* in Burgundy, being condemned by the High Court of Law, for confessing the true Word of God. Ex *Crifp. & Adian.*

Michael Micholote a Taylor, Anno 1547.

This Taylor being apprehended for the Gospel sake, was judged first, if he would turn to be heathen; and if he would not turn, then to be burned alive. When being asked, Whether of the two he would chuse? answered, That he trusted, that he which had given him Grace not to deny the Truth, would also give him patience to endure the fire. He was burned at *Mons* by *Tammy*.

Leonard de Prato, Anno 1547.

This Leonard going from *Dyon* to *Bar*, a town called *Burgundy*, with two false Brethren, and talking with them about Religion, was betrayed of them, and afterward burned.

**John Taffington, Jean his Wife, Simon Marichall, Jean his Wife, William Michau, James Boulanger, James Brevery.**

Anno 1547. All these seven being of the City of *Lan. Sen* were, for the Word and Truth of Jesus Christ, were committed to the fire, wherein they died with much strength and comfort. But especially *Jean*, which was *Simon's* Wife, being referred to the last place, because the life young, confirmed her Husband, and all the other with words of singular Consolation, declaring to her Husband, that they should the life be married to the Lord Jesus, to live with him for ever. Ex *Pan. Crifp. & alii.*

**Michael Marichall, John Camas, Great John Camas, John Scerpin.**

Anno 1547. These also the same year, and about the same time, for the like Confession of Christ's Gospel,

The Senate of Paris.

The names of his yet-tors in the story are not expesied.

The High Court of Paris.

Two false Brethren.

Refen. 8.

Stephen Polliot.

John English.

Michael Micholote.

John Taffington.

Michael Marichall.

John Camas.

John Scerpin.

Persecut. Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdom.

fiel, were condemned by the Senate of *Paris*, and in the same City also with the like Cruelty were burned. Ex *Pantal. Crifpin.*

Othovien Blondel a Merchant of precious Stones at Paris, Anno 1548.

This *Othovien* as he was a great Occupier in all Faies and Countries of *France*, and well known both in Court and elsewhere; so was he a singular honest Man of great integrity, and also a true lover of God's Word. Who being at his Beds house at *Leger*, rebuked the filthy Talk, and superstitious Behaviours, which there he heard and saw. Wherefore the Host bearing to him a grudge, changed to have certain Talk with *Gabriel of Succession Professor*, concerning the Riches, and a sumptuous Coller set with rich Jewels of this *Othovien*.

Thus these two consulting together, did fabricate a certain perjury to borrow of him a certain Sum of Crowns; which because *Othovien* refused to lend, the other caused him to be apprehended for Heresy, thinking thereby to make Attachment of his Goods. But such order was taken by *Blondel's* Friends, that they were frustrate of their purpose. Then *Blondel* being examined of his Faith, gave a plain and full Confession of that Doctrine, which he had learned: for which he was committed to Prison, where he did much good to the Prisoners there.

For some that were in debt, he paid their Creditors and loosed them out. To those he gave Meat, to other Raiment. At length, through the importune Persecutions of his Barnes and Friends, he gave over and changed his Confession. Notwithstanding the *Professors*, not leaving off, appealed him up to the High Court of *Paris*. There *Othovien* being asked touching his Faith, which of his two Confessions he would stick to? he being before so mouthed of his Fall, and of the Office given thereby to the Faithful, said he would live and die in the first Confession, which he defended to be consonant to the Verity of God's Word. Which done, he was condemned to be burned, and to have his Execution, let his Friends in the Court might come between and save his Life. Ex *Jo. Crifp. lib. 6.*

Hubert Cheriet, alias Barre, a young man a Tailor, at Dyon, Anno 1549.

Hubert being a young man of the Age of nineteen years, was burned for the Gospel at *Dyon*; his wife neither by any terrors of death, nor allurement of his Parents, could be otherwise persuaded, but constantly to remain in the Truth unto death. Ibid.

Maister Florent Venote, Priest at Paris, Anno 1549.

This *Florent* remained in Prison at *Paris* four years and nine hours. During which time there was no torment which he did not abide and overcome. Among all other kinds of torments, he was put in a narrow Prison or Brake so that, that he could neither stand nor lie, which they call the Hole or Brack, ad *Natus Hippocritus*, because it is that beneath, and wider above, like to the Instrument where with Apothecaries are wont to make their *Hypocrit*. In this he remained five weeks, where the Tormentors affirm, that no kind of Murder could endure fifteen days, but was in danger of Life, or Madness.

At last, when there was a great heat in *Paris*, at the King's coming into the City, and divers other Martyrs in sundry places of the City were put to death, he having his Tongue cut off, was brought to be the Execution of them all, and last of all, in the place of *Mans*.

Refen. 8.

Othovien Blondel.

Gabriel of Succession Professor.

Falsely sworn Words.

Hubert Cheriet.

Florent Venote.

Peter Lefie.

John Camas.

John Scerpin.

Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdom.

bert, was put in the fire and burned the ninth of July at Afternoon. Ex *Johanne Crifp.*

Am Audebert an Apothecaries Wife and Widow at Orleans, Anno 1549.

She going to *Genève* was taken and brought to *Paris*, and by the Council there adjudged to be burned at *Orleans*. When the Rote was put about her, she called it her Wedding-girdle wherewith the flesh of the King's body was to be burned upon a Saturday. Even: upon a Saturday, said she, I was first married, and upon a Saturday I shall be married again. And seeing the Dang-car brought wherein she should be carried, she rejoiced thereat, shewing such constancy in her Martyrdom as made all the Beholders to marvel. Ex *Jo. Crifp.*

A poor Tailor of Paris, dwelling in the street of St. Anthony at Paris, Anno 1549.

Amongst many other goodly Martyrs that suffered in *France*, the Story of this poor Tailor is not the least nor worst to be remembered. His Name is not yet thought out in the *French* Stories for lack of diligence in the Writers, more the pity. The Story is this: Not long after the Coronation of *Henry* the second, the *French* Kings at which coming into *Paris* divers good Martyrs were there brought out, and burned for a spectacle, as is above said. A certain poor Taylor, who then dwelt not far from the Kings Palace, in the Street bearing the Name of St. Anthony, was apprehended of a certain Officer in the Kings house, for that upon a certain Holy day he followed his Occupation, and did work for his living: Before he was led to Prison, the Officer asked him, why he did labour and work, giving no Observation to the Holy-day?

To whom he answered, That he was a poor Man, living only upon his labour: and as for the day, he knew no other but only the Sunday, wherein he might not lawfully work for the necessity of his living. Then the Officer began to ask of him many Questions: whereunto the poor Tailor did so answer, that editions he was clapt in Prison. After that, the Officer coming into the Court to shew what good Service he had done for the holy Church, declared to certain Elders, how he had taken a Lutheran working upon a Holy-day: shewing that he had such answers of him, that he commanded him to Prison. When the Rump thereof was noised in the Kings Chamber, through the motion of them which were about the King, the poor Man was sent for to appear, that the King might have the hearing of him.

Whereupon the Kings Chamber being voided, five or six a few of the chiefest Priests remaining about the King, the Temple Tailor was brought. The King fitting in his Chair, commanded *Pierre-Castellane* Bishop of *Maison*, (a Man very fit for such Inquisition) to question with him. The Tailor being entered, and nothing appalled at the Kings Majesty, after his Reverence done unto the Prince, gave thanks to God, that he had so gloriously died him being such a wretch, as to living him where he might testify his Truth before such a mighty Prince. Then *Castellane* entering full, began to reason with him touching the greatest and chiefest matter of Religion. Whereunto the Tailor without fear, or any halting in his speech, with present Audacity, Wit, and Memory, so answered for the sincere Doctrine and simple truth of God's Gospel, as was both convenient to the papists, and also to his Questions apply and fitly contradictory.

Notwithstanding, the Nobles there present, with cruel Taunts and Rebukes, did what they could to dash him out of Countenance. Yet all this terrified not him, but for his boldness of heart, and free liberty of Speech, he defended

Am Audebert.

A poor Tailor.

The Tailor's answer.

The Tailor's answer.

The Tailor's answer.

*Persecut. ( Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdom.*

they were brought to the *Stake*, the young Man first going up, began to weep. The Master fearing lest he would give over, ran to him, and he was comforted, and they began to sing. After singing, the Master the Master standing upright to the *Stake*, shifted the fire from him to his Servant, being more careful for him than for himself: and when he saw him dead, he bowed down into the flame, and so expired. *Ex Cripp. & alibi.*

Hugonius Grevier, a Schoolmaster and Minister after of Geneva, in the Country of New-castle,

*At Burg, Anno 1552.*

*At Burg in Bruffe*, a days Journey from Lyons, this *Grevier* was burned. He coming from Geneva to New-castle, there was elected to be Minister. But first he going to see his Wives Friends at *Melfon*, there, as he was coming away out of the County, was taken upon the Bridge, with all his Company: and in the end he willing the VVomen and the rest of the Company to pay the fault in him, for bringing them out of the County, he first notwithstanding the Lords of *Born* sent their Heralds to save his Life, and also that the Official declared him to be an honest Man, and to hold nothing, but agreeing to the Scriptures. *Ex Trithem. Cripp. lib.*

*Martial Alba.  
Petrus Scriba.  
Bernard Seguin.  
Charles Faber.  
Peter Navibere.  
At Lyons, An. 1553.*

These five Students, after they had remained in the University of *Lawfanna* a certain time, consulted amongst themselves being all Frenchmen, to return home every one to his Country, to the intent they might instruct their Parents and other their Friends in such Knowledge as the Lord had given them. So taking their Journey from *Lawfanna*, first they came to *Gynna*, where they remained a while. From

Arch-  
bishop of  
Lions.

of May to the sixteenth of the same Month again. As they were learned and well exercised in the Scriptures, so every one of them exhibited severally a learned Confession of his Faith;

of the Lord's Spirit, they confounded the Friars, with whom they disputed: *especially Pater Noster, or Sermons, and Signum.*

They were executed, *fundly* of the Sacrament of the Lord's Body, of Purgatory, of Confession and Invocation, of Free-will, and of the Supper, &c. Although they were not put to death by good men, yet they were their Adversaries in reasoning, yet right being overcome by might, Sentence was given, and they banished into the Town of Ayr, where they were confined. They began to sing Psalms. As they passed by the Market-place, one of them with a loud voice faltered the People with the words of the last Chapter to the 126th Psalm, *When the Lord shall bring again from death the great Pastor of the Sheep, in the Blood of the eternal Testament, &c.* Coming to the place, first the two youngest

Wood to the stake, and there were fastned, and  
so after them the rest. Martial *Alba* being  
K 2 the



| Persecut.                                                                                          | Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.                                                        | Persecut.                  | Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | K.Hen. 8.                      |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Ladovick<br>Laz. by<br>Cath. Grand<br>Martyrdom.                                                   | Ladovick Masficus.<br>Michael Gerard his Companion.<br>Stephen Carpentier.<br>At Lyons, Anno 1553. | Barbari<br>at<br>Official. | bid to add also Romanism, that is, the Church of Rome, that he refused. Advocates he knew none but Christ alone. Purgatory he knew none, but the Cross and Passion of the Lamb, which purged the sins of all the World. True Confession, he said, ought to be made not to the Priest once a year, but every day to God, and to such whom we have offended. The eating of the Flesh and Blood of Christ he took to be spiritual: and the Sacrament of the Flesh and Blood of Christ to be eaten with the mouth, and that Sacrament to be Bread and Wine under the name and signification of the Body and Blood of Christ's the Mass not to be instituted of Christ, being a thing contrary to his Word and Will. For the Head of the Church he knew none but only Christ. Being in Prison, he had great conflicts with the intimacy of his Faith, but especially with the temptation of his Parents, Brethren, and Kinsfolks, and the sorrow of his Mother: nevertheless, he did afford him, that he endured to the end. At his burning he spoke much to the People, and was heard with great attention. He suffered July 15. 1553. Ex Crisp. |                                |
| The King<br>Liquorist<br>at Lyons.                                                                 | The King's Lieutenant at Lyons.                                                                    | Orin<br>Inquisitor.        | William Neel, an English Friar, at Euxen in France. Anno 1553.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Will. Neel,<br>martyr.         |
| The Offi-<br>cial.                                                                                 | The Offi-<br>cial.                                                                                 |                            | Hen. Pantat, lib. p. & Crisp. & Adrian, maketh mention also of <i>William Neel</i> , a <i>Friar Augustin</i> , who suffered in much like sort the same year, and was burned at Euxen in France. The occasion of his trouble rose forth the rebuking of the vicious demeanour of the Priests there, and of the Decretal Legues. For which the Dean caused him to be sent to Euxen to the Prison of the Bishop. The story of this <i>Will. Neel</i> , with his answers to their Articles objected, is to be read more at large in the ninth Book of <i>Pantatium</i> , and others.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                |
| The Priests.                                                                                       | The Priests.                                                                                       |                            | Simon Laloe, at Dijon, Anno 1553.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | Simon Laloe,<br>martyr.        |
| To Migh-<br>tiness at<br>the People.                                                               | To Migh-<br>tiness at<br>the People.                                                               |                            | Simon Laloe a Spectacle-maker, coming from Geneva into France for certain business, was laid hand of by the Bailiff of Dijon. Three things were demanded of him. First, Where he dwelt. Secondly, What was his Faith. Thirdly, What Religion he knew of his Religion. His dwelling, he said, was at Geneva. His Religion was such as was then used at Geneva. As for his Faith, he said, he knew none, but only them of the same City of Geneva, where his dwelling was. When they could get of him no other answer but this, with all their railing and taunting, they proceeded to his Sentence, and purified the execution of the same, which was Nov. 21. 1553.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |                                |
| Note, what<br>the People<br>of the Law<br>of God<br>in the<br>City of<br>Lyons<br>did not<br>know. | Note, what<br>the People<br>of the Law<br>of God<br>in the<br>City of<br>Lyons<br>did not<br>know. |                            | The Executioners, who were named <i>James Silvester</i> , seeing the great faith and countenance of that heavenly Martyr, were so much moved with repentance, and fell in such despair of himself, that they had much ado, with all the promises of the Gospel, to recover any comfort in him. At last, through the Mercy of Christ, he was comforted, and converted; and so he with all his Family removed to the Church at Geneva. Ex Jo. Crisp.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                |
| The King's<br>Lieutenant<br>at Lyons.                                                              | The King's<br>Lieutenant<br>at Lyons.                                                              |                            | Nicholas Naylor, at Paris. Anno 1553.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | Nich. Naylor,<br>martyr.       |
| The Priests.                                                                                       | The Priests.                                                                                       |                            | This <i>Nicholas</i> , a Shoemaker, coming to Paris with certain fables of Books, was there apprehended; who stoutly persisting in confessing the Truth, was tried with sundry torments, to utter what Fables he had besides of his Profession, so cruelly, that his body was dissolved almost joint from another: but to constant he was in his silence, that he would express none. At his burning he spoke much to the People, and was heard with great attention. He suffered July 15. 1553. Ex Jo. Crisp.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                |
| The King's<br>Lieutenant<br>at Lyons.                                                              | The King's<br>Lieutenant<br>at Lyons.                                                              |                            | Matthieu Dinnortus, Merchant, at Lyons. Anno 1553.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Matthieu Dinnortus,<br>martyr. |
| The Priests.                                                                                       | The Priests.                                                                                       |                            | This Merchant first lived a vicious and detestable life, full of much covetousness and filthiness. He was also a secret Enemy, and faroucher out of good Men, when and where they converted to Christ. Who being called notwithstanding, by the grace of God, to the knowledge and favour of his Word, shortly after was taken by the Lieutenant, and <i>Bartholomew</i> the Official, in his own house at Lyons, and so after a little examination was sent to Prison. Being examined by the Inquisitor and the Officials, he refused to yield any answer to them, knowing no authority they had upon him, but only to the Lieutenant. His Answerers were, that he believed all that the holy universal Church of Christ did truly believe, and all the Articles of the Creed. To the Article of the Holy Catholic Church, being                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                |

| Persecut. | Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom. | Persecut. | Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | K.Hen. 8.                   |
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| K.Hen. 8. | K.Hen. 8.                                   | Persecut. | Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | K.Hen. 8.                   |
|           |                                             |           | Stephen King, Petrus Devocheus, at Chartres. Anno 1553.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | Rev. Hen. 8.                |
|           |                                             |           | Stephen King, after he had been at Strasbourg a while, returned again into his Country, dwelling in a Town bearing the name of St. George, not far from <i>Chassiers</i> : where he hired in the place of a Notary, and had under him a Clerk, named <i>Petrus Devocheus</i> , who also had been at Geneva, and was zealous in instructing the ignorant, and rebuking blasphemous Swearers, and other Offenders. These two were so long together but they were suspected both of <i>Lutheranism</i> , and so were apprehended by the Governor of the Marches, or <i>Mailhais</i> , and so were carried to Chartres: where after their constant confession, upon their examination made, they were enclosed in Prison, and there fastained long and tedious manner. During the which mean time, <i>Stephen King</i> made many worthy Songs and Sonnets in the praise of the Lord, whereby to recreate his Spirit in that doleful captivity. At length, when after long perquisitions and false promises of the Bishop, and of others, they could not be revolved from the Doctrine of their Confession, they were condemned. From that condemnation, they appealed to the Court of Paris. But the Council there, confirming their former Sentence, returned them again to Chartres, from whence they came, where they were both executed with cruel punishment of fire. Ex <i>Hydr. Gallie</i> , per Jo. Crisp. |                             |
|           |                                             |           | Antoinis Magnus, or Magnus, at Paris. Anno 1554.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Antoinis Magnus,<br>martyr. |
|           |                                             |           | Antoinis Magnus was sent by the five which were in Prison at Lyons, above-mentioned, and by other also that were in at Captivity at Paris, unto Geneva, to commend them to their prayers, and to God for them. Who, after certain business there dispatched returned again into France, and there within three hours of his coming, was betrayed and taken by certain Priests at <i>Burgess</i> , and there delivered by the said Priests unto the Official, after a few days the King's Justices took him from the Official, & sent him to Paris, where after great rebukes and torments he suffered in the Prison, and finally perishing in the profession of the Truth, by his capital Sentence he was adjudged to have his tongue cut out, and he was burned at <i>Moulinet-place</i> in Paris. Ex Jo. Crisp.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                             |
|           |                                             |           | William Alencon Book-keeper, at Montpelier. Anno 1554.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | Will. Alencon,<br>martyr.   |
|           |                                             |           | This <i>Alencon</i> did much good in the Provinces of France by carrying Books. Coming to Montpelier, he was there converted by false Brethren, detected, and laid in Prison. In his Faith he was firm and constant, to the end of his martyrdom, being burned the 7th of January, 1554.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                             |
|           |                                             |           | There was the same time at Montpelier a certain Sherman or Clothworker, who had been long in duration for Religion, but at length for fear and indignity, he desired to quit his long profession of the King, and the cutting off of his tongue, so that he would say nothing against their Religion.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |                             |
|           |                                             |           | As he went to burning, he passed by the College of St. Marial, where he was bid to honour the Picture of the Virgin standing at the gate. Which because he refused, the Judge commanded his tongue to be cut off, and so being put to the fire, he desired to quit his long profession of the King, and the cutting off of his tongue, so that he would say nothing against their Religion.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                             |
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## Persecut. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

**Paris Paniel, a Lawyer, at Dola, Anno 1554.**

At Dola was beheaded a good and godly Lawyer, named **Paris Paniel**, for constant standing to the Gospel of Christ's Anno 1554. *Ex. Pantal.*

**Peter du Val Shoemaker, at Nîmes, Anno 1554.**

At **Nîmes** in **Dolphine**, **Peter du Val** furnished fire and grievous rackings and torments: wherewith his Body being broken, dissolved, and maimed, yet he notwithstanding manfully abiding all their extremity, would name and utter none. Then was he had to the fire, and there consumed, Anno 1554. *Ex. Jo. Crisp.*

**Joannes Fillet, or Filioles, Carpenter, Julius le Ville, Paint-maker, at Saumur, Anno 1554.**

These two blessed and constant Martyrs, at they were going toward **Genoa**, with one of their Sons and a Daughters, were apprehended by **Giles le Pers** who in the way overtaking them, and rudely and unadvisedly persecuting great favour to them, and to their Religion, which he (as he said) supposed them to be of, with these and many other fair words circumvented and allured them, to one city, what was their Faith: whether they went with their Children; and also that their Wives were at **Genoa**. When they had declared this, the wretched Traitor gave a sign to the Executioners, and so were these simple Saints of Christ, and brought to the Castle of **Nîmes** being in Prison, they were examined of many things: Whereunto they answered according to their Faith.

First, Touching the Sacrament, they affirmed the Institution of the Bishop of **Rome** to be against the Article of the Creed, which laith that Christ is come up to Heaven, and these things at the right Hand of God: and therefore the Bread and Wine must needs remain in their Properties, being notwithstanding a Sacrament, or a holy Figure of the Body and Blood of the Lord. For life as by Bread and Wine the heart of Man is comforted, so the Body of Christ crucified, and his Blood shed (spiritually) hath the life operation in the Souls of the Believers.

For the Mass, they said it was a thing most superstitious, and most idolatry. And if we put any part of Salvation therein, they said, it was utterly robbing the Passion of Christ the Son of God, and that it was not case to be named out of a Christian's mouth. Also, that they which say that **Peter** either was Pope, or Author of the said Mass, are far deceived. And after turning Bread into the Body of Christ by the words of Consecration, it was an error, they said, more of mad-men than any mad-men: forasmuch as God is neither subject to Men, nor to the tongues or Executions of Men. Purgatory they denied to be any, save only the Blood of Jesus Christ.

Furthermore, as they would not be the Saints of God of their due honour, so neither the Saints themselves, said they, will be contented to rob God of his honour only due to him.

As touching Confession, their opinion was that the wounds and causes of Conscience belong to no Man but only to God. After these answers given and written, they were sent to the Monastery of **Saumur**, there to be disposed with. That done, the matter came to be debated among the Judges, what was to be done with them. Some would their goods to be taken by Inventory, and them to be banished. But **Rogustus** at last caused to be determined, that they should be burned, and left to heat Mass. From that Court they appealed to the Court of **Paris**: but the matter

## Persecut. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

there was nothing amended. Where behold the Judgment of God: In the mean time, while they were at **Paris**, the wretched persecutor, **Giles le Pers**, was suddenly stricken dead and died in a Fever; which made many Men to wonder, and especially the Martyrs to be more confident.

At last, the Decree of the Sentence was read against them.

1. For speaking against the Sacraments which they denied.

2. For speaking against Baptism; which also they denied.

3. For speaking contemptuously against the Saints: which they in like manner denied.

After this, the Officer, to cause them to recant, threatened them with torments, which they fulfilled very extremely, the space from after dinner till three of the clock. When all that would not turn them, he sent to them a **Frier Dominick**, a Man captious and sophistical, to press them in disputation. But as he could do no hurt unto them so could they do no good upon him. When the time of their execution did approach, the Officer afore said put into their hands, being tied, a wooden Cross, which they took with their teeth, and thung it away: for which, the Officer commanded both their tongues to be cut off. Whereas appeared another marvellous Work of the Lord: For nevertheless their tongues were taken from them, to the intent they should not speak, yet God gave them utterance, their tongues being cut out, to speak at their death, saying, We bid Sin, the Flesh, the World, and the Devil, farewell for ever, with whom we shall never have to do hereafter. Divers other words they spake besides, which the People did hear and note. At last when the Tormenter came to linear them with Brimstone and Gunpowder: Go to, said **Filiolus**, fall on, fall on the thinking and rotten flesh. Finally, as the flame came burbling up to their faces, they sitting constant in the fire, gave up their lives, and finished their martyrdoms. *Ex. Jo. Crisp. & Hen. Pant. & alii.*

**Dionysius Vayre, at Rouen, Anno 1554.**

In the same year suffered at **Rouen**, **Dionysius Vayre**, who, first leaving his popish Priesthood, went to **Genoa**, where he learned the Art of Bookbinding, and brought many times Books into **France**.

After that, in the reign of King **Edward the sixth**, he came to **Gracey**, and there was Minister and preached. After the death of King **Edward**, the time not serving him to tarry, thinking to return again to **Genoa**, he came into **Normandy** with his Books, into a Town called **Enville**: Whereas he going out to hire a Cart, **William Langlois**, with **Jean Langlois** his Brother, came in and stayed his Books, and him also which had the custody of them. **Dionis**, albeit he might have escaped, yet bearing the keeper of his Books to be in trouble, and preventing himself, was committed, the other was delivered. First, after two months and a half imprisonment, he was charged to be a Spy, because he came out of **England**. Then from that Prison he was removed to the Bishop's Prison, and then to **Rouen**: where Sentence was given, that he should be burned alive, and thence lifted up, and let down again into the fire. After the Sentence given, they threatened him with many terrible torments, unless he would disclose what he knew of that tale. To which he answered, That the fonder part of all **France**, and of the Senate, was of that Religion: Notwithstanding he would utter no Man's Name unto them. And as for their torments, he said, he passed not: for if he were killed with racking, then he should not feel the burning of the fire. When they saw him so little to suffer for their torments, they left that, and proceeded to his burning; and first, they put a Cross in his hands, which he would not hold. Then because he coming by the Image of the Virgin Mary, would not adore the same, they cried, Cut out his tongue: and so they cut him into the fire, where he should be thence taken up, but the flame went so high, that the Hangman, being not able to come near him, cried to the people standing by, help, and did the Officer, who was with them, never a Man would stir unto the People, to help their Tormentors, but flaves a Man would stir. This was the end and martyrdom of that blessed **Dionis**. *Ex. Henric. Pantal. l. 10.*

## K. Hen. 8.

A Merchant of **Paris**, who was a rope about your bodies, because **St. Francis** once should have been hanged, and the Pope redeemed him upon this condition, that all his life after he should wear a rope. Upon this the Franciscan Friars of **Paris** caused him to be apprehended, and laid in prison, and so judgment passed upon him that he should be hanged: but he, to save his life, was contented to recant, and so did. The Friars hearing of his recantation, commended him, saying, if he continued so, he should be saved: and so calling upon the Officers, caused he to be hanged to the Gallows, to hang him up, while he was yet in a good way, said they, let he fall again. And so was this Merchant, notwithstanding his recantation, hanged for jelling against the Friars. *Ex. Pantal. lib. 7.*

To this Merchant may also be adjoined the Brother of **Tomey**, who when he had before professed the truth of the Gospel, and afterward by the counsel and instruction of his Brother was removed from the same, fell into desperation, and such foreword of mind, that he hanged himself. *Ex. Jo. Mantis in dicit. Phil. Melanct.*

**Thomas Callenger, a Covelet-maker, at Tournay, Anno 1554.**

This **Thomas** had copied out certain spiritual Songs out of a Book in **Genoa**, which he brought with him to **Tournay**, and lent the same to one of his fellows. This Book being epied, he was called for of the Justice, and examined of the Book, which he said contained nothing but that was agreeing to the Scripture, and that he would stand by.

Then he was had to the Castle, and after sixteen days was brought to the Town-house, and there adjudged to the fire: whereunto he went cheerfully, singing Psalms. As he was in the flame, the Warden of the Friars flock crying, Turn, **Thomas**, **Thomas**, yet it is time, remember him that came at the last hour. To whom he cried out of the flame with a loud voice, And truth to be one of that sort: and so calling upon the name of the Lord, gave up his spirit. *Ex. Crisp. lib. 4.*

Add also to this, one **Nicholas Paul** beheaded at **Caen**: These two should have been placed among the Dutch Martyrs in the Table before.

**Richard Fournier, a Goldsmith at Lion, Anno 1554.**

**Fournier** a Goldsmith, born at **Rouen**, first being in **England**, and in **London**, there received the tale and knowledge of God's Word, as in his own Epistle he recordeth. Then he came to **Genoa**, where he remained nine or ten years. From thence returning to **Lion**, there he was apprehended and condemned. Then he appealed to the High-Court of **Paris**, through the motion of his friends. Where in the way as he was led to **Paris**, he was met by certain whom he knew not, and by them taken from his keepers, and so set at liberty, which was Anno 1551.

After that, continuing at **Genoa** about the space of three years, he came upon business to the Province of **Dauphine**, and there as he found fault with the Grace said in Latin, he was detected, and taken in his Inn in the night, by the Unlawful, or him which had the examination of **Maldefleur**. The next day he was brought to the Justice, from thence to the Bishop, who ridding their hands of him, then was he brought to the Lieutenant, who sent his Advocate with a Notary to him in Prison, to examine him of his Faith. The whole Proceeds of his Examinations, with his Adversaries and the Friars, in his Story described, is long, the principal contents come to this effect.

**Lutrenus, Latre, or Under-marshal, or Examiner of Displeasure.**

The Lieutenant.

His Attorney.

His Scrib.

The execution of the French.

## Persecut. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

**No. 1** Do I believe the Catholic and Universal Church.

**No. 2** What Catholic Church is that?

The Congregation or Communion of Christians.

What Congregation is that, or of whom doth it consist?

It consisteth in the number of God's Elect, whom God Treasures, hath chosen to be the members of his Son Jesus Christ, of whom he is also the head.

Where is the Congregation, or how is it known?

It is dispersed through the universal World, in divers Regions, and is known by the spiritual direction wherewith it is governed, that is to say, both by the Word of God, and by the right institution of Christ's Sacraments.

Do you think the Church that is at **Genoa**, **Lancessa**, **Berno**, and such other places, to be a more true Church than the holy Church of **Rome**?

Yes, verily, for these have the Notes of the true Church.

What difference then make you between these Churches and the Church of **Rome**?

The Church of **Rome** is governed only by the Traditions of Men, but these are ruled only by the Word of God.

Where learned you this Doctrine first?

In **England**, at **London**.

How long have you been at **Genoa**?

About nine or ten years.

Doth thou not believe the Virgin Mary to be a Mediatrix and Advocate to God for Sinners?

I believe, as in the Word of God is testified, Jesus Christ to be the only Mediator and Advocate for all Sinners: albeit the Virgin Mary be a blessed Woman, yet the Office of an Advocate belongeth not unto her.

The Saints that be in Paradise, have they no power to intercede for us?

No, but I judge them to be blessed, and to be contented with full grace and glory, which they have, that is, that they be counted the members of the Son of God?

And what then judge you of them which follow the Religion of the Church of **Rome**? think you them to be Christians?

No, for that Church is not governed with the Spirit of the Church of **Rome**, but rather fighting against the same.

Do you then esteem all them which separate themselves from the Church of **Rome** to be Christians?

I have not to answer for others, but only for my self. Every Man (saith **St. Paul**) shall bear his own Burden.

And thus the Advocate, when he had asked him whether he would put his hand unto the Bible, he had said, and had obtained the same, he went to dinner.

At the next examination was brought unto him a Franciscan Friar, who, first entering with him touching the words that he spake in his last, asked him, why that Grace might

## K. Hen. 8.

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*Persecut.* *Martyrs, and the cause of their Martyrdom.*

not be said in vain? Because, said he, by the Word of God Christians are condemned to pray with heart and with faith, and with that tongue which is most understood, and ferveth best to the edification of the hearers. Then the Friar bawling forth his Benedictus, *Agimus tibi gratias, Oe. Lani Deus, Pax vobis, Requies defunctis, Oe.* began thus to reason.

*The Friar.*

God understandeth all tongues, and the Church of Rome hath prescribed this form of praying, receiving the same from the ancient Church and the Fathers, which used then to pray in Latin. And if any tongue be to be observed in prayer, not more than another, why is it not as good to pray in the Latin tongue, as to pray in the French?

*The Martyr.*

My meaning is not to exclude any kind of language from prayer, whether it be Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or any other, so that the same be understood, and may edify the hearers.

*The Friar.*

When Chail entered the City of Jerusalem, the People cried, leading him with Hosanna filii David, and yet understood they not what they said, as Jerome writeth.

*The Martyr.*

It may be that Jerome is wroth, that they understood not the prophetic meaning, or the accomplishment of their words upon Christ's coming; but that they understood the phrase of that Speech or Language which they spoke, speaking in their own Language, Jerome doth not deny.

Then the Friar, declaring that he was no fit person to expound the Scriptures being in the Latin Tongue, inferred the authorities of Councils and Doctors, and testimonies of Men, which seemed to move the Officer not a little; who then charging him with many things, as with words spoken in contempt of the virgin Mary, and of the Saints, also with rebellion against Princes and Kings, came at last to the matter of the Sacrament, and demanded thus.

*The Friar.*

Doth thou believe the Holy Host which the Priest doth consecrate at the Mass or no?

*The Martyr.*

I believe neither the Host, nor any such Consecration. *The Friar.*

Why? dost thou not believe the holy Sacrament of the Altar, ordained of Christ Jesus himself?

*The Martyr.*

Touching the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, I believe that whensoever we use the same according to the prescription of St. Paul, we are refreshed spiritually with the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the true spiritual meat and drink of our Souls.

*The Friar.*

The Friar then inferred the words of St. John's Gospel, saying, *My flesh is meat indeed, &c.* and said, that the Doctors of the Church had decided that matter already, and had approved the Mass to be an holy memory of the death and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

*The Martyr.*

The Sacrament of the Supper I believe to be ordained of the Lord for a memorial of his death, and for a living of our thanksgiving to him. In which Sacrament we have nothing to offer up to him, but do receive with all thanksgiving the benefits offered of God to us most abundantly in Christ Jesus his Son.

And thus the Advocate with the Friar, bidding the Notary to write the words that he had spoken, departed. Who after eight days, being accompanied with the said Franciscan, and other Friars more of the Dominicans, first for the said Richard Fourn again to his house, and then began to enquire:

*The Martyr.*

Doth thou believe any Purgatory?

*The Martyr.*

I believe that Christ with his precious Blood hath made an end of all Purgatory, and purgation of our Sins.

*Persecut.* *Martyrs, and the cause of their Martyrdom.*

*Inquisitor.*

And dost thou think there is no place after this life, where Souls of Men departed remain to long till they have made satisfaction for their sins?

*The Martyr.*

No; but I acknowledge our satisfaction once made for the Sins of all Men, by the Blood and Sacrifice of Jesus Christ our Lord, which is the propitiation and purgation for the sins of the whole World.

*The Friar.*

In the eighteenth chapter of Matthew, Christ speaking by way of a parable or similitude, of a certain cruel Servant, who, because he would not forgive his fellow-servant, was cast into prison, faith, *That he shall not come out from thence till he hath paid the uttermost farthing.* By the which similitude is signified unto us a certain middle place, which is left for satisfaction to be made after this life for sin.

*The Martyr.*

First, the satisfaction for our Sins by the death of Christ is plain and evident in the Scriptures: as in these places: *For him. Come to me, all you that labour and are burdened, and I will give you rest. Mat. 11. I am the Door, he that entereth by me, shall be saved. John 10. I am the way, verily and life. John 12. Blessed be they that die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours. Apoc. 13. Also to the Third which was hanged with the Lord, it was said, *This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise, &c.* Secondly, As touching this similitude, it hath no other demonstration but to admonish us of our duty, in forgiving others, and forgiving one another, which unless we do, there is no mercy to be looked for at the hands of God.*

*The Friar.*

If this be true that you say, then it should follow that there is neither Purgatory nor any Limbus, which were against our Christian Faith and our Creed, which faith, *He that defendeth unto Hell, &c.*

*The Deputy.*

Doth thou believe there is a Limbus?

*The Martyr.*

Neither do I believe to be any such place, neither doth the Scripture thereof make any mention.

*The Friar.*

Where were the old Fathers then before the death of Christ?

*The Martyr.*

In life (I say) eternal, which they looked for, being promised before to Adam, Abraham, and the Patriarchs in the feed to come.

*The Deputy.*

Then the Deputy: What? (saith he) dost thou believe that the Pope hath any power?

*The Martyr.*

Yes verily.

*The Deputy.*

Doth thou believe that the Pope, as the Vicar of Jesus Christ, can here bind and loose?

*The Martyr.*

That I do not believe.

*The Deputy.*

How then dost thou understand the power of the Pope?

*The Martyr.*

I understand the Power of the Pope to be as St. Paul declared, a *Thief, saying, That because the World refused to receive the love of the truth unto Salvation, therefore God hath given us Satan, and his Ministers, power of darkness and error, that Men should believe lies, and so up to themselves Pagans and Teachers such as they deserve.*

*The Friar.*

Christ gave to Saint Peter power to bind and loose, *Mat. 16.* whole Successor, and Vicar of Christ, is the Pope, for the government of the Church, that it might have one head in the World, as it hath in Heaven. And tho the Papists do not live according to the Word which they preach, yet their Doctrine is not therefore to be refused, as Christ teacheth, *Mat. 23.*

*The Martyr.*

If the Pope and his adherents would preach the Word purely and sincerely, admitting no other inventions of their own,

*Persecut.* *Martyrs, and the cause of their Martyrdom.*

*John 8.*

owns, not obtruding Laws of their own devising, I would then embrace their doctrine, howsoever their life were to the contrary: according as Christ doth tell us of the Scribes and Pharisees, admonishing us to follow their doctrine, and not their lives, *Mat. 23.* But there is great difference, whether they that take the Governance of the Church do sit in *Moys's* chair, which is the seat of truth, or else do sit in the chair of abomination, spoken of by Daniel, and also by St. Paul, where he saith, *That the man of perdition shall sit in the Temple of God, boasting himself infinitely above all that is called God, a Thief.*

*Mat. 23.*

And as touching the keys of binding and loosing, given to Peter, Christ therein assigned to Peter and other Apostles, the office of preaching the Word of the Gospel, which did also well observe, in preaching nothing else but only the Word, in the which Word is all the power contained of binding and loosing. Neither is it to be granted, the Church to have two Heads, one in Heaven, another in Earth: the Head whereof it but one, which is Jesus Christ, whom the Father hath appointed to be Head alone both in Heaven and Earth, as St. Paul in many places of his Epistles doth teach. *Epist. 1. Coloss. 1. &c.*

*The Friar.*

You have no understanding how to expound the Scriptures, but the old Doctors have expounded the Scriptures and Holy Councils, whose judgments are to be followed. But what say you to answer this question?

*The Martyr.*

I know no other Confession but that which is to be made to God, and reconciliation towards our Neighbour, which Christ and his Apostles have commended to us.

*The Friar.*

Have you not read in the Gospel how Christ doth bid us to confess to the Priest, where he commanded the Leper, being made whole, to shew himself to the Priest?

*The Martyr.*

The true Church of the Lord Jesus Christ never observed this strange kind of confession, to carry our Sins to the Priest's ear. And tho the Church of Rome hath instructed this manner of confessing, it followeth not thereby that it is to be received. And as touching the Leper whom the Lord lent to the Priest, he was not lent therefore to whisper his sins to the Priest's ear, but only for a testimony of his health received according to the Law.

*The Deputy.*

Of the other confession which is to be made to God, we have both the examples and testimonies of the Prophet David lent in the Psalm 32, 41, 106, where he saith, *That he confessed his sin unto the Lord, and received forgiveness of the same.*

*The Friar.*

After this, the Friar proceeding further to make comparison between the Church of Rome and the Church of Geneva, would prove that the Pope hath power to set Laws in the Church without any express word of God: for so it is written (saith he) *That there were many other things beside, which are not written in this Book.* John 21. Also, where Christ promiseth to his Disciples, to bind upon them the Holy-Ghost, which should induce them into all truth. Moreover, such Decrees and Ordinances as are in the Church were decided (saith he) and appointed by the Doctors of the Church, and by all the Councils directed (no doubt) by the Holy-Ghost. Furthermore he inferred, that the Church of Geneva had then Ordinances and Constitutions made without any Word of God. And for example, he brought forth the Order of the Priests and Service publicly observed and appointed upon Wednesday in the Church of Geneva, as tho that day were holier than another.

*The Martyr.*

To this the Martyr answered again, declaring that the Ordinance of those public Prayers and Psalms on Wednesday in the Church of Geneva, was not to bind Conscience, or for any superstitious observation, or for any necessity, which either should bind the Conscience, or could not be altered at their arbitrariness; but only for an order or commodity for public resort to hear the Word of God, according to ancient Kings and temporal Magistrates have used in old time to do, in congregating the People together; not to put any holiness in the day, or to bind the conscience to any observation, (as the Pope maketh his Laws) but

*Persecut.* *Martyrs, and the cause of their Martyrdom.*

*Rom. 15.*

only for orders sake, serving unto commodity.

And as touching that any thing should be left for Doctors and Councils to be decided, without the express Word of God, that is not so, for that all things be explicated and prescribed by the Word, whatsoever is necessary either for government of the Church, or for the salvation of Men's Souls, to decide any thing more than is decided already.

*The Friar.*

Paul saith, *That he durst utter nothing but what the Lord God brought him by him.* Rom. 15. St. John speaking of the *bring with him the same Doctrine,* 2 John. St. Paul warneth the Galatians, not to believe an Angel from the ready received, Gal. 2. Christ, calling himself the good Shepherd, *search them to be his Sheep which hear his voice, and not the voice of others.* John 10. And St. Peter admonisheth the Pilgrims of the Church, *forewarn them to teach only the Word of God, without any joining of Lawship or Dominion over the Flock.* From the which modern laws for the term of the Pope's Church doth differ, the tyranny which they use, doth well declare.

*The Friar.*

In the old Church Priests and Ministers of the Church were wont to assemble together for deciding of such things as pertained to the government and direction of the Church, this your own Parliament herein is no hindrance, shew you the better may understand what was then the true use and manner of the Church.

*The Martyr.*

What was the true order and manner that the Apostles did institute in the Church of Christ, I would gladly hear, and also would desire you to consider the same: and when you have well considered it, yet shall you find the institution of the public Council and advancement of the Magistrates, Elders, and Ministers of that Church, with such care and diligence as Paul and Saint took in ordering the Church of Thessalonica, Berea, &c. wherein nothing was done without the authority of God's Word, as appeareth, *Act. 17.* As likewise also in establishing the Church of Antioch, when the Apostles were together in council for the same, there was no other Law nor Doctrine followed, but only the Word of God, as may appear by the words of the Council, *Dom. contra Doctrin. jugum imperatoris, &c.* And albeit the Ministers of the Church of Rome, and the Pope were not called to the institution of the federal Church of Geneva, yet it followeth not therefore, that there was no lawful order observed, either in establishing that Church or any other.

*The Friar.*

You were first baptized in the Church of the Pope, were ye not?

*The Martyr.*

I grant I was, but yet that nothing hindereth the grace of God, he may renovate and call to further knowledge whom he pleases.

*The Martyr.*

I would wish you not to tick to your own wisdom and opinion. You see the Churches in Germany, how they differ one from another. So that if you then submit your judgment to the authority of the General Councils, every day you shall have a new Christianity.

*The Martyr.*

To mine own wisdom I do not tick, nor ever will. But only to that wisdom which is in Christ Jesus, also the World doth count foolishness. And where ye say, that the Churches of Germany differ among themselves one from another: that is not so, for they accord in one agreement altogether, touching the foundation and principal grounds of Christian Faith. Neither is there any such fear that every day should life up a new Christianity, unless the Church be influenced with authority of the Councils, as you pretend. For so we read in the Prophet Daniel, *Plant. 2.3.* and in other places of Scripture more: *That the Councils of the Nations and People shall be overthrown and subverted of the Lord, &c.* Wherefore the best is, that we follow the counsel of God and God, and prefer the authority thereof



| Persecut.                                               | Martyrs, and the cause of their Martyrdom.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Persecut.           | Martyrs, and the cause of their Martyrdom.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
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|                                                         | The Prison with your liberty? The Jaylor hearing of this, in his fury laid upon him with his staff, and also complained of him: where by he was removed to the common Prison, and laid in a low Pit, laden with great loads, so that his Legs were (worn) with, and there continued eight days. A little before he, perceiving the Priest his Holiness to decline from the Truth, did what he could to comfort him in the time: but when he knew he had fairly renounced Christ and his Word, he laid unto him, O unhappy and more than miserable! It is possible for you to be so foolish, as for saving of a few days which you have to live by the count of Nature, to so far away, and to deny the Truth? Know you therefore, that altho you have by your foolishness avoided the corporal fire, yet your life shall be never the longer: for you shall die before me, and God shall not give you the grace that it shall be for his sake, and you shall be an example to all Apostates. He had no sooner ended his tale, but the Priest going out of prison, was taken by two Gentlemen which had a quarrel to him. Whereof when Master Philibert had heard, he affirmed that he knew of no such thing before, but (as it is pleased God) to guide his tongue. Whereupon immediately he made an exhortation of the Providence of God, which by the occasion hereof moved the hearts of many, and converted them unto God. | The King's Dragoon. | Receiver, with a Canon, did rack him with their own hands. Notwithstanding that the Lords of <i>Borne</i> wrote him to the Town of <i>Orléans</i> , requiring to have their own Subjects delivered unto them, they hastened the execution, and pronounced sentence that he should be burned. Which sentence he received with such constancy, that neither the King's Receiver, nor all the other enemies, could divert him from the truth of the Gospel, which he manfully maintained while any spirit remained in his body. <i>Ex Jo. Crisp. lib. 6.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Philippus prope-                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                     | <i>George Turdis</i> , with one of <i>Tours</i> , a Boderer.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                     | <i>Nicholas</i> , a Shoemaker of <i>Jenail</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                     | <i>At Tours, Anno 1558.</i><br><i>At Jenail, Anno 1558.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| The martyr-<br>doms of<br>the King's<br>Ap-<br>ostates. |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                     | The Printer of the Story of the French Martyrs, named <i>Crispian</i> , among other more, maketh also memorial of <i>George Turdis</i> , a Boderer of <i>Tours</i> , and <i>Nicholas of Jenail</i> , declaring that all three together were in prison, and afterward were delivered, to suffer in fandy places one from the other, of whom first, <i>George Turdis</i> was executed at <i>Sens</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                     | The Brother of <i>Tours</i> , as he was coming with five or six other out of a Wood, being at prayer, was taken, and thereupon examined. Before he should be examined, he desired the Judges that he might pray. Which being granted, after his prayer made, he therein prayed for the Judges, for the King, and all Estates, and for the necessity of all Christ's Saints, he answered for himself with such grace and modesty, that the hearts of many were broken unto the shedding of tears, feeling (as it seemed) nothing else but his deliverance. Notwithstanding he at last was sent unto <i>Tours</i> , and there was crowned with martyrdom.                                                                                                                                  |
|                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                     | The third, which was <i>Nicholas</i> , being but young of years, and newly come from <i>Genève</i> to his Country, for certain Money, by means of a Lady there dwelling was caused to be apprehended. When he was condemned and set in the Cart, his Father, coming with a staff, would have beaten him, but the Officers not suffering it, would have broken the old Man. The Son crying to the Officers, desired them to let his Father alone, saying, that his Father had power over him, to do with him what he would. And so going to the place where he should suffer, having a load of Iron put in his mouth, he was brought at length to the fire, in the Town of <i>Jenail</i> , where he patiently took his death and martyrdom, <i>Anno 1558. Ex Epitaphio Crisp. lib. 6.</i> |
|                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                     | The Congregation of Paris persecuted, to the number of three or four hundred, at Paris, Anno 1558.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                     | <i>Anno 1558, September the fourth, a company of the Faithful, to the number of three or four hundred, were together convened at Paris in a certain House, having before it the College of <i>Pléty</i> in the Street of <i>S. James</i>, and behind it the College of <i>Serbois</i>, who then assembled in the beginning of the night, to intent to communicate together the Lord's Supper: But incontinent that was discovered by certain Priests of <i>Pléty</i>, who gathering together such as were of that Faction, came to besiege the House, and made an outcry, that the Watch might come to take them: so that in short time almost all the City Paris was up in Arms, thinking some Conspiracy to have been</i>                                                              |

| Persecut.                                                                                                                           | Martyrs, and the cause of their Martyrdom.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Persecut.      | Martyrs, and the cause of their Martyrdom.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| The fury of this world against the true Christ.                                                                                     | been in the City. Who then following the noise, and perceiving that they were Lutherans, a great part of them were in extreme rage, furiously seeking to have their blood, and therefore flopped the Streets and Lanes with Carts, and made fires to see that none should escape. The Faithful, albeit God had given them less faith to smother their administration and prayers with such quietness as they never had better, seeing the faddness of the thing, were smitten in great fear: who then being exhorted by the grievous of the Gospel, fell to prayers. That done, through the counsel of some which knew the cowardly hearts of the multitude, this order was taken, that the Men first should be taken, and the Women and Children remained in the house, and a few Men with them, which were left bold than the others, to the number of six or seven Score. Where appeared the admirable power of God in them that went out with weapons, which notwithstanding that the Laues and Palfages were fopp'd, and the Fires made, did yet all escape favourably, and who was beaten down with stones, and so destroyed. Certain that remained in the house with the Women, afterward leaped into Gardens, where they were layed off the Magistrates. The Women (which were all gentlewomen, or of great wealth, only six or seven excepted) seeing no other hope, and perceiving the fury of the People, went up to the King, crying, "My Lord, sheweth your innocent intent, required Justice, untill. Thus as they were indolent about six or seven hours, at last came <i>Martin</i> the King's Attorney, with force of Conscience and Sermons, which were much ad ad appealing the outrage of the people, entered into the house: where he viewing the Women and Children, and the other furniture being there prepared for that Congregation, perceived testimonies sufficient of their innocency, inasmuch that in considering thereof, for pity of heart his eyes could not refrain from tears. Notwithstanding, proceeding in his office, he had them all to prison within the little Cattle. I omit here the furious usage of the People by the way, how deeply they plagued and haled the Women, tore their Garments, thrust off their Heads from their heads, and disfigured their faces with dust and dirt. Neither were they better entreated in the Prison, than they were in the Streets: for all the Villains and Thieves there were let out of their dens, to flink Caves, and the poor Christians placed in their rooms. | Dr. Dismacher. | Here the Enemies began highly to triumph, thinking, verily that the Gospel, with all the friends thereof, were overthrowen for ever. On the other side, no less perplexity and lamentation was among the Brethren, foreseeing not so much for themselves, as for the imprisonment of their Fellows. Albeit they lost not their courage lo altogether, but as well as they could they exhorted one another, considering the great favour and providence of God, in delivering them so wonderfully out of the danger. Some comfort they took unto them, confiding together in this order, that first they should humble themselves to God in their own private Families: Secondly, to stop the running bruits of their holy Assemblies, the Brethren Apologies, one to the King, another to the People. Thirdly, that Letters of Consolation should be written and sent to their Brethren in prison.                                                                                                                                                                           |
| One of the conspirators<br>of the<br>down, and<br>martyr.                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                | The first Apology was written to the King, and conveyed to his Chamber, that it was read and read openly in the hearing of the King and all his Nobles. Wherein the Christians frankly and discreetly cleared themselves of their reports, and shewed the malice of their Ennemies, especially of <i>Satan</i> , which ever from the beginning of the Church hath, and still doth go about to overturn the right ways of the Lord. Declaring further by manifold examples and continual experience, even from the primitive times, how the nature of the Church hath ever been to suffer vexations, and slanderous reports and insinuation by the malignant Adversaries, &c. And lastly, coming to the King, they craved that their Cause might yet be continued before it had an indifferent hearing, &c. Nevertheless, this Apology to the King led to little purpose: forasmuch as the Adversaries incontinent desired all that was written to the King, making him to believe, that all were but excuses pretended, neither was there any person that durst reply again. |
| * Many here<br>questioned<br>the<br>acknowledging<br>Martin,<br>the King's<br>Attorney,<br>as a<br>conspirator<br>of the<br>people. |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                | But the other Apology to the People did infinitely good, in fadting the rumors, and defending the true cause of the Gospel. Whereupon certain Doctors of <i>Sorbon</i> began to write both against the Apology and the Persons, of whom one was called <i>Dismacher</i> , who taking for his foundation, without any proof, that they were all Heretics, cried out for Justice, with bills, glaves, fire and sword.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| A tale and<br>multitude<br>of<br>blasphemy<br>and<br>conspiration.                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                | Another <i>Sorbonist</i> , more bloody than the first, not only excluded against them for putting out the Candles in their desirable Concorde and Adversaries, but also accused them as Men which maintained that there was no God, and denied the divinity and humanity of Christ, the immortality of the Soul, the resurrection of the Flesh, and briefly all the Articles of true Religion. And thus he charged them, without any proof, moving both the King and People, without any form of Law, to destroy and cut them in pieces, &c.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                | The third that wrote against them was <i>Caual</i> , Bishop of <i>Arles</i> , which debated the same matter, but with less vehemency than the other, defending imprudently, that their Affiliaries were to maintain whoredom; complaining of the Judges because they were no Barper with them, saying, that their forefathers were the cause that the number of them was much increased. Among other points of his Book this one thing he dispensed marvelously pleasantly, touching the signs and marks of the true Church: first presupposing, this one thing, which is true, that the Church hath its figure by which it may be known from the false Church: I.e. a                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |

| *Persecut.* | *Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom*

When the time of their Execution was come, they perceived that the Judges had intended, that if they would relent, they should be hanged; if not, they should burn alive, and their Tongues be cut from them. Which torments they being content to suffer for our Saviour Jesus Christ, offered their Tongues willingly to the Hangman to be cut. *Galat* gave a little to fight, for that he might no more praise the Lord with his Tongue. Whom then *Cene* did comfort. Then were they drawn out of Prison in the Dung-cart to the Suburbs of *St. Germans*. Whom the People in rage and madness, followed with cruel injuries and blasphemies, as tho they would have done the execution themselves upon them, murther the Hangman. The cruelty of their death, was such as hath not lightly

The Gentlewoman also, being required to give her tongue, did likewise, with these words: Seeing I do think to give my Body, shall I think to give my Tongue too? And for these three, having their Tongues cut out, were brought to *Malliers-place*. The courtesy of *Grauell* was admirable, calling up his sighs and groans to Heaven, declaring thereby his ardent affection in praying to *Clement* was somewhat more sad than the other, by reason of the feebleness of Nature and his Age. But the Gentlewoman yet furnished all the rest in countenance which neither changed countenance, nor colour, being of an excellent beauty.

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 And to these three, having their Tongues cut out,  
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 Unstable, calling up his sighs and groans to *Heaven*.  
 And thereby his ardent affection in praying to God,  
 Was somewhat more sad than the other, by  
 Of the feebleness of Nature and his Age. But  
 Gentlewoman yet furred out all the rest in comfort  
 Neither changed countenance, nor colour, being  
 Of excellent beauty.

In their Examinations, many Questions were propounded by the Doctors and Friers, touching matters both of Religion, and also to know of them what Gentlemen and Gentlewomen were there present at the ministration of the Sacrament. Whereunto they answered in such sort, as was both sufficient for defence of their own cause, and also to save their other Brethren from blame, saying, that they would live and die in that they had said and maintained.

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## Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

been seen: for they were hidden long in the Air over a small fire, and their lower part burnt off, before that the higher parts were much harmed with the fire. Nevertheless these blessed Saints could not in all their Torments to turn up their eyes to Heaven, and to their fourth infinite testimonies of their Faith and Constancy.

In the same time many Telaments and Bibles the same time also were burnt.

Upon the sight of this cruelty, the Friends of the other Prisoners which remained behind, fearing the tyranny of these Judges, presented certain causes of refusal against the said Judges, requiring other Commissioners to be placed. But the King being hereof advertised by his Solicitor, sent out his Letters Patents, commanding the said Causes of refusal to be frustrate, and willed the former Judges to proceed, all other Lets and Obstacles to the contrary notwithstanding: and that the Presidents should have power to chuse to them other Commissioners, according to their own authority, to supply the place of such as were absent: amongst whom also the said Solicitor was received, instead of the King's Procurator, to pursue the Proceedings by which Letters Patents it was decreed, that these stubborn Sacramentaries (as they were called) should be judged accordingly, five only that they should not proceed to the execution, before the King were advertised. These Letters afore-said, turned up the face of this Persecution into a little, for that the Judges at this refusal took great Indignation, and were mightily offended for that reproach. Notwithstanding to the King, that a young man, a German, called *Albert Hartung*, born in the County of *Brandenburg*, and Godson to *Albert Marquis of Brandenburg*, by the King's Commandment was delivered, through the importunity of it the said Marquis. *Ex Tit. Crisp. lib. 6.*

Frederick Danville.  
Francis Rebezes.  
At Paris, Anno 1558.

Mention was made above of certain young Scholars and Students which were in the little Cattle with *Peter Gabert*. Of which number of Scholars were these two, *Frederick Danville*, and *Francis Rebezes*, neither of them being past twenty years of age. How valiantly they behaved themselves in those tender years, fulfilling the quondam of our Lord Jesus Christ, what confession they made, what conflicts they had, disputing with the Doctors of *Sorbon*, their own Letters left in writing do make record: the effect whereof briefly to touch is this: and first, touching *Frederick Danville*.

The Lieutenant Criminal, who before him was half suspected, but now thinking to prove himself a right Catholic, and to recover his estimation again, came to him, beginning with these words of Scripture *Whosoever denieth me before Men, I will deny before my Father, &c.* Thence, he asked him what he thought of the Sacrament. To whom *Frederick* answered, That if he should think Christ Jesus to be between the Priest's Hands after the Sacramental words (as they call them) then should he believe a thing contrary to the Holy Scripture, and to the Creed, which faith, *That he sitteth on the right hand of the Father*. Also to the Testimony of the Angels, which speak both of the ascending of Christ, and of his coming down again, *Act. 1.* After this he questioned with him touching inheritance of Saints, Purgatory, &c. Whereunto he answered so, that he rather did astonish the Examiners, than satisfy them.

Furthermore, the 12th of September the said *Frederick* again was brought before *Benedictus Jacobin*, and his Companion, a Sorbonist, called *Nobis Magister*, who thus began to argue with him.

The *Dilect.*  
Which think you to be the true Church, the Church of the Protestants, or the Church of Paris?

## Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

K. Hen. 8.

I recognize that to be the true Church where the Gospel is truly preached, and the Sacraments rightly ministered, so as they be left by Jesus Christ and his Apostles.

The *Dilect.*

And is the Church (think you) of Geneva such a one as you speak of?

The *Martyr.*

I do judge it to be.

The *Dilect.*

And what if I do prove the contrary, will you believe me?

The *Martyr.*

Yes, if you shall prove it by the Scripture?

The *Dilect.*

Or will you believe St. Austin and other holy Doctors innumerable?

The *Martyr.*

Yes, if they differ not from the Scripture and the Word of God.

The *Dilect.*

By the Authority of St. Augustine, the Church is there where is the Succession of Bishops. Whereunto I frame this Argument.

There is the Church, where is the perpetual succession of Bishops.

In the Church of Paris is such Succession of Bishops: Ergo the Church of Paris is the true Church.

The *Martyr.*

To your Major I answer, that if St. Austin mean the succession of such as are true Bishops indeed, which only preach the Gospel, and rightly administer the Sacraments: such Bishops I suppose to be at Geneva, where the Gospel is truly preached, and the Sacraments duly ministered, and not in the Church of Paris. But otherwise, if St. Austin mean the succession of false Bishops, such as neither preach nor minister according to God's Word, is the same in no wise to be granted.

The *Dilect.*

Calvin is there by his own thrusting in only, and by the clashing of the People.

The *Martyr.*

And that fourth more for him to be of God's Divine Election, for so much as by him the Gospel of God is preached truly, and from this no Man shall bring me.

After this disputation, the ninth of the same month came against him another Doctor with two Sorbonists: who, bringing forth a scroll out of his Bosom, pretended that a certain Scholar coming from Geneva, made his confession, wherein was contained, that, in receiving of the Bread and Wine, the Body and Blood of Christ is received really. Whereupon they demanded of him, whether he would receive the same Confession.

The *Martyr.*

Whoever I have said unto you, that will I hold, really. And as touching this word [really] I know right well that they of Geneva do not take it for any carnal presence, as you do; but their meaning is, to exclude thereby only a vain imagination.

The *Dilect.*

I marvel much that you do relate the Word really, and use only spiritually, seeing that Calvin himself doth use the same word really.

The *Martyr.*

Calvin meaneth thereby no other thing but as we do.

The *Dilect.*

What say you by Confession Auricular?

The *Martyr.*

The same that I said before to Monsieur Lieutenant, that is, That I take it for a Pstration, not planted by God in his Word.

The

Confession Auricular.

## Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

K. Hen. 8.

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The *Almanes*, in their Confession which they sent to our King to be approved, have these words: *Confessionem auricularem non improbamus: sed cum Evangelium legimus: That is, We do not reject Auricular Confession; for it is a Gospel secret and privy. And also Adulation in his Book of Common Places, doth call it Evangelium secretum.*

Another time the said *Frederick* was called again before the Lords, the twentieth of the said month, where they did nothing but demand of him certain Questions, where he was born, and whether he had heard in his Country at Orleans, that Mr. Gerard the Bishop there did sing Mass. Yes, said he, And why do not you also, did they, receive the same. He answered, Because he did it to retain and keep his Bishoprick. The Matter, for lack of Paper, could proceed therein no further.

The Examination of Francis Rebezes.

R. Rebezes had three sundry Examinations: The first with the Lieutenant Civil: the second with the Presidents and the Commissioners: the third with the Priests. First, The Lieutenant enquiring of his Name, Country, and Parents, asked whether he was at the Communion, whether he received with them the Bread and Wine, and whether he was a Servant to Mr. Nicholas Gens, Senior of the Congregation? Whereunto he said, Yes. Also whether he was a distributor of the Tokens, whereby they were let in that came? That he denied. Then he was brought into the Council Chamber, before two Prelates, and 25 Commissioners: who, after their questions about his Country and Parents, demanded whether he was taken with them in the house? He answered, Yes. What he had to do there? To hear the Word of God, and to receive with them. Who brought him thither? Himself. Whom there he knew? No Man. How did he there would enter, knowing no Person there? Truth it was, said he, that he knew there two or three. Who were they? Mr. Gravel, Clinat, and John Sausf. Enquiring that name of himself, Whether he knew the Preacher? That he denied. Whether he allowed the Act there done to be good? Yes. Whether he did use better life to resort unto their beautified Temples, to hear Mass, or whether he did not take the Mass to be an holy thing, and ordained of God? He answered against contrary, believing that it was a great blasphemy against God, and a service left to the Devils. Whether he did not acknowledge Purgatory? Yes, that Purgatory, which is the death and passion of Christ, which taketh away the sins of the World. The death of Christ is the principal, said they, but thou must also believe another. Alas, said he, can we never comfort our selves with the simplicity of the Gospel, but Man always will be putting to something of his own brain: in so many places of the Scripture we see the Blood of Jesus Christ to be sufficient, as John 1. *Apocalypse* 5. *Rev.* 9. *Jn.* 43. Where the Lord himself saith: *That it is he, who for his own sake, purgeth away our Iniquities, &c.* As St. Paul also saith, *That God was in Christ, reconciling the World unto himself, &c.* And contrary, when they objected the words of the Parable, *Mat. 23. That he hath one ear, till thou hast paid the last farthing.* To this he answered, That the words of that Parable had no such relation, but to matters civil: and this word [until] meant there, as much as never. After that, he was charged there by one, for reading the Books of Calvin, Beza, and Bullinger. The President asked, if he were not afraid to be burned, as were the other before, and to bring his Parents, Christ, said he, doth premonish himself, *That who loveth his Father or Mother more than him, is not worthy to be his Disciple. If ye will follow me, ye must deny yourselves, take up your cross, and follow me.* What youth is this nowadays, which call themselves lo lead us into the fire! and so he was commanded away.

Thirteenth, He was brought before Beza, Master of the Doctors of Sorbon, and another called *Jacobi*, the

John 1.  
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Rev. 9.  
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Thirteenth, He was brought before Beza, Master of the Doctors of Sorbon, and another called *Jacobi*, the

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## Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

K. Hen. 8.

The *Dilect.*  
The *Almanes*, in their Confession which they sent to our King to be approved, have these words: *Confessionem auricularem non improbamus: sed cum Evangelium legimus: That is, We do not reject Auricular Confession; for it is a Gospel secret and privy. And also Adulation in his Book of Common Places, doth call it Evangelium secretum.*

Another time the said *Frederick* was called again before the Lords, the twentieth of the said month, where they did nothing but demand of him certain Questions, where he was born, and whether he had heard in his Country at Orleans, that Mr. Gerard the Bishop there did sing Mass. Yes, said he, And why do not you also, did they, receive the same. He answered, Because he did it to retain and keep his Bishoprick. The Matter, for lack of Paper, could proceed therein no further.

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Persecut.

Martyrs, and the cause of their Martyrdom.

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KHen. 8

**Vermil, and Peter Burdon.** The fourth which was **André du Fou**, he caused by manifold Al-lurements, somewhat to incline to his sayings, and so he escaped the danger, and without great offence taken of a great part of the Frenchmen in that Country. *See Crisp. lib. 6. & ex Comm. Gallic. de statu Relig. & Reipub.*

**Geffrey Varage**, at Thurin in Piedmont, Anno 1558.

In the same year, 1558, suffered also **Geffrey Varage**, Preacher in the Valley of **Angrogne**, at the Town of **Thurin** in **Piedmont**, who first was a Monk, and said Mass the space of seven and twenty years. Afterward returning from **Burgh** toward **Angrogne** to preach, as he had said before to do, sent by the Ministers of **Geneva**, and other faithful Brethren, was apprehended in the Town of **Burgh**, and brought before the King's Lieutenant where he was questioned with touching divers Articles of Religion: as of Justification, Works of Supererogation, Free-will, Predilection, Confession, Satisfaction, Indulgences, Images, Purgatory, the Pope, &c. Whereunto he answered again in Writing, with his Learning, with Reason, alleging against the Pope's own Dictations, namely, *Dile. 19. cap. Dominus. Dilecti. 21. cap. In non. Dilecti. 21. cap. omnes. & cap. Sacerdotes*: that as the Story reports, the Court of **Thurin** marvelling at his Learning, contemned more for reproach of fame, than upon true opinion grounded on Judgment. When he was brought to the place of Execution, the People which stood by and heard him speak, declared openly, that they saw no cause why he should die. A certain old Companion of his, a Priest, calling him by his name, **Master Geffrey**, desired him to convert from his opinion. To whom he patiently answered again, desiring him, that he would convert from his Condition. And thus after he had made his Prayer unto God, and had forgiven his Executioner, and all his Enemies, he was first strangled, and then burned. In the fore said Story relation is made more concerning the said **Geffrey**, that at the time of his burning a Dove was seen (as was credibly reported of many) flying and fluttering, divers times about the fire; testifying (as was thought) the Innocency of this holy Martyr of Lord. But the Story adds, that upon such things we must not yet, but to conclude he the Martyrdom of this blessed Man. *See Crisp. lib. 6. pag. 897.*

**Benet Romain**, a **Mercer** or **Haberdasher** at **Draguignan** in Province, Anno 1558.

The lamentable Story of **Benet Romain** is described at large among other French Martyrs, by **John Gualther**, Printer: the brief relation of here follows. This **Benet** having Wife and Children at **Geneva**, to get his living used to go about the Country with certain Mercers, watching cunningly almost other things, how to dress. This being his coming toward **Marseille**, and passed by the Town **Draguignan**, he hanged upon one of the like faculty, named **Lantume Blanc**. Who being delirious to have of his Conscience, could not agree for the price, altho' knowing that he was one of **Geneva**, went to a Councilor of the Court of **Aix**, being then at **Draguignan**, whose name was **Delauré**, Son-in-law to **Mme. Lord of Opède**, the great Persecutor against **André**, &c. This **Lantume** consulting together with the fore said **Blanc**, and pretending to buy certain of his Conscience which he saw to be very fair, and knowing also that he had to the worth of three hundred Crowns, inconsistent after his

departing from him, he sent to the Officer of the Town to attach the said **Blanc**, as one being the greatest Lute in the World. Thus when he was arrested for the Priests **Prêtre**, **Blanc** and his Fellow, which fought nothing, but only the prey, were ready to seize on his Goods and likewise of the other two Men whom he hired to bear his Merchandise. Then were these three poor Men separated asunder, and **Romain** examined before the Councils, and the King's Advocate, and other Councilors: Where he kept his Estate; Whether he received at the said Officer? Whether he was confined before, and desired the Lent? also he was bid to say his **Patet Noster**, the **Credo**, and **Ave Maria**, which two first he did, but denied to say **Ave Maria**. Then was he asked for whipping of Saints, Whom Saints and Men Saints, and when he heard Mass? He said he would worship none but God alone. Mass he heard none these four years, nor ever would? Whereupon he was committed to a thinking house of Edmunt, with **John Chaint** upon his Legs. **Lantume** thus having his Will upon the poor Man, sent for the Lieutenant, named **Anthony Resol**, told him what he had done, and wished him to see the Priests. The Lieutenant being angry that he did to stir upon his Office, desired to go with him to the Prisoner, exclaiming the filthy favour of the place. Notwithstanding the same day, the Lieutenant with another went to the Prisoner, and caused the said **Romain** to come before him, of whom he enquired many things, of his dwelling, of his Name and Age, his Wife and Children, of his Faculty, and cause of his coming, altho' of his Religion, and all his Faith Points **Romain** thereon belonging. Unto whom he answered again simply and truly in all respects, as lay in his Conscience, and thereunto being required (because he could not write) he put to his Mark. After this Confession being thrice made, and his Answers taken, certain faithful Brethren of that place found means to come to him, and comforted him, that seeing he had sufficiently already made Confession of his Faith, he would seek means to escape out from his Enemies, which fought nothing but his death, and shewed unto him what he should say unto the Lieutenant: but he refused to do, being willing there to render account of his Faith, and contented to die for the same.

The same of his Confabity being known in the Town, Judge **Barbosi**, a Man blind and ignorant, and no less deformed, came to him, and asked, What do they believe, said he, in any God in **Geneva**? **Romain** looking upon him, What art thou, said he, that to wretchedly dost blaspheme? I am, said he, the ordinary Judge of this place. And who hath put thee, said **Romain**, such a gross and deformed person, in such an Office? Thinkst thou that we be heathens, and no Christians? And if the Devils themselves do confess a God, forgive you that they of **Geneva** do deny their God? No, no, We believe in God, we invoke his Name, and repose all our trust in him, &c. **Barbosi** took such Grief with this, departing from **Romain**, that he could not pursue him to death.

The Lieutenant then being much urged, and much called upon, and also threatened by this **Barbosi** and others, prepared to proceed in Judgment against him, taking to him five Judges and Advocates as the Order there required. There was the same time an observant Friar, which had there preached all the Lent. He being very eager and diligent to have the poor Christian buried, and seeing the Judges intensive about the business, to let the matter forward, said, That he would go and say Mass of the Holy Ghost, to illuminate their hearts to have the said **Romain** condemned and burned alive at a little fire. Moreover, he procured **Caval** and **Cavalieri**, the Councils, to threaten the Lieutenant, that they would complain of him to the High Court of Parliament, if he would not after that forth condemn him to be burnt. In the mean time the faithful

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Christians of the said Town, fearing left by this rackings danger might happen to the Brethren, sent to **Romain** again several Instructions and means how he might be aided, such as should not be against God. But when the Lieutenant came, the poor Man forgot his Instructions: so simple he was, and ignorant of the subtilties of this World.

When the time came that the Judges were set, and the Process should be read, **Barbosi** with others, whom the Friar had procured, had agreed before, that he should be first alive, and put to the Rack, to disclose his Fellows, and also gagged that he might not speak and judge the residue. On the other party, one there was of the Advocates (albeit a Man wholly superstitious) who, seeing the rage of the other, gave contrary advice saying, That he should be sent home again, for that he was a Town-dweller of **Geneva**, neither had taught there any kind of Doctrine, nor brought any Books, neither had they any Informations against him: and that which he had spoken, was a thing confirmed by his Oath, forced by the Justice. And as touching his Opinion, it was no other, but as other young Men did follow, which were either of the one party, or of the other: and therefore that there remained no more, but only the Lieutenant to give his Verdict, &c. Thus much being spoken, and also because the Lieutenant was before satisfied, and came crying to the Lieutenant, they arose for that time, desiring the matter to another place. The Friar observant in this mean while was not idle, inciting still the Councils and the People, who at the ringing of a Bell being assembled together, with the Council and the Priests in a great rout, came crying to the Lieutenant, that he had the Heretic, or else they would fire him, and all his Family: and in semblable wise did the same to the other Judges and Advocates: the Official moreover added, that if it were not better shewn into that, he would threaten would take such courage, and to flout the other Church doors, that no Man should enter in. Then, because the Lieutenant would not take to him other Judges after their minds, in all post-haste the People contributed together, that their own Charge upon the matter being purged at the Parliament of **Aix**, and so compelled the Lieutenant to bring the Process unto Judgment, every Man crying, To the fire, to the fire, that he may be burned.

The Lieutenant being not able any otherwise to appease the People, promised to bring the matter to the High Court of **Aix**, and so he did. They hearing the Information of the Cause, commanded the Lieutenant and the other Judges to deal no further therein, but to send up the Process and Prisoner unto them. This went greatly against the minds of them of **Draguignan**, which would fain have had him condemned there. Whereupon **Barbosi** was sent out to the Parliament of **Aix**, where he practised and laboured the matter, that the Cause was sent down again to the Lieutenant, and he enjoyed to take unto him such ancient Advocates, as their old Order required, and to certify them again within eight days. And so **Romain**, by the Sentence of those old Judges, was condemned to be burned alive, if he turned not; if he did, then to be strangled, and before the Execution to be put upon the Rack, where he should disclose the rest of his Company. From the which Sentence **Romain** then appealed, saying, That he was no Heretic. Whereupon he was carried unto **Aix**, bringing the Commandments as he passed by the Town of **Draguignan**. Which when the King's Advocate did see, looking out of his Window, he said unto him, That he was one of them that concluded his death, but desired God to forgive him. **Romain** answered again, that God will judge us all in the last day of Judgment. After he was come to **Aix** he was brought before the Councils before whom he remained no less constant and firm, than afore. Then was a faithful Friar, who being three hours with him, could not remove him, came out to the Lords, and said that he was damned: by reason whereof, the Sentence given before of his Condemnation was confirmed, and he sent back again from whence he came.

At this return again from **Aix**, the Councils of **Draguignan** first abroad to Priests to the Carriers, that they should figure to their Parishioners the day of his death, to the end that they should come: also caused to be cried through the Town by the found of a Trumpet, that all

good Christians should bring Word to the great Marketplace to burn the Lute. The day being come, which was Saturday, the sixteenth of **May**, the poor Servant of God first was brought to the Rack, or Torture: where, at his first entry, were brought before him the Cords, Irons, and Weights to terrify him. Then he was desired to alter his Complices, and renounce his Religion, or else he should be burned alive. He answered with a constant heart, That he had no other Complices nor Companions, neither would he hold any other Faith, but that which Jesus Christ did preach by his Apostles. Then was he desired, that his Fellows taken with him, whether they did hold the Faith of **Rome**, or whether he did ever communicate with them, or did know them in the Town, or in the Province to be of his Faith? He said, **No**. Item, what he had to do in that Town? He said, to fill his Conscience, Item, who gave him counsel to appeal? God, he said, by his Spirit.

Upon this he was put upon the Gin or Rack, where he being torn most outrageously, cried not full to cry unto God, that he would have pity on him for the love of Jesus on the Cross. Christ his Son. Then was he commanded to call to the Virgin Mary, but he would not. Whereupon his Torture was renewed afresh, in such cruel sort, that they thought they had left him for dead. For the which they sent him to the Barbers, and finding that he could endure no longer, they were afraid lest he had been put, and hanged to bring him to the fire. So after they had assayed him by Priests and Friars as much as they could, to make him revolt, they helped the Hangman to tear him, all broken and died, mentioned as he was, unto the heap of Wood, where they tied him to a Chain of Iron which was let down upon the Fagots. **Romain** being himself to be alone lying upon the Wood, began to pray to God: whereas the Friars being moved, ran to him again, and said to say **Ave Maria**. Which when he would not do, they were so violent, that they plucked and tore his Beard. In all these Anguishes the meek Saint of God had recourse still to God in his Prayers, beseeching him to give him patience. Then left they him lying as dead: but forsook at their demand down from the Wood, he began to pray to God again, in such sort, as one would have thought that he had felt no hurt. Then another great Friar, forgetting to do more with him than the rest, came up to the Wood unto him to admonish him. **Romain** thought at first, that he had been a faithful Christian by his gentle speech, but afterward when he urged him to pray to the Virgin Mary, he desired him to depart, and let him alone in peace. As soon as he was departed, **Romain** lifted up his Head and his Eyes on high, praying God to assist him in his great Tentation. Then a certain Friar, a Vardet, to bring the people in more hatred, cried out loud, He blasphemeth the blasphemer. He preached against the blessed Virgin Mary, whereas **Barbosi** cried, Stop his Mouth, let him be gagged. The People cried, To the fire, let him be burned. Then the Hangman set fire to the Straw and little Sticks that were about, which incontinent were set on fire. **Romain** still remained hanging in the Air till he died; and was burned all his neither years well near, when he was seen to lift up his Head to Heaven, moving his Lips, without any cry: and so this blessed Saint rendered his Spirit to God.

Of this Affair they there were divers Judgments and Murders. Some said, That if good Men had been about him, it had gone better with him, and that those Priests and Monks which were about him, were Whoremasters and infamous. Others said, that he had wronged, and that a hundred of that Company there were, which more deserved death than he, especially among them which condemned him. Other went away marvelling, and disputing of his Death and Doctrine. And thus was the Course finished to this valiant and brave blessed Martyr and Servant of the Lord Jesus the Son of God. *See Crisp. lib. 6. pag. 902.*

**Francis Cuvax** at **Dyon**, Anno 1558.

This **Francis Cuvax** was Secretary to the French Ambassador here in England in Queen Mary's time, who afterward being desirous to hear the Word of God, went to **Geneva**. Altho' he

good Christians should bring Word to the great Marketplace to burn the Lute. The day being come, which was Saturday, the sixteenth of **May**, the poor Servant of God first was brought to the Rack, or Torture: where, at his first entry, were brought before him the Cords, Irons, and Weights to terrify him. Then he was desired to alter his Complices, and renounce his Religion, or else he should be burned alive. He answered with a constant heart, That he had no other Complices nor Companions, neither would he hold any other Faith, but that which Jesus Christ did preach by his Apostles. Then was he desired, that his Fellows taken with him, whether they did hold the Faith of **Rome**, or whether he did ever communicate with them, or did know them in the Town, or in the Province to be of his Faith? He said, **No**. Item, what he had to do in that Town? He said, to fill his Conscience, Item, who gave him counsel to appeal? God, he said, by his Spirit.

Upon this he was put upon the Gin or Rack, where he being torn most outrageously, cried not full to cry unto God, that he would have pity on him for the love of Jesus on the Cross. Christ his Son. Then was he commanded to call to the Virgin Mary, but he would not. Whereupon his Torture was renewed afresh, in such cruel sort, that they thought they had left him for dead. For the which they sent him to the Barbers, and finding that he could endure no longer, they were afraid lest he had been put, and hanged to bring him to the fire. So after they had assayed him by Priests and Friars as much as they could, to make him revolt, they helped the Hangman to tear him, all broken and died, mentioned as he was, unto the heap of Wood, where they tied him to a Chain of Iron which was let down upon the Fagots. **Romain** being himself to be alone lying upon the Wood, began to pray to God: whereas the Friars being moved, ran to him again, and said to say **Ave Maria**. Which when he would not do, they were so violent, that they plucked and tore his Beard. In all these Anguishes the meek Saint of God had recourse still to God in his Prayers, beseeching him to give him patience. Then left they him lying as dead: but forsook at their demand down from the Wood, he began to pray to God again, in such sort, as one would have thought that he had felt no hurt. Then another great Friar, forgetting to do more with him than the rest, came up to the Wood unto him to admonish him. **Romain** thought at first, that he had been a faithful Christian by his gentle speech, but afterward when he urged him to pray to the Virgin Mary, he desired him to depart, and let him alone in peace. As soon as he was departed, **Romain** lifted up his Head and his Eyes on high, praying God to assist him in his great Tentation. Then a certain Friar, a Vardet, to bring the people in more hatred, cried out loud, He blasphemeth the blasphemer. He preached against the blessed Virgin Mary, whereas **Barbosi** cried, Stop his Mouth, let him be gagged. The People cried, To the fire, let him be burned. Then the Hangman set fire to the Straw and little Sticks that were about, which incontinent were set on fire. **Romain** still remained hanging in the Air till he died; and was burned all his neither years well near, when he was seen to lift up his Head to Heaven, moving his Lips, without any cry: and so this blessed Saint rendered his Spirit to God.

Of this Affair they there were divers Judgments and Murders. Some said, That if good Men had been about him, it had gone better with him, and that those Priests and Monks which were about him, were Whoremasters and infamous. Others said, that he had wronged, and that a hundred of that Company there were, which more deserved death than he, especially among them which condemned him. Other went away marvelling, and disputing of his Death and Doctrine. And thus was the Course finished to this valiant and brave blessed Martyr and Servant of the Lord Jesus the Son of God. *See Crisp. lib. 6. pag. 902.*

**Francis Cuvax** at **Dyon**, Anno 1558.

This **Francis Cuvax** was Secretary to the French Ambassador here in England in Queen Mary's time, who afterward being desirous to hear the Word of God, went to **Geneva**. Altho' he

good Christians should bring Word to the great Marketplace to burn the Lute. The day being come, which was Saturday, the sixteenth of **May**, the poor Servant of God first was brought to the Rack, or Torture: where, at his first entry, were brought before him the Cords, Irons, and Weights to terrify him. Then he was desired to alter his Complices, and renounce his Religion, or else he should be burned alive. He answered with a constant heart, That he had no other Complices nor Companions, neither would he hold any other Faith, but that which Jesus Christ did preach by his Apostles. Then was he desired, that his Fellows taken with him, whether they did hold the Faith of **Rome**, or whether he did ever communicate with them, or did know them in the Town, or in the Province to be of his Faith? He said, **No**. Item, what he had to do in that Town? He said, to fill his Conscience, Item, who gave him counsel to appeal? God, he said, by his Spirit.

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he was placed to be Secretary to the Senate or Council of *Genova*; where he continued about the space of a year. Having then certain Beliefs he came to *Dyon*.

There was the same time a Priest that Preached at *Dyon* his Doctrine, whereas the said *Francis* being worthily offended, came friendly unto the Priest, and desired to hear him preach his Doctrine, shewing by the Scriptures, how and where he had erred. The Priest excused himself, that he was not so well informed to dispute, but he would bring him the next day to a certain learned man, who dwelt there in the Town, and desired the said *Francis* to go with him to Breakfast, where he would be glad to hear them two in Conference together. Whereupon when *Francis* came to the Priest, he incited him with him to the Jacobin Friars, where the matter was thus contrived, that at the Breakfast-time *Francis* there unwares should be apprehended.

When the next day came, the Priest brought *Francis*, according to his appointments, to a Jacobin Friar, who pretending much fair Friendship unto him, as one glad and desirous of his company, besought him to take a Breakfast with him the next morning and there they would enter conference together. The next morning *Francis* came, and to prepare himself the better to that Conflict, ate up almost all the night writing with his Fellow. The next morning, as *Francis* with his Fellow were preparing themselves toward the Breakfast, the Justice in the mean time went to the Jailors of the Town, to demand of them the time and place appointed. Thus, as the Jacobin was standing at the Jailors door, The Companion of *Francis*, seeing the Friar there band, began to misrout with himself, saying, *Francis*, with his Fellow, were to be taken and over, the same night *Francis* had in his Dream, That the said Friar should commit him to the Justice. But he, either not caring for his Dreams, or else not much paining for the dream, committed himself to the Hands of God, and went. As they were together, the Jailors came, and the Jacobins, *Francis*, thus betrayed of the Priest, was apprehended by the Officers, carried to Prison, and within seven days afterwards, being Saturday before the Nativity of our Lord, was brought to the place of Execution, where first he was strangled, and then hanged.

And as touching the Fellow and Companion of this *Francis* above-mentioned, he was also apprehended with him, and put in Prison; but because he was but a young Novice, and yet not fully convinced, he recanted, and was delivered.

Peter Arondeau, at Paris, *An.* 1559.

The Town of Roches, as it is a place of great com-  
modity because of the Sea, is now it not  
inferior to other good Towns in France, for  
nourishing and supporting the holy Allemans  
of the said Town, and the said Country, for  
the year of our Lord, 1550, reformed one *Peter*  
*Andrieux*, a Man of bold Condition, with a little  
Packet of Mercury Ware there to sell. Who there  
being known to advoyns himself to the Church  
of the said Town, and to the said Country, of  
certain Ministers of Antichritie, Whether he  
would goe to hear Mass or no? He said, that he  
had been there too oft to his great grief: and so  
he refused to goe there any more.  
Well from his Eyes, he knew the Mass to be  
abominable, forged in the Shop of the Enemy  
of all Mankind. They to whom he thus answered  
were Priests; amongst whom was one named  
*Andrieux*, who was the same that had been  
Witness, brought him fraight to the judgement.  
The Deposition being taken, and Informations  
made, it was decreed incontinent, that his Body  
should be thrice burnt, and his Ashes should  
be thrice scattered. And although by one  
of the said Ministers of Antichritie, he was  
told, and to avoid the Danger, yet he refused

[illegible]

Not long after the happy end of this blessed Marcy, the forenamed *Melany*, which was the principal character and party against him, was frustrated by a Dilectic called *Apolonia*, and thus upon suddenly died.

By this, and many other chills like Examples, the mighty Judgment of God must evidently may appear & show, all those who are so much engaged in the world, and their own Household in this World, yet neither do they Advise themselves always escape the terrible hand of Ju-  
dice.

Also the Lieutenant which was Condemner turned not to appear before the Priests, but he was arrested formerly to appear before the Kings's Council, through the procurement of a certain Gentlemen of *Polsac*, called *Anthony de Le-gis*, signing his name under the given name and La-griff, appearing before the said Council as a witness, and being Judgment before. By reason whereof the said Lieutenant, so intantly did pursue him before the Lords of the Council, that all the Exortors and Pollings of the Lieutenant were openly discovered, and to be condemned, and the said Council, by the same manner, of the Sun, within fourteen days, upon pain of double as much. Also he was depozed of his Office, and there declared unworthy to exercise any Royal Office hereafter for ever, with Infamy and Shame perpetual. *Ex Crisp. lib. 6. pag. 907.*

Thomas Moutard at Valenciennes  
Anno 1559.

In the Town of *Valenciennes*, not far from *France*, the same year, which was 1559, in the Month of *October*, suffered *Thomas Moutard*: who first being converted from a disordered life to the Knowledge of the Gospel, is

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to us a Spectacle of God's great gracious Mercy  
 towards his elect Christian. This *Account*  
 was translated out of the French into Latin  
 to a Pictet, saying thus, That his God of  
 the Host was nothing but an abomination, which  
 abused the People of God. These words were  
 taken notice of spoken in his Drummebees. But  
 the next day after when the same words were  
 repeated to him again, to know whether he  
 would abide by the words there uttered, or no?  
 He said, Yes: For it is an abuse, said he, to  
 seek Jesus Christ in the Drummebees, and  
 him, sitting at the Glory and right hand  
 of his Father: And in this he was ready to  
 live and die. His Proceed being made, he was  
 condemned to be burned quick. But as he  
 was carried from the Town-house to the place  
 of Punishment: it was never seen a Man with  
 such countenance to be afflicted in heart, and  
 so to rejoice at that great Honour which God  
 had called him unto. He was carried as such  
 as was possible, to blind him, and disfigure him.  
 The Martyr in the middle of the flaming fire,  
 lifting up his Eyes unto Heaven, cried, that  
 God, that he would have mercy on his Soul, and  
 in so great integrity of heart and perfectness,  
 he gave up his life to God. *Ex. In Cris. Lib. 6.*

This Dutch Story should have gone before this  
 Dutch Martyr: but being *Valencienois* is not far distant  
 from *France*: and touching upon the same  
 flame with the *French Martyr* above, thought  
 best to be joyed in the Kingdom of Christ: which day the  
 Lord best forth *Amoy*.

Thus have we (through the assistance of the Lord)  
 deduced the Table of the French, and also of the Dutch  
 Martyrs unto the time and reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, that is,

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to the year 1560. Since the which time divers also  
 have suffered both in *France*, and in the lower Country of *Guernsey*, whose Story shall be declared (the Lord willing)  
 more at large, when we come to the times of *St. Elizabeth*.  
 In the mean season it shall suffice for this present to infill  
 their Names only, which here do follow.

*The Refusal of the French Martyrs.*

*A* Nida Burgis, Councillor of Paris, Andre Coffer, John  
 A. Jabean, John Andet, Martyrs of Paris: Geoffrey Cuy  
 J. Jubeau, J. J. Burbanke, J. C. Cleeve, Martin Marin,  
 M. Peter Rich, Jean de Courcy, J. de la Motte, J. de  
 Hamier, Martin Raffan, Peter Allin, John Burgis: besides  
 the tumult of Amoy, the Persecution of *Jaques* the  
 Marquis, Master Musat.

*The refusal of the Dutch Martyrs.*

*J*ames de La, of the City of Tournay, John de Buisson at  
 Amoy, Peter Bell, John Dey, Guyon Gualtier,  
 Simon Heere of the City of Tournay, John de Larnay at  
 Tournay, Andre Michiel, a blind Man at Tournay, Francois  
 Varlet at Tournay, Alexander Dayken of Brancolte, Willem  
 Corne in Helshut, Anthony Corne of Cambray, Robert  
 Corne in Helshut, a certain suffered at Tournay, Miltred  
 Rebliver of Ayr, Niclaes of Tournay, Regis de Molin.

To the Catalogue of French Martyrs above-rehearsed, the  
 Story of Menard and Cabriere, with the lamentable handling  
 of them, were also to be annexed. But because the  
 Tradition of *France* and *France* will be connected into  
 a more Discourse, therefore we have deferred the same  
 to a more convenient room, after the Table here following  
 next of the *Spanish* and *Italian Martyrs*, where better oppor-  
 tunity shall be offered to enlarge more at full that  
 particular Persecution the Lord do requirer.

*A Table of such Martyrs as for the Cause of Religion suffered in Spain*

### The *Spanish* Martyr

Franciscus san Romanus, at Burges  
in Spain.

A Non 1543 this Francis was sent by the  
and slain Spanish Merchants of Antwerp  
Broom, to take up Money due to be paid  
and slain Merchants, where he being at  
the said Francis, Master Juyon, and  
times of the Autlin Friends of Antwerp, preachers  
was so touched and drawn ( through the man  
of the said Francis, of the said Francis, of the  
thundered) alcing having been in the  
funding of the Dutch Tongue, that not only  
he understood all that was there said, but al  
coming to the President, and accompanying  
him to the said Francis, of the said Francis,  
apart) there recited the whole Contents  
his Sermon every word ( as they said, which  
all his words, and the said Francis, of the  
perfect form and order as he had preached. After  
this little tale, and happy beginning, he pro  
ceeded further, teaching and conferring with  
the said Francis, in that place he was grown  
to great knowledge and understanding of  
the Word of Life. The Minister marveling  
the sudden mutation of the Man, and also for  
the beginning of his new life, with a will  
begins to exhort him how to persevere in  
self with Circumpection and Discretion, that  
more and more instructed him in the Word  
of Life, and the said Francis, of the said Francis,  
received, and gave, a sign that could never

be satisfied: and so remained he with the Minister three days together, committing his worldly Business, and Message that he was best for, unto his fellow which came with him. Thus being inflamed with another desire, he ceased to seek for Temporal triftes, seeking rather for such French or Dutch Books which he could get to read, to spin, or to write, for the sake of Idleness; partly by the reading thereof, partly for the sake of Idleness, and also by *Maestrichius* (which was then the famous time) he was able in short time to judge in the chief Articles of our Religion. Insum that he took upon him to write Letters unto his Country-men, the Merchants of the Indies, in the which Letters him he gave thanks to God for his mercies received, and desired that he might be remembered. Secondly, he bewailed the great Cruelty and Injustice of his Countrymen: desiring God to open their Eyes and Ears, to see and understand the Word of their Salvation. Thirdly, he promised therto to come to them at *Antwerp*, to confer with them touching the Grace of God, which he desired. Fourthly, he declared to them his purpose in going also to *Yam*, to see how he might be helpful to his Parents and other Friends at *Bruges*, the wholesome Doctrine which the Lord had bestowed upon him.

Before this, he addressed other Letters also to *Charles* the Emperor, opening to him the Calamities and miserable Estate of Christ's Church; desiring him to tender the quietness thereof; especially that he would reform the miserable Corruption of the Church of *Spain*, &c. *Ovei* And besides all this, he wrote there a Catechism, and divers other Treatises in the *Spanish* Tongue. And all this he did in one Month's space.

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In the mean time the Spanish Merchants of Antwerp understanding by his Letters, both his Change of Religion, and also his purpose of coming to Antwerp, sent him Letters again, pretending outwardly a fair Countenance of good Good-will, but secretly practising his Defections. For at the day appointed of his coming, certain Friars were fit ready to receive him, which took him coming down from his Horse, rifled his Books, had him into a Merchant's House near hand, where they examined him, with whom he again disputed mightily: and when they found him not agreeing to their Faith, they bound him hand and foot, crying out upon him, and calling him Lutheran, and burnt his Books before his face, threatening to burn himself also. At this Disputation within the house divers Spaniards were present, which made the Friars more bold. Being demanded to flee of what Faith and Religion he was, My Faith (said he) is to confess and preach Christ Jesus only, and him crucified, which is the true Faith of the Universal Church of Christ through the whole World; but the Faith and Doctrine you have corrupted, taking another abominable kind of Life, and by your Impiety have brought the most part of the World into blindness most miserable. And to explain his Faith to them more expressly, he recited all the Articles of the Creed.

Which done, then the Priests asked, Whether he believed the Bishop of Rome to be Christ's Vicar, and Head of the Church, having all the Treasures of the Church in his own power, being able to bind and loose? also to make new Articles, and abolish the old at his own Will and Arbitrariness? Hereunto *Francis* answered again, That he believed none of all this, but contrary did affirm, that the Pope was Antichrist, born of the Devil, being the Enemy of Jesus Christ, transferring to himself God's Honour, and which moreover, being incited by the Devil, turned all things upside down, and corrupted the faculty of Christ's Religion, partly by his false pretences beguiling, partly by his extreme cruelty defraying the poor folk of Christ, &c. With the like boldness he uttered his mind likewise against the Mass and Purgatory. The Friars could suffer him meanly well to speak until he came to the Pope, and began to speak against his Dignity, and their profits: then could they abide no longer, but thrusting again him words full of Cruelty and Terror. As they were burning of his Books, and began also to call a new Testament into the fire, *Francis* seeing that began to thunder out against them again. The Spaniards then supposing him not to be in his right Senses, conveyed him into a Tower six miles distant from Antwerp, where he was detained in a deep Cave or Dungeon, with much misery, the space of eight months. In which time of his Imprisonment many grave and discreet persons came to visit him, exhorting him that he would change his opinion, and speak more modestly. *Francis* answered again, That he maintained no Opinion erroneous or heretical; and that he seemed to be forever so vehement with the Friars, that was not to be ascribed to him so much as to their own Importunity: hereafter he would frame himself more temperately.

Whereupon the Spaniards thinking him better come to himself, discharged him out of Prison, which was about the time when the Emperor was in his Council of *Ratisbona*. An. 1541.

*San Romane* being thus freed out of Prison, came to Antwerp, where he remained about twenty days. From thence he went to *Leuven* unto a certain Friar of his, named *Francis*, who was *Francis Dryander* (who also afterward died a Martyr) with whom he had much conference about divers matters of Religion: who gave him counsel not to alter the faith of his Vocation, being called to be a Merchant, which fate he might exercise with a good Conscience, and do much good. And as touching Religion his Council was, That he should say or do nothing for favour of Men, whereby the Glory of God should be diminished; but, if that he required nothing but handling in the same good and right judgment conformable to the rule of God's Word, let it might chance to him, as it doth to many, who, being carried with an inconsiderate zeal, leave their Vocations, and while they think to do good, and to edify, they destroy and do harm, and cast themselves need- less into danger. It is God, said he, that hath the care of his Church, and will fit up faithful Ministers for the same: neither doth he care for such, which rashly intrude themselves

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into that Function without any calling.

This Advertisement of *Dryander*, *Francis* did willingly accept, promising heretofore to moderate himself more moderately: But this Promise was shortly broken, as you shall hear. For, passing from *Dryander* he went to *Ratisbona*, and there having time and opportunity convenient to speak to the Emperor, he beseeched boldly unto him, beseeching him to deliver his Country and Subjects of Spain from false Religion, and to restore again the sincerity of Christ's Doctrine, declaring and proving, that the Prince of Protestants of Germany were in the true faith, and that the Religion of Spain being drowned in ignorance and blindness, was greatly different from the true and perfect Word of God, with many other words pertaining to the same effect. The Emperor at all this while gave him gentle hearing, signifying that he would consider upon the matter, and so to therein, as he trusted should be for the best. This quiet answer of the Emperor ministered to him no little encouragement of better hope; and albeit he might perceive there in the City many Examples to the contrary, yet all that discouraged him not, but he went the second, and also the third time, unto the Emperor, who quietly again to answer him as before. And yet this our *Francis* not satisfied in his mind, sought with greater ardour the fourth time to speak to the Emperor, but he was repulsed by certain of the Spaniards called the Emperor, who incited without all further hearing or advising the Cause, would have thrown him headlong into the River of *Danubius*, had not the Emperor said them, and willed him to be judged by the Laws of the Empire. By which Commandment of the Emperor he was relieved and detained with other Malefactors in bands, till the Emperor took his Voyage into *Africa*. Then *Francis*, with other Captives following the Court, after that the Emperor was come into Spain, was there delivered to the Inquisitors: by whom he was laid in a dark Prison under the ground. Oft and many times he was called for to Examination, where he suffered great injuries and Contumelies, but ever remained in his Conscience firm and unmovable. The Articles whereupon he stood, and for which he was condemned, were these:

That Life and Salvation in the sight of God, consist to be Man in his own Strength, Works, or Merits, but only by the free Mercy of God, in the Blood and Sacrifice of his Son our Mediator.

That the Sacrifice of the Mass, which the Popes do represent available, ex opere operato, for the Remission of sins, both to the quick and the dead, is horrible Blasphemy.

That *Archievangel* Coustlin with numbering up of sins, that Satisfaction, Purgatory Pardons, Invocation of Saints, worshipping of Images, be mere Blasphemy against his living God.

Item, That the Blood of Christ is prophesied and injured in the same *Archievangel*.

After the Inquisitors perceived, that by no means he could be reclaimed from his Affections, they proceeded at last to the Sentence, condemning him to be burned for an Heretic. Many other Malefactors were brought also with him to the place of Execution, but all they were pardoned and dismissed he only for the Gospel, being odious to the whole World, was taken and burned. As was the case of paper, painted full of Devils, after the Spanish guile.

Furthermore, as he was brought out of the City-gate to be burned, there stood a wooden Cross by the way, whither *Francis* was required to do homage, which he refused, answering, That the manner of Christians is not to worship Wood, and he was, said he, a Christian. Hereupon arose great Clamour among the vulgar People, for that he denied to worship the wooden Cross. But this was cunningly incited unto a miracle. Such was the blind rudeness of that People, that they did impute this to the Divine Virtue, as given to the Cross from Heaven, for that it would not suffer it self to be worshipped of an Heretic: and immediately, for the opinion of that great Miracle, the Multitude with their Swords did hew it in pieces, every Man thinking himself happy that might carry away some Chip or Fragment of the said Cross.

When

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When he was come to the place where he should suffer, the Friars were bawle about him to have him secure, but he continued ever firm. As he was laid upon the heap of Wood, and the fire kindled about him, he began a little at the feeling of the fire, to lift up his head toward Heaven: which when the Inquisitors perceived, hoping that he would recant his Doctrine, they caused him to be taken from the fire. But when they perceived nothing less in him, the Adversaries being frustrate of their Expectation, willed him to be thrown in again, and so he was immediately dispatched.

After that the Martyrdom of this blessed Man was thus commended, the Inquisitors proclaimed openly, that he was damned in Hell, and that none should pray for him; yea, and that all were Heretics, whosoever doubted of his Damnation. Nevertheless certain of the Emperors Soldiers gathered of his Ashes. Also the English Ambassador procured a portion his Bones to be brought unto him, knowing right well that he died a Martyr. Yet this could not be so secretly done, but it came to the Ears of the Inquisitors, and of the Emperor. Wherefore the Soldiers going in great danger of life, were committed to Prison. Neither did the Ambassador himself escape clear from the danger of the Pope's Scourges: for he was upon the place frequented from the Court, and commanded to be absent for a space. And thus much concerning the notable Martyrdom of this blessed *San Romane*. Ex *Francis Escobar*, *Hilpinus*, *teigle*, *evolut*.

Rochus, at San Lucar in Spain, Anno 1545.

*Rochus* was born in *Brabant*, his Father dwelling in Antwerp. By his Science he was a Carver or Graver of Images: who, as soon as he began first to love the Gospel, he fell from making (such) Images as use to serve for Idolatry in Temples, and occupied himself in making Seals, fave only that he kept standing on his Stall an Image of the Virgin *Mary* artistically graven, for a Sign of his Occupation.

It happened unhappily, that a certain Inquisitor passing by in the street, and beholding the carved Image, asked of *Rochus* what was the price thereof? which when *Rochus* had set (not unwilling, belike to sell it) the Inquisitor had him (scarce half the Money). The other answered again, That he could not so live of that Bargain. But still the Inquisitor urged him to take his offer. To whom *Rochus* again, It shall be yours (said he) if you will give me that which my Labour and Charges stand me in, but of that price I cannot afford it: yet had I rather keep it in pieces. Yet, faith the Inquisitor, break it! let me see thee: *Rochus* with that took up a Chisel, and dashed it upon the Face of the Image, wherewith the Nose, or some other part of the Face was blundered. The Inquisitor feared, that he would be burned, and so was he committed to the Executions. As *Rochus* was entering the place there to be burned, he cried with a loud voice, asking among the multitude which there stood by, if any Man of *Flanders* were there? It was answered, yea; and also that there were two Ships already fraught, and appointed to sail to *Flanders*. Then, said he, I would desire some of them to signify to my Father dwelling in Antwerp, that I was burned here in this City, and for this Cause which you all have heard. And thus after his Prayers made to God, this good Man being wrongfully condemned, after his godly life made this blessed end. An. 1545.

And left this so rare and strange Example of Cruelty should seem to lack credit, in the fifth Book of the History of *Pantaleon* there is recorded a thing, which was happening to *Antwerp*, made diligent Inquisition there among the Image-makers, to find out the Parents of this *Rochus*, and signified to them what had happened to their Son, as hath been by his said Parents and Friends declared: informed that it is also testified, that his Father at the hearing of the said Meflage, for sorrow thereof died shortly after. Ex *Pantaleon*, lib. 5.

Furthermore, besides the above-said, and also before their time, I hear and understand by faithful Relation, that divers others have been in the said Country of Spain, whose Hearts God had marvellously illuminate and stirred up, both before, and also since the coming in of the Inquisition, to stand in defence of his Gospel, and were also persecuted for the same, and are said to have died in Prison: Albeit their Names as yet are unknown, for the Stories of that Country be not yet come to light, but, I trust, shortly shall, as partly false Intelligence I have thereof.

In the mean time we will come now to the Inquisition of Spain, speaking something of the ceremonial Pomp, and also of the barbarous Abuse and Cruelty of the same.

### The execrable Inquisition of Spain.

THE cruel and barbarous Inquisition of Spain first began by King *Ferdinandus* and *Isabellah* his Wife, who was instituted against the Jews, which after their Baptism maintained again their own Ceremonies. But now it is practised against them that be never so fully factured to favour the Verity of the Lord. The Spaniards, and especially the great Divines there, do hold, That this holy and sacred Inquisition cannot err, and that the holy Fathers the Inquisitors cannot be deceived.

Three sorts of Men most principally be in danger of these Inquisitions. They that be greatly rich, for the spoil of their Goods. They that be learned, because they will have their Misdemeanors and secret Abuses to be sifted and detected. They that begin to increase in Honour and Dignity, let they being in Authority, should work them some harm or dishonour.

The Abuse of this Inquisition is most execrable. If any Word shall pass out of the mouth of any, which may be taken in evil part; yea, tho no Word be spoken, yet if they hear any grudge or evil Will against the Party, incontinent they command him to be taken, and put in a horrible Prison, and then find out Crimes against him at leisure, and in the mean time no Man living is so hardy once to open his Mouth for him. If the Father speak one word for his Child, he is also taken and cast into Prison as a Favourer of Heretics. Neither is it permitted to any person to go in to the Prisoners: but there he is alone in such a place where he cannot see so much as the ground where he is; and is not suffered either to read or write, but there in darkness palpable, in horrid infirmities, in fear miserable, wrestling with the Afflictions of death.

By this it may be esteemed, what trouble and sorrow, what pensive fancies and cogitations they sustain, which are not thoroughly instructed in holy Doctrine. Add moreover to these Distresses and Horrors of the Prison, the Injuries, Threats, Whippings, and Scourgings, Irons, Tortures, and Racks which they endure. Sometimes also they are brought out, and shewed in some higher place to the People, as a Spectacle of rebuke and injury. And thus are they detained there some many years, and murdered by long Torments, and whole days together inmate much more cruelty (out of all compassion) than if they were in the Hangman's Hands to be slain at once. During all this time, what is done in the plains, no person knoweth, but only the holy Fathers and the Tormentors, which are sworn to execute the Torments. All is done in secret, and (as great Mysteries) pass not the hands of these holy ones. And after all these Torments so many years endured in the Prison, if any Man shall be freed, it must be by gift, for all the Proceedings of the Court of that execrable Inquisition are open to Man, but all is done in hugger-mugger, and in close corners, by Ambages, by Coveries, and secret Councils: The Accuser is secret, the Come secret, the Witness secret, whatever is done is secret; judging is the poor Prisoner ever advertised of any thing. If he

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can guets who accused him whereof, and wherefore, he may be pardoned peradventure of his Life; but that is very seldom, and yet he shall not incontinent be let at liberty before he hath endured long time infinite Torments, and this is called their Penitence, and so is he let go; and yet not so, but that he is enjoyed, before he puts the Inquisitors hands, that he shall receive a Government of yellow Colours for a note of public infamy to him and his whole race; and if he cannot give right, throwing to the Inquisitors by whom he was accused, whereof, and wherefore, (as is before touched) incontinent the horrible Sentence of Condemnation is pronounced against him, that he shall be burned for an obstinate Heretic. And so yet the Sentence is not executed by and by, but after that he hath incurred Imprisonment in some heinous Prison.

And thus have we heard the form of the Spanish Inquisition. By the Vigour and Rigour of this Inquisition, many good true Servants of Jesus Christ have been brought to death, especially in these later years, since the Royal and peaceable Reign of this our Queen Elizabeth. The Names and Stories of whom partly we will here recite, according as we have faithful Records of such as have come to our hands by writing. The other which be not yet come to our knowledge, we will defer, all further intelligence and opportunity, by the Lord's aid and leave, shall serve hereafter.

Ann 1556 *Maii 21*, in the Town of *Valledid*, where commonly the Council of the Inquisition is wont to be kept, the Inquisitors had brought together many Prisoners, both of high and low estate, to the number of thirty; also of the Council of a certain Noble Woman, with her Picture lying upon it, which had been dead long before, there to receive Judgment and Sentence. To the hearing of which Sentence, they had ordained in the said Town three mighty Theaters or Stages: Upon the first was placed *Dame Jane*, sister to *K. Philip*, and chief Regent of his Realm; also *Friar Charles*, King *Philip's* Son, with other Princes and States of Spain. Upon the other Scaffold mounted the Archbishop of *Sevil*, Prince of the Synagogue of the Inquisitors, with the Council of the Inquisition also other Bishops of the Land, and the King's Council with them.

After that the Princes and other spiritual Judges and Councillors were thus set in their places, with a great guard of Archers and Halberdiers, and hundred Soldiers, with four Herald's also of Arms giving their attendance to the time, and the Earl of *Buendia* bearing the naked Sword, all the Market-place where the Stages were, being invironed with an infinite multitude of all sorts of the World there standing, and gazing out of Windows and Houses to hear and see the Sentences and Judgments of this Inquisition: Then after all were brought forth, as a Spectacle and Triumph, the poor Servants and Winnefess of Jesus Christ, to the number (as is above said) of thirty, clothed with their *Sackcloth*, (as the Spaniards do call it,) which is a manner of Vesture of yellow Cloth, coming both before them and behind them, fringed with red Crosses, and having burning Cierges in their hands: also before them was a Canahk covered with black linen Cloth, in token of Mourning. Moreover, they which were to receive the Sentence of death, had Mitters of Paper upon their heads, which the Spaniards call *Coronars*. Thus they being produced, were placed in their order, one under another, according as they were esteemed culpable; so that first of all stood up *Doctor Casalla*, an Austen Friar, a Man notable and singular in knowledge of Divinity, Preacher sometime to *Charles* the fifth Emperor, both in higher and lower Germany.

The things thus disposed, then followed a Sermon made by a Dominick Friar, which endured about an hour. After the Sermon finished, the Procurator General, which the Archbishop went to the Stage where the Princes and Nobles stood, to minister a Solemn Oath upon them upon the Canahk painted in the Table-Book: the Tenor of which Oath was this: Your Majesties shall swear, that you will favour the holy Inquisition, and also give your content unto the same; and not only that you shall by no manner of way hinder and impeach the same; but also you shall employ the uttermost of your help and endeavour hereafter

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to see all them that be executed, which shall sever from the Church of Rome, and adjoin themselves to the Sect of the Lutheran Heretics, without all respect of any Person or Persons of what Estate, Degree, Quality, or Condition forever they be.

And thus much for the first Article of the Oath; the second was this as followeth:  
*Dom*, Your Majesties shall swear, that you shall constrain all your Subjects to submit themselves to the Church of Rome, and to have in reverence all the Laws and Commandments of the same; and also to give your aid against all them whatsoever shall hold of the Heretic of the Lutherans, or take any part with them.

In this sort and manner, when all the Princes and States every one in their degree had received their Oath, then the Archbishop, lifting up his hand, gave them his Benediction, saying, God bless your Highnesses, and give you long life. This solemn Pageant thus finished, at last the poor Captives and Prisoners were called out, the Procurator fiscal, or the Pope's great Collector, first beginning with *Dr. Casalla*, and so proceeding to the other in order, as hereafter in the Table which followeth, with their Names and their Judgments, is described.

## 1. Dr. Casalla a Friar Augustine.

Before the Pope's great Proctor, or Col-*Dr. Casalla*, lector fiscal, first was called forth *Doctor Augustin Casalla*. This Doctor was a Friar of *Augustin* Order, and Priest of the Town of *Valledid*, and brother to the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, a Man well accounted of for his Learning. Who for that he was thought to be as the Standard-bearer to the Gospellers (whom they called Lutherans) and Preacher and Doctor unto them; therefore being first called for, was brought from his Stage nearer to the Proctor fiscal, there to hear the Sentence of his Condemnation, which was, That he should be degraded, and presently burned, and all his Goods confiscate to the Profit and Advancement of Justice.

## 2. Francis de Bivero Priest of Valladolid, and Brother to the forsaidd Casalla.

The second Prisoner, and next to *Doctor Casalla* that was called, was *Francis de Bivero*, Priest and Brother to the forsaidd *Casalla*, who received likewise the same Sentence of Condemnation. And to the intent he should not speak any thing to the prejudice, or against the Abuse of the sacred Inquisition, so he before had done, both within and without the Prison, with much boldness; and also because he was much favoured of the People; to the end therefore that no Commotion should come by his speaking, his Mouth was so stopped and shut up, that he could not speak one Word.

## 3. Dame Blanch de Bivero.

The third was *Dame Blanch*, Sister to the other two afore said, against whom also was pronounced the like Sentence, as upon her Brother before.

## 4. John de Bivero.

The fourth was *John de Bivero*, Brother to the same *Kindred*, who was also judged an Heretic, and condemned to perpetual Prison, and to bear his *Sanktibus* all his Life long; which is an habillment of dishonour.

## 5. Dame

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## 5. Dame Constance de Bivero, Sister to the same afore said.

*Dame Constance de Bivero*, was the fifth Sister to the other before specified and Widow of *Ferdinando Orta*, dwelling sometime at *Valledid*, who was also condemned, with the like Sentence with her Brethren, to be burned.

## 6. The Coffin with the dead Corps of Dame Leonore de Bivero, the Mother of the afore said.

The sixth Thunderbolt of Condemnation was thundred out against a poor Coffin, with the dead Corps of *Dame Leonore de Bivero*, Mother to these above-named, being her left fifth, and being already dead long before at *Valledid*. Above her Coffin was her Picture laid, which was also condemned with her dead Corps to be burned for an Heretic; and yet I never heard of any Opinion that this Picture did hold, either with or against the Church of Rome. This good Mother, while she lived, was a worthy maintainer of Christ's Gospel, with great integrity of life; and retained divers assemblies of the Saints in her house for the preserving of the Word of God. In fine, her Corps and Image also, being brought before the Fiscal, was condemned likewise (as the Mother with her seven Children in the Book of *Machabees*) to be burned for a *Lutheran* Heretic, and her goods to be seized to the behoof of the Superior Powers; also her house utterly to be razed and cast down to the ground; and for a memorial of the same, a Marble Stone was appointed to be set up in the house, wherein the said cause of her burning should be engraved.

## 7. Mr. Alfonso Perez, Priest of Valencia.

In the seventh place was condemned *Master Alfonso Perez*, Priest of *Valencia*, first to be degraded, and after to be burned as an Heretic, and all his goods confiscate and likewise seized to the behoof of the Superiority.

When these seven afore said had received their Sentence, then the Bishop of *Valencia*, in his Pontificalibus, could not be appalled and revolted in Priestly Vesture. Which done he took from them first the Chalice out of their hands, and so all their other Trinkets in order, according to their accustomed Offices. And thus they being degraded, and all their Priestly Functions taken from their huggers, also their Lips and their crowns razed, to wear their yellow Habits of *Sanktibus* put over their Shoulders again, with their Mitters also of Paper upon their Heads. This done, *Dr. Casalla* began to speak, praying the Princes and Lords to give him audience: but that being not granted unto him, he was rudely expelled, and returned again to his standing. Only thus much he protested loudly and openly: That his Faith, for which he was so handled, was not heretical, but consonant to the pure Word of God. For the which also he was next ready to suffer death as a true Christian, and not as an Heretic: Besides many other worthy Sentences of great consolation, which he there uttered in the mean space, while the Judges were busy in their Sentences against the residue of the Martyrs.

## 8. Don Peter Sarmiento, Knight of the Order of Alcantara.

The eighth that was brought before the forsaidd Fiscal was *Don Peter Sarmiento*, Knight of the Order of *Alcantara*, dwelling at *Valencia*.

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and Son of *Marques de Peza*, who was pronounced an Heretic, and judged to bear the mark and habie of dishonour all his life, and condemned to perpetual Prison, with the loss of his Order, and of all his Goods. To whom moreover it was required, never to wear any more Gold, Silver, Pearls, or any precious Stone about him.

## 9. Dame Menica, Wife of the said Don Peter.

Ninthly, after him was called *Dame Menica de Figueroa*, Wife of the forsaidd *Don Peter Sarmiento*. Who likewise, being proclaimed for an Heretic, was condemned to the same punishment as her Husband was.

## 10. Don Lovis de Rozas, Son and Heir of the Marques de Peza.

Next after her was called and brought forth *Don Lovis de Rozas*, Son and Heir of the Marques de *Peza*: who also being declared an Heretic, for the great fit and labour that was made for him, was condemned only to bear his *Sanktibus* unto the Town-house, and his Goods to be confiscate.

## 11. Dame Anne Henriques.

After whom, in the eleventh place, followed *Dame Anne Henriques*, Daughter of the Marques *Afonso*, and Mother to the forsaidd Marques de *Peza*, and Wife to the Lord *Alphonso de Fonseca*: Who in like sort was declared an Heretic, and condemned to bear her *Sanktibus* to the Town-house, and her Goods to be confiscate.

## 12. Christophor Del Campo.

*Christophor Del Campo*, Citizen of *Samora*, was the twelfth, who, after he was declared an Heretic, was judged to be burned, and his Goods to be seized.

## 13. Christophor de Padilla.

The like Sentence was also given upon *Christophor de Padilla*, Citizen of *Samora*.

## 14. Antonie de Hartzello.

The fourteenth was *Antonie de Hartzello*, a Bachelor of Divinity, dwelling at *Toro*. Who after he was proclaimed Heretic, and all his Goods confiscate, was condemned to be burned; and moreover had his mouth stopped, for that he should not speak and make confession of his Faith unto the People.

## 15. Katharine Roman.

Then followed *Katharine Roman*, dwelling in *Padena*, called from her standing; who, receiving the like Sentence, was condemned to be burned, and all her Goods confiscate.

## 16. Frances Erron.

The sixteenth was *Frances Erron*, born in *Pagananda*; whom they condemned to be burned alive, and all her Goods likewise to be confiscate.

| Persecut.                                  | Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Persecut. | Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | R. Hen. 8.                                          |
|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Kat. Ortega, martyr.                       | 17. Katharine Ortega.<br>After her, succeeded in the next Sentence of Martyrdom, <i>Katharine Ortega</i> , dwelling in <i>Valledilla</i> , Daughter of <i>Hernando Plaza</i> Fiscal, and Widow of <i>Capitan Lente</i> , pronounced with the other to be as Heretic; and forasmuch as he was reckoned to be a Schoolmaster to the rest, he was judged to be burned, and her Goods confiscated. |           | 27. Anthony Dominick.<br><i>Anthony Dominick de Pedrosa</i> , being then brought out, was judged and condemned to three years penance in Prison for his Heresy, clothed with the Mantle of Yellow, and all his Goods confiscated.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | Anthony Dominick, a Spanish Priest, was in England. |
| 11th. Strada, a Spanish Martyr.            | 18. Mabel Strada.<br>19. Jane Valquez.<br>In the eighteenth and nineteenth place, stood <i>Mabel de Strada</i> , and <i>Jane Valquez</i> , both dwelling in <i>Pedrosa</i> : which likewise were condemned to be burned, and all their Goods confiscated.                                                                                                                                      |           | 28. Anthony Bafex an Englishman.<br>Last of all was produced <i>Anthony Bafex</i> ; who for that he was an English-man, he was judged to bear his Mantle of Yellow to the Town-house in penance for his Crime, and incontinent was thrust into a Cloister for one year, to the intent he might there be instructed in the Catholic Ordinances of the Church of Rome, as they be called.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Anthony Bafex was an Englishman, and was in Spain.  |
| A Dutch Martyr.                            | 20. A Smith.<br>A certain Workman of white Iron, or Smith, for entertaining Affinities in his House, and for watching with them, received also with them the life Sentence, to lose both Life and Goods for the Gospel's sake.                                                                                                                                                                 |           | After these Sentences being thus pronounced, they which were condemned to be burned, with the Coffin of the dead Lady and her Picture upon the same, were committed to the secular Magistrate, and their Executions, which were commanded to do their endeavor. Then were they all incontinent taken, and every one set upon an Ass, their Faces turned backward, and led with a great Garrison of armed Soldiers unto the place of punishment, which was without the Gate of the Town, called <i>Del Campo</i> .<br>When they were come to the place, there were fourteen Stakes set up of equal distance one from another, whereunto every one severally being fished according to the fashion of <i>Spain</i> , they were all fast thronged, and then burned and turned to Ashes, save only <i>Anthony Huesualto</i> , who forasmuch as he had, both within and without the Prison, vehemently detested the Pope's Spirituality, therefore he was burned alive, and his mouth stopped from speaking. And thus these faithful Christians, for the verity and pure Word of God, were led to death as Sheep to the Shambles: who not only most Christianly did comfort one another, but also did exhort all them there present, that all Men marvelled greatly, both to hear their singular constancy, and to see their quiet and peaceable end.<br>It is reported that, besides these aforesaid, there remained yet behind thirty seven other Prisoners, at the said Town of <i>Valledilla</i> , referred to another Tragical and Speechful of that bloody Inquisition. <i>Ex quo, pars Mart. Gall. Impress. pag. 474.</i>                                                                                               | Anthony Bafex was an Englishman, and was in Spain.  |
| A Jew burned.                              | 21. A Jew.<br>With these also was joined a <i>Portugal</i> , named <i>Gonsalo Fay de Lethow</i> , which was born a Jew, afterward baptized, and then returned again to his Judaism: who, for more shame to the other, was put also in the same tale and number, as the two Thieves were joined with Christ, and was also with them condemned to be burned, and his Goods seized.               |           | When they were come to the place, there were fourteen Stakes set up of equal distance one from another, whereunto every one severally being fished according to the fashion of <i>Spain</i> , they were all fast thronged, and then burned and turned to Ashes, save only <i>Anthony Huesualto</i> , who forasmuch as he had, both within and without the Prison, vehemently detested the Pope's Spirituality, therefore he was burned alive, and his mouth stopped from speaking. And thus these faithful Christians, for the verity and pure Word of God, were led to death as Sheep to the Shambles: who not only most Christianly did comfort one another, but also did exhort all them there present, that all Men marvelled greatly, both to hear their singular constancy, and to see their quiet and peaceable end.<br>It is reported that, besides these aforesaid, there remained yet behind thirty seven other Prisoners, at the said Town of <i>Valledilla</i> , referred to another Tragical and Speechful of that bloody Inquisition. <i>Ex quo, pars Mart. Gall. Impress. pag. 474.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Anthony Bafex was an Englishman, and was in Spain.  |
| The Infamous of Spain.                     | 22. Dame June de Silva.<br>After these was called <i>Dame June de Silva</i> , Wife to <i>Jahn de Rivera</i> , Brother to <i>Dr. Casalla</i> , to whom it was enjoined to bear a Mantle all her life for penance, in token of her trespass, and all her Goods confiscated.                                                                                                                      |           | Furthermore, whereas the story of the false Inquisition being let out in the French Tongue, doth reckon the number of the Martyrs above-mentioned, to be thirty, and yet, in particular declaration of them, doth name no more but eight and twenty; here is therefore to be noted, That either this number lacked two of thirty, or else that two of the said Company were returned back without judgment into the Prison again.<br>And thus much for this present, touching the proceeding of the Church of <i>Spain</i> , in their Inquisition against the <i>Lutherans</i> , that is, against the true and faithful Servants of Jesus Christ. Albeit there be other Countries also, besides <i>Spain</i> , subject unto the same Inquisition, as <i>Naples</i> and <i>Italy</i> : in which Kingdom of <i>Italy</i> , I hear it credibly reported, That every third year are brought forth to Judgment and Execution a certain number, after the like sort of Christian Martyrs, sometimes twelve, sometimes six, sometimes more, sometimes less. Among whom there was one, much about the same year above-mentioned, <i>Ann 1559</i> : who coming from <i>Genoa</i> to <i>Italy</i> , upon zeal to do good, was at last laid hand on, and being condemned the same time to the fire, as he should take his death, was offered there of the Hangmen to be strangled, having the Cord ready about his Neck; but he, notwithstanding, refused the same, and said, That he would feel the fire; and so endured he, longing for nothing with all his might unto the Lord, till he was beheaded both of Speech and Life, in the midst of the flame: such was the admirable constancy and fortitude of that valiant Soldier. | Anthony Bafex was an Englishman, and was in Spain.  |
| Dame June de Silva, a woman of an Heretic. | 23. Leonore de Liferos, Wife of Huesualto.<br>In like manner was called for <i>Leonore de Liferos</i> , Wife of the aforesaid <i>Anthony Huesualto</i> , Bachelor of Divinity.                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |           | Furthermore, whereas the story of the false Inquisition being let out in the French Tongue, doth reckon the number of the Martyrs above-mentioned, to be thirty, and yet, in particular declaration of them, doth name no more but eight and twenty; here is therefore to be noted, That either this number lacked two of thirty, or else that two of the said Company were returned back without judgment into the Prison again.<br>And thus much for this present, touching the proceeding of the Church of <i>Spain</i> , in their Inquisition against the <i>Lutherans</i> , that is, against the true and faithful Servants of Jesus Christ. Albeit there be other Countries also, besides <i>Spain</i> , subject unto the same Inquisition, as <i>Naples</i> and <i>Italy</i> : in which Kingdom of <i>Italy</i> , I hear it credibly reported, That every third year are brought forth to Judgment and Execution a certain number, after the like sort of Christian Martyrs, sometimes twelve, sometimes six, sometimes more, sometimes less. Among whom there was one, much about the same year above-mentioned, <i>Ann 1559</i> : who coming from <i>Genoa</i> to <i>Italy</i> , upon zeal to do good, was at last laid hand on, and being condemned the same time to the fire, as he should take his death, was offered there of the Hangmen to be strangled, having the Cord ready about his Neck; but he, notwithstanding, refused the same, and said, That he would feel the fire; and so endured he, longing for nothing with all his might unto the Lord, till he was beheaded both of Speech and Life, in the midst of the flame: such was the admirable constancy and fortitude of that valiant Soldier. | Anthony Bafex was an Englishman, and was in Spain.  |
| Leonore de Liferos.                        | 24. Marina de Sajavedra.<br>Item, <i>Marina de Sajavedra</i> , Wife of <i>Ciferon de Sargitis</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |           | Furthermore, whereas the story of the false Inquisition being let out in the French Tongue, doth reckon the number of the Martyrs above-mentioned, to be thirty, and yet, in particular declaration of them, doth name no more but eight and twenty; here is therefore to be noted, That either this number lacked two of thirty, or else that two of the said Company were returned back without judgment into the Prison again.<br>And thus much for this present, touching the proceeding of the Church of <i>Spain</i> , in their Inquisition against the <i>Lutherans</i> , that is, against the true and faithful Servants of Jesus Christ. Albeit there be other Countries also, besides <i>Spain</i> , subject unto the same Inquisition, as <i>Naples</i> and <i>Italy</i> : in which Kingdom of <i>Italy</i> , I hear it credibly reported, That every third year are brought forth to Judgment and Execution a certain number, after the like sort of Christian Martyrs, sometimes twelve, sometimes six, sometimes more, sometimes less. Among whom there was one, much about the same year above-mentioned, <i>Ann 1559</i> : who coming from <i>Genoa</i> to <i>Italy</i> , upon zeal to do good, was at last laid hand on, and being condemned the same time to the fire, as he should take his death, was offered there of the Hangmen to be strangled, having the Cord ready about his Neck; but he, notwithstanding, refused the same, and said, That he would feel the fire; and so endured he, longing for nothing with all his might unto the Lord, till he was beheaded both of Speech and Life, in the midst of the flame: such was the admirable constancy and fortitude of that valiant Soldier. | Anthony Bafex was an Englishman, and was in Spain.  |
| Marina de Sajavedra.                       | 25. Daniel Quadra.<br>Item, <i>Daniel Quadra</i> born at <i>Pedrosa</i> : all which three Persons were pronounced Heretics, and condemned to do penance in perpetual Prison, for their Mantles, and confiscation of all their Goods.                                                                                                                                                           |           | Furthermore, whereas the story of the false Inquisition being let out in the French Tongue, doth reckon the number of the Martyrs above-mentioned, to be thirty, and yet, in particular declaration of them, doth name no more but eight and twenty; here is therefore to be noted, That either this number lacked two of thirty, or else that two of the said Company were returned back without judgment into the Prison again.<br>And thus much for this present, touching the proceeding of the Church of <i>Spain</i> , in their Inquisition against the <i>Lutherans</i> , that is, against the true and faithful Servants of Jesus Christ. Albeit there be other Countries also, besides <i>Spain</i> , subject unto the same Inquisition, as <i>Naples</i> and <i>Italy</i> : in which Kingdom of <i>Italy</i> , I hear it credibly reported, That every third year are brought forth to Judgment and Execution a certain number, after the like sort of Christian Martyrs, sometimes twelve, sometimes six, sometimes more, sometimes less. Among whom there was one, much about the same year above-mentioned, <i>Ann 1559</i> : who coming from <i>Genoa</i> to <i>Italy</i> , upon zeal to do good, was at last laid hand on, and being condemned the same time to the fire, as he should take his death, was offered there of the Hangmen to be strangled, having the Cord ready about his Neck; but he, notwithstanding, refused the same, and said, That he would feel the fire; and so endured he, longing for nothing with all his might unto the Lord, till he was beheaded both of Speech and Life, in the midst of the flame: such was the admirable constancy and fortitude of that valiant Soldier. | Anthony Bafex was an Englishman, and was in Spain.  |
| Dan Quadra, a man of an Heretic.           | 26. Dame Mary de Royas.<br>Dame <i>Mary de Royas</i> , Sister of the <i>Marquis of Royas</i> , because she was in a Cloister, and was come of a good House, was therefore judged to bear her Mantle to the Town-house, and all her Goods confiscated.                                                                                                                                          |           | Furthermore, whereas the story of the false Inquisition being let out in the French Tongue, doth reckon the number of the Martyrs above-mentioned, to be thirty, and yet, in particular declaration of them, doth name no more but eight and twenty; here is therefore to be noted, That either this number lacked two of thirty, or else that two of the said Company were returned back without judgment into the Prison again.<br>And thus much for this present, touching the proceeding of the Church of <i>Spain</i> , in their Inquisition against the <i>Lutherans</i> , that is, against the true and faithful Servants of Jesus Christ. Albeit there be other Countries also, besides <i>Spain</i> , subject unto the same Inquisition, as <i>Naples</i> and <i>Italy</i> : in which Kingdom of <i>Italy</i> , I hear it credibly reported, That every third year are brought forth to Judgment and Execution a certain number, after the like sort of Christian Martyrs, sometimes twelve, sometimes six, sometimes more, sometimes less. Among whom there was one, much about the same year above-mentioned, <i>Ann 1559</i> : who coming from <i>Genoa</i> to <i>Italy</i> , upon zeal to do good, was at last laid hand on, and being condemned the same time to the fire, as he should take his death, was offered there of the Hangmen to be strangled, having the Cord ready about his Neck; but he, notwithstanding, refused the same, and said, That he would feel the fire; and so endured he, longing for nothing with all his might unto the Lord, till he was beheaded both of Speech and Life, in the midst of the flame: such was the admirable constancy and fortitude of that valiant Soldier. | Anthony Bafex was an Englishman, and was in Spain.  |

| Persecut.  | Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.                                                                                                                                          | Persecut. | Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| R. Hen. 8. | Soldier of Christ, as is witnessed to me by him, which being there present the same time, did both then see that which he doth testify, and also doth now testify, that he then saw. |           | Now it remaineth further, according to my promise, in like order of a compendious Table, to comprehend all such Martyrs as suffered for the Verity and true Testimony of the Gospel, in the Places and Countries of <i>Italy</i> : which Table consequently here next ensueth. |

## A Table of such Martyrs as suffered for the Testimony of the Gospel in Italy.

## The Italian Martyrs.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
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| N. Encenas, otherwise called Dryander, at Rome, Anno 1546.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | creely was moved in his mind to take the occasion offered, and to shift for himself: and so he lifting out of the Prison, without any hapty pace, but going as leisurely as he could, escaped from thence, and went straight to Germany.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <p><b>THE ENCENAS, OR DRYANDER, A SPANISH, BORN AT BRUGES, WAS BROTHER TO FRANCIS ENCENAS THE LEARNED MAN, OF WHOM BEFORE MENTIONED, AND WAS ALSO THE TEACHER OR INSTRUCTOR IN KNOWLEDGE OF RELIGION TO DIANIS, THE GODLY MARTYR ABOVE RECORDED. HE WAS SENT OF HIS SUPERSTITIOUS PARENTS, BEING YOUNG, UNTO ROME: WHO THERE, AFTER LONG CONTINUANCE, GROWING UP IN AGE AND KNOWLEDGE, BUT ESPECIALLY BEING INFLUENCED BY THE LORD IN THE TRUTH OF HIS WORD, AFTER HE WAS KNOWN TO MILKIE THE POPE'S DOCTRINE, AND THE IMPURE DOINGS AT ROME, WAS APPREHENDED AND TAKEN BY HIS OWN COUNTRYMEN, AND SOME OF HIS OWN HOUSEHOLD FRIENDS AT ROME, AT THE SAME TIME WHEN HE WAS PREPARING TO TAKE HIS JOURNEY TO HIS BROTHER FRANCIS ENCENAS IN GERMANY. THUS HE, BEING BETRAYED AND TAKEN BY HIS OWN COUNTRYMEN, WAS BROUGHT BEFORE THE CARDINALS, AND THERE COMMITTED TO STRICT PRISON. AFTERWARD HE WAS BROUGHT FORTH TO GIVE TESTIMONY OF HIS DOCTRINE, WHICH HE IN THE PRESENCE OF THE CARDINALS, AND IN THE FACE OF ALL THE POPE'S RETINUE, BOLDLY AND CONSTANTLY DEFENDED. SO THAT NOT ONLY THE CARDINALS, BUT ESPECIALLY THE SPANIARDS BEING THERE WITH OFFENDED, CRIED OUT UPON HIM THAT HE SHOULD BE BURNED. THE CARDINALS, FIRST BEFORE THE SENTENCE OF DEATH SHOULD BE GIVEN, CAME TO HIM, OFFERING, IF HE WOULD TAKE IT (AFTER THE MANNER OF THE SPANIARDS) THE BADGE OF RECONCILIATION: WHICH HATH THE NAME OF <i>SAN ANTONI'S</i> CLOTH, MADE IN FORM OF A MANTLE, GOING BOTH BEFORE HIM AND BEHIND HIM, WITH FIGURES OF THE RED CROSS, FULL CONTAIN IN THE PROFESSION OF TRUTH, DENIED TO RECEIVE ANY OTHER CONDITION OR BADGE, BUT ONLY THE BADGE OF THE LORD, WHICH WAS TO SEAL THE DOCTRINE OF HIS RELIGION WITH THE TESTIMONY OF HIS BLOOD. AT LAST THE MARTYR WAS BROUGHT TO THAT ISSUE, THAT THE FAITHFUL SERVANT AND WITNESS OF CHRIST WAS JUDGED AND CONDEMNED TO THE FIRE: WHERE HE, IN THE SIGHT OF THE CARDINALS, AND IN THE FACE OF THE APOSTOLICK SEE PRESENTED, GAVE UP HIS PARTIALITY FOR THE TESTIMONY OF THE GOSPEL. <i>Ex Panal. lib. 6. Ex Gress. &amp; alii.</i></b></p> | <p><b>FAMINUS, AT FERRARIA, ANNO 1550.</b><br/>Faminius, born in <i>Famunia</i>, a Town in <i>Italy</i>, through the reading of godly Books translated into the Italian Tongue, (having no perfect skill in the Latin) was converted from great blindness, to the wholesome knowledge of Christ and of his Word. Wherein he took such a sweet taste, and so grew up in the meditation of the same, that he was able in short time to instruct others. Neither was there any diligence lacking in him to communicate that abroad which he had received of the Lord: being so in his mind perfwaded, that a Man, receiving by the Spirit of God the knowledge and illumination of his Verity, ought in no case to hide the same in silence, as a Candle under a Bushel. And therefore being occupied diligently in that behalf, albeit he used not publicly to preach, but by private conference to teach, he was at length by the Pope's Clergy espied, apprehended, and committed to Prison. Albeit he remained not long in Prison, for by the earnest petitions and prayers of his Wife, his Children, and other Friends, he was so overcome, that he gave over, and was dismissed shortly out of Prison. After this, it was not long but he fell into horrible perturbation of mind; inasmuch that unless the great Mercy of God had kept him up, he had fallen into utter desperation, for slipping from the Truth, and preferring the love of his Friends and Kindred before the Service of Jesus Christ, whom he so earnestly before had professed. This Would went so deep into his heart, that he could in no case be quieted, before he had fully fixed and determined in his mind, to adventure his life more faithfully in the Service of the Lord.</p> |
| <p>And for so much as mention hath been made both in this story, and many other before, of <i>Francis Encenas</i> his Brother, here is not to be permitted, how the said <i>Francis</i> being a Man of notable learning as ever was any in <i>Spain</i>, being in the Emperor's Court at <i>Brauns</i>, offered unto the Emperor, <i>Charles the 5th</i>, the New Testament of Christ translated into Spanish. For the which he was called into Prison, where he remained in sorrowful captivity and calamity the space of fifteen months, looking for nothing more than present death. At last, through the merciful providence of Almighty God, the first day of February, Anno 1545, at eight of the Clock after Supper, he found the doors of the Prison flung open, and he le-</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | <p>Whereupon he, being thus inflamed with zeal of Spirit, went about all the Country of <i>Romagna</i>, publicly preaching the pure Doctrine of the Gospel, not without great fruit and effect in places as he went. As he was thus labouring, it so fell out that he was apprehended again, Anno 1547, in a place called <i>Bagnavallo</i>, where also he was condemned to be burned. But he fild his hour was not yet come, and the same to be but the beginning of his trial: and so it was; for shortly after he was removed unto <i>Ferraria</i>, where he was detained two years. At last the Inquisitors of the Pope's Heresies condemned him to death, Anno 1549, and yet his time being not come, he remained after that to the month of September, Anno 1550, in the mean time many faithful and good Men came to visit him; for the which the Pope commanded him to be inclosed in thicker custody: wherein he suffered great torments the space of eighteen months, and yet he suffered greater, if the Dominick Friars might have got him in their</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |





Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

D. John Mollins, a Gray Friar.  
A certain Weaver of Perugia.  
At Rome, Anno 1553.

Cornelli's  
Privilege of Bonony

Campuzio  
Cardinal.

Cardinal of  
Capece.

Bonaventura  
General.

Sic Car-  
dinal.

P. Julius  
the third.

Laurentius  
Spagna, Gen-  
eral of the  
Gray Friars.

Cornelli's  
Cardinal  
Laurentius.

Cornelli's  
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Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

In the mean season, *Laurentius Spagna* above-men-  
tioned, being General of that Order, in most speedy way  
colled up to Rome, and there to proceed with the Cardi-  
nal *St. Crispin*, the Preacher in the Court of Rome for the  
Gray Friars, that the Pope wrote down his Letters to  
*Campuzio*, that he should deliver the said *John* out of Pri-  
son, so that he notwithstanding, within three months af-  
ter, should personally appear at Rome. Thus the thirtieth  
day of his Imprisonment he was delivered; who, but for  
the coming of the Pope's Letters, had been burned within  
three days after. Moreover, with the said *Medius, Corneli-  
us* was also cited to make his appearance likewise at Rome,  
and there was decreed in Prison by the Cardinal *St. Crispin*,  
till his cause should be decided. The Friends of *Medius*  
gave him counsel not to go to Rome, and offered him money  
to go to Germany; but he would not, saying, that the  
Gospel must also be preached at Rome. After he was come  
to Rome, and appeared before Pope Paul the third, humbly  
he desired, that the Cause being too weighty, might come  
in public hearing, but that could not be obtained. Then  
was he commanded to write his mind in Articles, and to  
bring his Proof: which he diligently performed, interesting  
of Original Sin, Justification by Faith, Free-Will, Puri-  
gatory, and other such like: proving the said Articles by  
the Authority of the Scripture, and of ancient Fathers.  
And so exhibited the same to the Bishop of Rome. Upon  
this, certain Cardinals and Bishops were assigned to have  
the Cause in hearing: who disputed with him three days,  
and could not feel that which he had proved. At last answer  
was made unto him thus: that it was truth which he af-  
firmed, notwithstanding the same was not so in this present  
time; for that it could not be taught or published without  
the detriment of the Apostolic See: wherefore he should  
abstain hereafter from the Epistles of *St. Paul*, and so  
return again late to *Bononia*, and there profess Philosophy.  
Thus as he was returned to *Bononia*, all Men there were  
delicious to know of his case, how he sped at Rome, op-  
erly in the Pulpit he declared all things in order as they  
were done, and gave God thanks.

Medius de-  
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of Prison  
by the  
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Medius ap-  
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Persecut.

Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

conflict with themselves to kill him, left his Doctrine should  
disperse further abroad, to the detriment of the Church of  
Rome. Whereupon commandment was sent to the Pope's  
Legat to lay hands upon him and to send him up fair bound  
to Rome. Where again, now the fourth time, he was im-  
prisoned in the Castle of Rome, and there continued sev-  
eral months, being greatly afflicted, sometimes with af-  
flicting Promises, sometimes with terrible Threats, to give  
over his Opinion; but his Building could not be shaken, for  
it was grounded upon a sure Rock. Thus *Dr. Medius*,  
as being constant in the defence of Christ's Gospel,  
was brought, with certain other Men (which were: no ap-  
prehended for Religion) into the Temple of *St. Mary* (cal-  
led *De Minerva*) the fifth day of September, Anno 1553;  
either there to awake, or to be burned. There sat upon  
them six Cardinals in high Seats, besides the Judge: before  
whom preached a Dominican Friar, with cruelly inveigh-  
ing against the poor Philosophers, incited the Cardinals, with  
all the vehemency he might, to their condemnation. The  
poor Men stood holding a burning Taper in their hands:  
of whom some for fear of death revolted. But this Do-  
minican *Medius*, with a Weaver of *Perugia*, remained con-  
stant. Then *Medius* began an earnest Sermon in the  
Italian Tongue, wherein he confirmed the Articles of the  
Faith by the Sacred Scriptures, declaring also that the Pope  
was not the Successor of *Peter*, but Antichrist, and that his  
Secdaries do figure the Whore of *Babylon*. Moreover, he  
cited them up to the Tribunal Seat of *Christ*, and threw  
away the burning Taper from him. Whereupon they, be-  
ing reprov'd with angry, condemn'd him with the Wea-  
ver to the Fire, and commanded them to be had away. So  
were they carried incognito to the Camp or Field, called  
*Florentina*, where they remained cheerful and constant.  
First, the Weaver was hang'd: *Medius* then, willing the  
Hangman to execute his Office likewise upon him, began  
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Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

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was brought, with certain other Men (which were: no ap-  
prehended for Religion) into the Temple of *St. Mary* (cal-  
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either there to awake, or to be burned. There sat upon  
them six Cardinals in high Seats, besides the Judge: before  
whom preached a Dominican Friar, with cruelly inveigh-  
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*Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.*

principal Mountaint amongst all other Martyrs Letters, not only with the other Letters which shall be inserted hereafter (the Lord willing) in the end of the Book, but also in this present place to be read, to the intent that both they which be, or shall be hereafter in affliction, may take consolation: and also they that yet follow the trade of this present World, in comparing the Joys and Commu-

*Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.*

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ditates thereof, with their Joys here expected, may learn and comfort with themselves, what difference there is between them both, and thereby may learn to despise themselves in this sort, as may be to their edification, and perpetual felicity of their Souls. The Copy of the Letter, first written in Latin, we have translated into English, the tenor whereof hereunder ensueth.

### A comfortable Letter of Pomponius Algerius an Italian Martyr.

To his dearly beloved Brethren and fellow Servants of Christ, which are departed out of Babylon into Mount Zion: Grace, peace and health, from God our Father, by Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour.

**T**O mitigate your sorrow which you take for me, I cannot, but impart unto you some portion of my delectation and joys, which I feel and find, to the intent you with me may rejoice and sing before the Lord, giving thanks unto him, I shall utter that which not many believe, when I shall declare it. I have found a nest of Honey and Honey-comb in the intrails of a Lion. Who will ever believe that I shall say? or what Man will ever think in the deep dark Dungeon to find a Paradise of Pleasure? in the place of sorrow and death, to dwell in tranquillity and hope of life? in a Cave infernal to find joy of Soul? and where other Men do weep, there to be rejoicing? where other do shake and tremble, there strength and boldness to be plenty? Who will ever think, or who will believe this? In such a world full of such delectation? in a place of darkness, such society of good Men? in fruit buds and cold snow, such rest to be had? All these things the sweet hand of the Lord (my sweet Brethren) doth minister unto me. Behold, he that was once far from me, now is present with me. Whom once I feared I could lose, now I see more apparently: whom once I saw afar off, now I behold him at hand: whom once I hungered for his grace, now approacheth and reacheth his hand unto me. He doth comfort me, and heareth me with gladness: he doth drive away all bitterness, he multiplieth strength and courage, he healeth me, refresheth, advanceth, and comforteth me. O how good is the Lord, which multiplieth his Servants to be rewarded above their strength! I would my ears and voice be his Voice! In those any like unto the Highest, who so exalt the afflicted, healeth the wounded, and he multiplieth them? Is there any like unto him? Learn ye, ye Weichers, how amiable the Lord is, how meek and merciful he is, which visiteth his Servants in temptations, neither disdaineth he to keep company with us in such vile and thinking Caves. Will the blind and incredulous World (think you) believe this? Or rather will it not say thus? No, thou wilt never be able to abide long the burning heat of the cold snow, and the punishing hand of the Lord: the manifold miseries, and other grievances unnumberable: the rebukes and frowning faces of Men how wilt thou live? For that thou shalt not abide and revolve in thy mind thy pleasant Country, the riches of the World, thy Kindred: the delicate pleasures and honours of this Life? Dost thou forget the flocks of thy Sciences, and fairs of all thy Labours? Wilt thou thus live all thy labours which thou hast hitherto sustained? In many nights watched? thy painful travels, and all thy laudable enterprises, wherein thou hast been exercised continually even from thy childhood? For in thy death thou dost death which hangeth over thee, and that for no crime committed? O what a fool art thou, which for a word speaking myself alive in this, and wilt not? What a rude and unmanly thing is this, not to be moved at the instant petitions and desires of such, so many and so mighty, to fall, to virtuous, so prudent and gracious Senators, and such noble Personages, &c.

But now to answer. Let this blind World hearken to this again, What heat can there be more burning, than that

fire which is prepared for thee hereafter? And likewise what now can be more cold than thy heart which is in darkness and hath no light? What thing is more hard and sharper, or crueler, than this present life which here we lead? What thing more odious and hateful than this World here present? and let these worldly Men here answer me? What Country can we have more sweet than the Heavenly Country above? What Treasures more rich or precious than everlasting life? And who be our Kindred, but they which bear the Word of God? where be greater Riches, or Dignities more honourable, than in Heaven? And as touching the Sciences, let this foolish World consider, be they not odious to learn to know God? whom we do know, all our Labours, our night Watchings, our Studies, and all our Enterprises serve to use or purpose, all is but labour lost. Furthermore, let the miserable worldly Man answer me. What remedy or life refuge can there be unto him, if he lack God, who is the Life and Medicine of all Men? And how can he be said to fly from death, when he himself is already dead in sin? If Christ be the Way, Verity, and Life, how can there be any life then without Christ? The fiery heat of the Prison to me is colder, the cold Winter to me is a fresh spring-time in the Lord. He that feareth not to be burned in the fire, how will he fear the heat of the weather? or what careth he for the punishing fire, which burneth with the Love of the Lord? The place is hard and tedious, if them that be guilty, but to the innocent and guiltless it is mellifluous. Here dropeth the delectable Dew, here floweth the pleasant Nectar, here runneth the sweet Milk, here is plenty of all good things. And altho the place is full of defect and barren yet to me it is fruitful a large walk, and a valley of pleasure: here to me is the better and more noble part of the World. Let the miserable worldly day and confessions, if there be any Plot, Pallure, or Meadow, so delightful to the mind of Man, as here. Here I see Kings, Princes, Cities, and People: here I see Wars, where some be overthrown, some be Victors, some thrust down, some lifted up. Here is the Mount Zion, here I am already in Heaven it self. Here standeth first Christ Jesus in the Front. About him stand the old Fathers, Prophets, and Evangelists, Apostles, and all the Servants of God. Of whom some do embrace and cherish me, some exhort, some open the Sacraments unto me, some comfort me, others some are singing about me. And how then shall I be thought to be alone, among so many and such as these? be the beholding of whom to me is both solace and example. Fore here I see some crucified, some slain, some flayed, some cut atunder, and some quartered, some roasted, some broiled, some put in hot Cauldrons, some having their Eyes bored through, some their Tongues cut out, some their Skin plucked over their Heads, some their Hands and Feet chop'd off, some put in Kilns and Furnaces, some cast down headlong and given to the Beasts and Fowls of the Air to feed upon: it would ask a long time if I should recite all.

To be short, divers I see with divers and sundry torments excruciate: yet notwithstanding, all living and all safe. One Plaiter one Salve cureth all their Wounds: which all gives to me strength and life, all that I sustain all these torments anguishes and small afflictions, with a quiet mind, having a greater Hope laid up in Heaven. Neither do I fear mine Adversaries which here persecute me, nor oppress me: for he that dwelleth in Heaven hath laugh to scorn, and the Lord shall denide them. I fear

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ten thousands of People which compass me about. The Lord my God shall deliver me, my Hope, my Supporter, my Comforter, who exalteth up my head. He shall smite all them that stand up against me without cause, and shall dash the teeth and jaws of Sinners asunder: for he only is all-blessed and majestic. The Rebukes for Christ's Cause makes us joyful: for so it is written, if ye be rebuked and scorned for the Name of Christ, happy be ye for the Glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you, 1 Pet. 4. Be ye therefore content, that our Rebukes which are laid upon us, redound to the shame and harm of the Rebukers. In this World there is no Murtherer to me, and therefore I will travel up to the New Jerusalem which is in Heaven, and which offereth it self unto me without paying any rite or income. Behold, I have entered already in my Journey, where my House standeth for me prepared, and where I shall have Rides, Kindred, Delights, Honours never failing. As for these earthly things here I prefer, they are transitory Shadows, vanishing Vapours, and sinuous Walls. Briefly, all is but very Vanity of Vanities, whereas Hope and the substance of Eternity to come are wanting: which the merciful goodness of the Lord hath given as Companions to accompany me, and to comfort me, and now do the same begin to work and to comfort forth Friends in me. I have travelled patiently, and laboured and sweat early and late, watching day and night, and now my travels begin to come to effect. Days and hours have I bestowed upon my studies. Behold, the true Contentment of God is fed upon me, the Lord and his goodness march in my heart. And therefore in the future I will lay me down in peace and rest, Psal. 4. And who then shall dare to blame this our Age confirmed, or say that our years be cut off? What Man can now cavi that these our Labours are lost, which have followed and bound out the Lord and Master of the World, and who have changed death with Life? My Portion is the Lord (faith my Soul) and therefore I will seek and wait for him. Now then, if so die in the Lord be not to die, but to live most joyfully, where is this wretched worldly Rebel, which blameth us of folly, for giving away our lives to death? O how delectable is this death to me, to taste the Lord's Cup, which is an assured pledge of true Salvation! for to me that the Lord himself forewarned us, saying, The man that they have done to me, they will also do unto you. Wherefore let the foolish World with his blind Worldlings (who in the bright Sunbath yet go stumbling in darkness, being as blind as Beetles) cease thus unwisely to carp against us for our sufferings, as they count it. To whom thus we answer again with the Holy Apostle, That neither rebuke, nor anguish, nor hunger, nor nakedness, nor jeopardy, nor persecution, nor sword, shall be able ever to separate us from the love of Christ: we are slain all the day long, we are made like Sheep ordained to the Shambles, Rom. 8. Thus do we resemble Christ our Head, which said, That the Disciple cannot be above his Master, nor the Servant above his Lord. The same Lord hath also commanded, that every one shall take up his Cross and follow him, Luke 9. Rejoice, rejoice (my dear Brethren) and fellow Servants, and be of good comfort, when ye fall into such fiery temptations. Let your Patience be perfect on all parts. For so it is foretold us before, and is written, That they which shall kill you, shall think of you as God good service. Therefore Afflictions and Deaths be as Tokens and Sacraments of our Election and Life to come. Let us then be glad and sing unto the Lord, when as we, being clear from all guilt accusation, are persecuted and given to death. For better it is, that we in doing well do hurt, if it be the Will of the Lord, than doing evil, 1 Pet. 3. We have for our example Christ and the Prophets, which spake in the Name of the Lord, whom the Children of Iniquity did quell and murder. And now we bleed and magnify them that thus suffered. Let us be glad and joyous in our innocency and uprightness. The Lord shall reward them that persecute us: let us refer all revengement to him.

I am accused of foolishness, for that I do not shrink from the true Doctrine and Knowledge of God, and do not rid my self out of these troubles, when with a quiet mind I may. O the blindness of Man, which seeth not the Sun-shining, neither remembereth the Lord's words:

Consider therefore what he faith, You are the Light of the World. A City built on a Hill cannot be hid: neither do Men light a Candle, and put it under a Babel, but upon a Candlestick, that it may shine and give light to them in the house: And in another place he saith, You shall be led before Kings and Rulers: fear not them which kill the Body, but him which killeth both Body and Soul: whosoever shall confess me before Me, him will I also confess before my Father which is in Heaven. And he that denieth me before Men, him will I also deny before my Heavenly Father. Wherefore fearing the Words of the Lord be to plain, how, or by what authority will this wise Counsellor then approve this counsel which he doth give? God forbid that I should despise the Commandments of God, and follow the Councils of Men: for it is written: Blessed is the Man that hath not gone in the way of sinners, and hath not stood in the counsel of the ungodly, and hath not fit in the chair of Peacemakers, Psal. 1. God forbid that I should deny Christ, where I ought to confess him. I will not let more by my Life to come by my Soul: neither will I exchange the Life to come, for this World here present. O how foolishly (speakeh he) which argueth me of foolishness? Neither do I take it to be a thing I uncomely, or unbecoming for me, not to follow in difference the requests of those to honourable, just, prudent, virtuous, and noble Senators, which desire (he saith) were enough to command me: for so we are taught of the Apostles: That we ought to obey God before Men. After that we have few friends, and our duty fall unto God: then we be bound next to obey the Prelates of this World; whom I wish to be perfect before the Lord. They are honourable; but yet are they to be made more perfect in the Lord. They are just: but yet Christ's Seat of Justice is lacking in them. They are wise: but yet the wisdom of the Lord, which is the meaning of Wisdom, that is, the fear of the Lord? They are called Vicious, but yet I with them more absolute in Christian Charity: they are good and gracious; but yet I wish in them the foundation of goodness, which is the Love of God, in whom dwelleth all Goodness and Grace. They are honourable; yet have they not received the Lord of Glory, which is our Saviour, most honourable and glorious: Whom you Kings, and I mean you that judge the Earth, serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice in him, with trembling. Hearest thou Doctrine, and get knowledge, let you fall into God's displeasure, and do perish out of the way of Righteousness. What fret you, what fume you, O Gentiles? O you People, what call you in your brains the cogitations of vanity? you Kings of the Earth, and you Princes, why conspire you together against Christ and against his Holy One? Psal. 2. How long will you sleep after lies, and hate the truth? Turn you to the Lord, and harden not your hearts. For this you must needs confess, that they which persecute the Lord's Servants, do persecute the Lord himself. For so he faith himself, Whosoever shall shall do to you, I will count it to be done not as unto you, but to my self.

And now let this carnal politician Counsellor and Disposer of this World tell, wherein have you to blame me? sit in my Examinations I have not answered for after their mind and affection as they required of me? Is it not our selves that speak, but the Lord that speaketh in us, as he saith of those forewarned, saying, When you shall be brought before Rulers and Magistrates, it is not you yourselves that speak, but the Spirit of my Father that shall be in you, Mat. 10. Wherefore if the Lord be true and faithful of his Word, as it is most certain, then there is no blame in me, for he be the words that I did speak, and who was I that could resist his Will? If any Man shall reprehend the things that I said, let him then quarrel with the Lord, whom I pleased to work for in me. And if the Lord be not to be blamed, neither am I therein to be accused, which did I I suspected not, and that I forethought not of. The things which there I did utter, and express, if they were otherwise than well, let them then, and then I will say, that they were my words, and not the Lords. But if they were good and approved, and such as cannot be repudiated, and such as are then more granted, spite of their teeth, that they proceeded of the Lord, and then who be they that shall accuse me? A Plea of Prudence? or who shall condemn me? Just Judges?

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And tho they do, yet nevertheless the Word shall not be frustrate, neither shall the Gospel be foolish, or therefore decay; but rather the Kingdom of God shall the more prosper and flourish unto the Incarnates, and shall put the fonder unto the Elect of Christ Jesus: And they which shall fo day, shall prove the glorious Judgment of God: neither shall they scape without punishment that be Persecutors and Murderers of the Just. My wellbeloved, lift up your Eyes, and consider the Councils of God. He thieved unto us shere an Image of his Plagues, which werto our correction: and as if we had not received him, he will draw out his Sword, and strike with Swoord, and Penitence, and Famine, the Nation that shall rise against Christ.

¶ There have I written to your comfort, dear Brethren. Pray for me. I kiss in my heart, with an holy kiss, my good Masters, *Sylvius, Pergula, Justus, also Fiddi Roche*, and him that beareth the name of *Lelia*, whom I know, altho being absent. *Iren*, the Governor of the University, *Syndicus*, and all other, whose Names be written in the Book of Life. Farewell all my fellow Servants of God! fare you well in the Lord, and pray for me continually.

From the delectable Orchard of *Leonius Prius*, 12 Calend. Aug. An. 1555.

It is written of one *Theodoratus*. That when he had read the Book of *Plato*, *De Immortalitate Animæ*, he was so moved and perwaded therewith, that he cast himself headlong down from an high Wall, to be rid out of this present life. If those Heavens Philosophers, having no Word of God, nor promise of any Redemption and Life to come, could so soon be perwaded, by reading the words of *Plato*, to condemn this World and Live here present: how much more is it to be required in Christians, instructed with so many Evidences and Promises of God's most perfected Word, that they should learn to cast off the carnal desires and affections of this miserable periguration? and that for a double respect, not only in feeling, reading, and understanding, for many Examples of the miseries of this wretched World; but also much more in considering and pondering the heavenly Joys and Consolations of the other World remaining for us hereafter in the Life to come. For a more full evidence whereof, I thought good to give out this present Letter of *Alegrinus* above-mentioned, for a tale of the fame, and a lively Testimony for all true Christians to read and consider. Now let us proceed further (the Lord willing) in our Table of Italian Martyrs.

#### Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

Joannes Aloysius, at Rome. Anno 1559.

Of *Joannes Aloysius*, we find mention made in a Letter of *Simon Floridus*: which *Aloysius* was sent down from Genoa to the parts of Calabria, there to be their Minister, who afterward was sent for up to Rome, and there suffered. Ex Epist. D. *Simonis Floridi*.

Jacobus Bovelius, at Messina. Anno 1559.

*Jacobus Bovelius* was likewise sent from Genoa to the said parts of Calabria, with *Aloysius*, who also, being sent for up to Rome, was sent down to the City Messina, and there was martyred. *Ibidem*.

Others that suffered in the Kingdom of Naples. At Naples, Anno 1560.

After Pope *Julius* the third, came *Marcellus* the second. After him succeeded Pope *Paul* the fourth. This *Paul* being dead, followed Pope *Pius* the fourth; who, being advanced to that

Pope Pius the fourth.

#### Persecut.

#### Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

R. Hen. 8.

room, began hot persecution in all the Territories of the Church of Rome, against them which were despised for *Lutherans*.

Whereupon ensued great trouble and persecution in the Kingdom of Naples, in such cruel sort, that many Noblemen, with their Wives and others, are reported there to be slain. *Vides Panta. lib. 11.*

Eighty eight Martyrs in one day, with one butcherly Knife, slain like Sheep.

A hundred and sixty other also condemned. At Calabria, Anno 1560.

Pope Pius the fourth.

In Calabria likewise the same time suffered a blessed number of Christ's wellbeloved Saints, both old and young, put together in one house, even 88 Persons; all which, one after another, were taken out of the House, and so being laid upon the Butchers Stall, like the Sheep in the Shambles, with one bloody Knife were all killed in order. A Spectacle most tragical for all Posterity to remember, and almost incredible to believe. Wherefor for the more credit of the matter, let us should learn either lightly of credit, to believe that is not true, or right to commit to Pen things without due proof and authority: we have been assured a piece of an Epistle written by Mr. *Simon Florinus*, preacher of Gods Word at the City *Clavenna*, among the *Rhetians*, unto a certain Friend of his named *Gradulmar Gratulinar*, an Italian, and Doctor of Physick in the University of *Basil*. Which *Gradulmar* translated the same into the Latin Tongue, and it is to be found in the 11th Book of *Panta*, pag. 337. The English translation is as followeth.

The end of a certain Letter of Mr. *Simon Florinus*, written in Italian, concerning a lamentable slaughter of eighty eight Christian Saints in the parts of Calabria.

As concerning News I have nothing to write, but only that I find you a Copy of certain Letters, imprinted either at Rome or at Venice, concerning the martyrdom or persecution in two several Towns of Calabria, eight Italian miles from the borders of Conventina, the one called St. Sixtus, within two miles of Montale, under the Signiory of the Duke of Montale; the other called Guardia, situate upon the Sea-Coast, and twelve miles from St. Sixtus: the which two Towns are utterly destroyed, and eight hundred of the Inhabitants there, or (as some write from the City of Rome) no less than a full thousand. He that wrote the Letter, was Servant to *Alecanus Caraccioli*. The Country and People there I do, I should well have to take the first original of their good Doctrine and honest Life from the Waldenses. For before my departure from Genoa, at their request, I sent them two School-masters, and two Preachers. The last year the two Preachers were martyred, the one at Rome, named *Joannes Aloysius* *Pafcalis*, a Citizen of Canton; the other at Messina, named *Jacobus Bovelius*, both of Piedmont: this year the residue of that godly Fellowship were martyred in the same place. I trust this good Seed sown in Italy, will bring forth good and plentiful Fruit.

Now followeth the Copy of the Letters sent from Montale, a Town in Calabria, eight miles distant from Conventina, bearing date the 11th of June, 1560. The Writer of which Letters, as ye may perceive, was one of them which call themselves Catholics, and followers of the Pope. The words of the Letter be these, as hereunder followeth.

Here

K. Hen. 8.

Here followeth the Copy of a Letter sent from Montale in Calabria, by a Romanist, to a certain Friend of his in Rome, containing news of the persecution of Christ's People in Calabria, by the new Pope *Pius* the Fourth.

Horrible persecutions in Calabria, An. 1560.

The City of Calabria, An. 1560.

88 Martyrs.

Thou most noble Lord, I have certified you, what here daily hath been done unto these *Heretics*. Now cometh next to certify unto your Lordship the horrible Indignities begun this present day, being the eleventh of June, to be executed very early in the morning against the *Lutherans*: Which when I think upon, I verily quake and tremble. And truly the manner of their putting to death, was to be compared to the slaughter of Calves and Sheep. For they being all thrust up in one house together, as in a Sheep-fold, the Executioner comes in, and amongst them taketh one and bindeth him with a Maffler about his eyes, and so leadeth him forth to a larger place near adjoining, where he commandeth him to kneel down; which being so done, he cutteth his Throat, and leaving him half dead, and taking his Butcher Knife and Maffler all of good Blood, (which the Italians call *Benda*) comes again to the rest, and so leading one after another, he dispatched them all, which were to the number of eighty eight. This Spectacle to behold how daulful and horrible it was, I have to your Lordship Judgment: far to write of it, I may self cannot do it more. Neither was there any of the beholders there present, which seeing one to die, could abide to behold the death of another. But certes so humbly and patiently they went to death, as it is almost incredible to believe. Some of them, as they were in dying, affirmed, that they believed even at us do. Nevertheless the same part of the same their obstinate Opinions. All the aged Persons went to death more cheerfully; the younger were more timorous. I tremble and shake even to remember how the Executioner took his bloody Knife between his teeth, with the bloody Maffler in his hand, and his arms all in gore blood up to the elbows, going to the Fold, and taking every one of them, one after another, by the hand, and so dispatching them all, no otherwise than doth a Butcher kill his Calves and Sheep. It is moreover appointed (and the Cards be come already) that all those so put to death should be quartered, and so conveyed in the Cart to the hithermost parts of Calabria, where they shall be hanged upon Poles in the high ways and other places, even to the confines of the same Country. The left the Pope's Holiness and the Lord Viceroy of Naples shall give in commandment to the Lord Marquis of Baccanica, Governor of the said Province, to lay his hand, and go no further, he will proceed with his Rack and Torture, examining all others, and so increase the number in such sort, that he will not only dispatch them all.

This day it is also determined, that a hundred of the more ancient Women should appear to be examined and racked, and after to be put to death, that the mixture may be perfect, for so many Men so many Women. And thus have you that I can say of this Justice. Now it is about two of the clock in the afternoon: shortly, we shall hear what some of them said when they went to execution. There be certain of them so obstinate, that they will not look upon the Crucifix, nor be confessed to the Priest, and they shall be burned alive.

The Heretics that be apprehended and condemned, are to the number of 16000, but as yet no more but those already 88, are already executed. This People have their original of the Valley named *Ausugina*, and in Calabria are called *Ultramontani*. In the Kingdom of Naples, there are four other places of the same people, of whom whether they live well or no, as yet we know not: for they are but simple people, ignorant without learning, and without government, and without laws, and without religion, giving themselves to die for Religion's sake. From Montale the 11th of June. And thus much writeth this Romanist.

Here moreover is to be noted, that the forefend Marquis *Baccanica* above specified, had a Son or Brother, unto whom the said new Pope (*Pius* the fourth be like) is reported to have promised a Cardinalship at Rome, if all the *Lutherans* were exterminated out of the whole Province. And like enough that the fame was the cause

of his butcherly persecution and effusion of Christian Blood, in the said Country of Calabria, beyond Naples, in Italy.

Besides those godly Italian Martyrs in this Table above contained, many other also have suffered in the same Country of Italy, of whom I have not here specified, for some peradventure omitted. But many more there be whose names we know not; whereof as soon as knowledge may be given unto us, we purpose God willing to impart the same, loving Reader, unto thee.

Now in the mean time it followeth (according to my promise made before) next after this lamentable slaughter of Calabria, here to infer all the tragical Persecutions, and horrible Murder of the faithful Folk of Christ, inhabiting in *Merindol* in France, and in the Towns adjacent near unto the same, in the time of *Francisque I.*, the French King. The furious cruelty of which miserable Persecution, altho it cannot be fet forth too much at large, yet because we will not weary too much the Reader with the full-length thereof, we have so contracted the same, especially the principal effect thereof we have comprehended in such sort, that as we on the one part have abbreviated prolixity, so on the other, we have omitted nothing which might seem unworthy to be forgot. The story here followeth.

A notable History of the Persecution and Destruction of the People of *Merindol* and *Cabriens* in the Country of *Provence*: where not a few Persons, but whole Villages and Townships, with the worst part of all its forsaken Country, both Men, Women, and Children, were put to all kind of Cruelty, and suffered Martyrdom for the Preaching of the Gospel.

They that write of the beginning of this People, say, That about two hundred years ago, they came out of the Country of *Piedmont* to inhabit in *Provence*, in certain Villages destroyed by Wars, and other deler places: wherein they used such industry and diligence, that they had abundance of Corn, Wine, Oils, Honey, Almonds, with other Fruits and Commodities of the Earth, and much Cattel. Before they came thither, *Merindol* was a barren and not inhabited. But thide good People (in whom God always had reserved some flock of *Pleby*) being dispersed and separated from the society of Men, were compelled to dwell with Beasts, in that waste and wild Desert, which notwithstanding, through the Blessing of God, and their great labour and travel, became exceeding fruitful. Notwithstanding, the World in the mean time so detested and abhorred them, and with all shameful rebukes and contumelies, railed against them in such despiteful manner, that it seemed they were not worthy that the Earth should bear them. For they of a long continuance and custom had refuted the Bishop of *Rome's* Authority, and observed ever a more perfect kind of *Dodrine* than others, delivered unto them from the Father to the Son, ever since the year of our Lord 1260.

For this cause they were often accused and complained of to the King, as contemners and despisers of the Magistrates, and Rebels. Wherefore they were called by diverse names, according to the Countries and Places where they dwelt. For in the Country about *Lions*, they were called the poor People of *Lions*; in the borders of *Savoy*, and *Levonia*, and other Countries toward the North, they were called *Lollards*; in *Flanders* and *Alsace*, *Turleupins*, of a Deler where Wolves did haunt. In *Artois*, with great read before the poor People of *Lions* in the borders of *Savoy*, and *Levonia*, and other Countries toward the North, they were called *Lollards*; in *Flanders* and *Alsace*, *Turleupins*, of a Deler where Wolves did haunt. In *Artois*, with great read before the poor People of *Lions* in the borders of *Savoy*, and *Levonia*, and other Countries toward the North, they were called *Lollards*; in *Flanders* and *Alsace*, *Turleupins*, of a Deler where Wolves did haunt. 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that the worst about a loved innocent Blood, the brute off all their talk, and with a loud voice said, *Monsieur Bassinet*, if I were a Man as I am a Woman, I would offer you the Combate, to prove that I am no such manner of Woman as you say I am, that I delide in innocent Blood. Do you call the Blood of this wicked Men of *Marinade*, innocent Blood? Tunc it is, that I delide and offend with my whole power, that these naughty packs of *Marinade*, and such like as they are, should be slain and destroyed, from the gravel even unto the leaf. And to be the beginning of this work, I have employed all my credit, and all my Friends, and do spare neither Body nor Goods to work the Ruin and Destruction of these People, and to take out and to delate their memory from amongst Men. Do you then, *Monsieur Bassinet*, call the laughter of those who turn the effusion of innocent Blood? And say you that you will, I will not refrain for any man living, to go either by day or by night unto the Houses of Bishops, in all (a) honesty and honour, for the Devotion which I bear unto our holy (b) Mother the Church, and also I will receive into my house all religious Men, to confute and delate the means how to put these Lutherans to death. But as *Monsieur Bassinet* took no more regard unto her talk, so likewise all that were at the Table dispaired her, and were weary of her prating.

Then there was a certain young Gentleman, which merrily jesting, laid unto her, Gentlewoman, it must needs be that these poor People, unto whom you do with this cruel delate, have done you some great displeasure. Then said she, I may well take an Oath, that I never knew one of these wretched People, neither (that I wot of) ever saw any of them. And I had rather to meet ten Devils than one of those naughty Knaves: for their Opinions are so detestable, that hereby and by that they never heard tell of them. And was not then well advised at what time by Causette, I seeing the Bishop of Aix with much mumbled and angry, that he could not eat nor drink, did delate him and contain him to tell me the cause of his rage. Then he perceiving that I would not be well contented if he should not tell me, declared unto me some part of the Cause, that is to say, that there were certain Heretics, which frake against our holy Mother the Church, and among other evils, they maintained even to death, that all Bishops, Priests and Pastors ought to be married, or else they should be delided; and hearing this I was much offended, and ever since I did hate them to the death. And also it was injoined unto me by Penance, that I should endeavour with all my power to put these Heretics to death. For these frivolous talks, there was great trouble and debate amongst them, and many threatenings, which were too long here to describe.

Then the Patient *Causette*, and the Counsellors parted aside, and the Gentlewoman went on her death. The Archbishop of *Aix*, the Bishop of *Aix*, and divers Abbots, Priests, and others, assembled themselves together, to consult how this Aret might be executed with all speed, intending to raise a new Persecution, greater than that of *Jehan* the Jacobin Monk of *Rome*; for whereas (c) said they, Our State and Honour is like to decay: We shall be reproved, contemned, and derided of all Men. And if none should thus vaunt and set themselves against us, but these Perfans and such like, it would be a small matter; but many Doctors of Divinity, and Men of the religious Order, divers Senators and Advocates, many wife and well learned Men, also a great part of the Nobility (if we may say it) and that of great Renown, yea, even of the chieftest Pers in all *Europe*, begin to contend and dispute us, counting us to be no true Patrons of the Church; for that except we see to this *Milchie*, and provide for Remedy betime, it is greatly to be feared, lest not only we shall be compelled to forsake our Dignities, Possessions, and Livings, which we now wealthily enjoy, but also the Church being spoiled of her Patrons and Guides, shall hereafter come to miserable Ruin, and utter Delolation. This matter therefore now requieth great Diligence and Circumspection, and that with all celerity.

Then the Archbishop of *Aix*, not forgetting his Spanish Subtleties and Policies, gave his Advice as following. Against the Nobility (c) said he) we must take heed that we attempt nothing rashly, but rather we must seek all the means we can how to persevere in: for they are our shield,

our fortress and defence. And albeit we know that many of them do both speak and think evil of us, and that they are of these new Gospeliers, yet may we not remove them, or exasperate them in any case: but seeing they are too much bent against us already, we must rather seek how to win them, and to make them our Friends again by gifts and Presents: and by this Policy we shall live in safety under their Protection. But if we entertaine any thing against them, sure we are to gain nothing thereby, as we are by experience already sufficiently taught.

It well laid (c) said the Bishop of *Aix*;) I can shew you a good Remedy for this Disfate: we must go about with all our endeavour and power, and policy, and all the Friends we can make, sparing no Charges, but spending Goods, Wealth and Treasure, to make such a laughter of the *Marinade* and ruffian Perfans, that none shall be so bold hereafter, whatsoever they be, yea, altho they be of the Blood Royal, once to open their Mouths against us, or the Ecclesiastical State. And to bring this matter to pass, we have no better way than to withdraw our selves to *Aunian*, in the which City we shall find many Bishops, Abbots, and other famous Men, which will by us employ their whole endeavour to maintain and uphold the Majesty of our holy Mother the Church. This Council was well liked of them all. Whereupon the said Archbishop of *Aix* and the Bishop of *Aix* went with all speed to *Aunian*, there to assemble out of hand the Bishops, and other Men of Authority and Credit, to intend of this matter: and this great assembly, the Bishop of *Aix*, a stout Champion, and a great Defender of the Traditions of Men, taking upon him to be the chief Orator, began in a manner as followeth:

O ye Fathers and Brethren, ye are not ignorant, that a great Tempest is raised up against the little Bark of Christ Jesus, now in great danger, and ready to be swallowed. The Storm cometh from the North, whereof all these troubles proceed. The Seas rage, the Waters swell, and on every side, the Waves blow beat upon our House, and we without fiery Remedy are like to be slain shipwreck and lost of all together. For Objections (c) said, Pilgrimage and Devotion waxeth cold, Charity is cleanness, our Estimation and Authority is debased, our Jurisdiction decayed, and the Ordinances of the Church are delided: And wherefore we are fet and ordained over Nations and Kingdoms, but to root out and destroy, to subvert and overthrow whatsoever is against our holy Mother the Church? Wherefore for us now awake, lest we find ourselves in the right of our own Possession, that we may root out from the memory of men for ever, the whole Rout of the wicked Lutherans: Those Foxes (I say) which destroy the Vineyard of the Lord, those chief Whiles which go about to drown the little Bark of the Son of God. We have already well begun, and have procured a terrible Aret against these cursed Heretics of *Marinade*, now then reflect no more, but only the *faine* to be put in Execution. Let us therefore employ our whole endeavour, that nothing happen which may let or hinder that which we have to happily begun; and let us take good heed that our Gold and Silver do not witness against us as at the day of Judgment, if we refuse to bestow the same, that we may be able to good a Sacrifice unto God. And for my part I offer to wage and maintain of mine own Costs and Charges, an hundred Men well horfed, with all other Furniture to them belonging, and that to long, until the utter Destruction and Subversion of these wretched and cursed *Delts* be fully performed and finished.

This Oration pleased the whole multitude, having one Doctor of Divinity, a Friar Jacobin, named *Bassinet*, who then answered again with this Oration.

This is a weighty matter (c) said he) and of great importance: we must therefore proceed wisely, and in fear of God, and beware that we do nothing rashly. For if we seek the death and destruction of these poor and miserable People wrongfully, when the King and the Nobility shall hear of such an horrible laughter, we shall be in great danger, lest they do to us as we read in the Scriptures was done to the Priests of *Baal*. For my part I must

multify, and unfeigningly confess, that I have too rashly and lightly signed many Proffices against those which have been accused of heretical Doctrine: but now I do protest before God which seeth and knoweth the Hearts of Men, that, seeing the lamentable end and effect of mine Afirmations, I have had no suit in my Confidence, considering that the secular Judges, at the Report of the Judgment and Sentence given by me and other Doctors my Companions, have commended all those unto most cruel death, when they have adjudged to Heretics. And the cause why in Confidence I am thus disquieted, is this: that now of late, since I have given my self more diligently to the reading and contemplation of the holy Scriptures, I have perceived that the most part of those Articles, which they that are called Lutherans do maintain to be conformable and agreeing to the Scriptures, that for my part I can no longer gainay them, except I should even wilfully and maliciously resist and strive against the holy Ordinances of God. Albeit hitherto to maintain the honour of our holy Mother the Church, and of our holy Father the Pope, and of our Orders, I have consented to the Opinions and doings of other Doctors, as well through ignorance, as also because I would not seem to attempt any thing against the Will and Pleasure of the Pope and Vicars general. Yet now it seemeth unto me, that we ought not any more to proceed in this matter as we have done in time past. It shall be sufficient to punish them with Fines, or to banish them, which shall speak too impudently and rashly against the Confessions of the Church, and of the Pope. And such shall be plainly convicted by the holy Scripture to be blasphemous or obtrude Heretics, to be condemned to death according to the enormity of their Crimes or Errors, or to perpetual Prison. And this my Advice and Counsel I desire you to take in good part.

With this Council of *Bassinet* all the Company was offended, but especially the Bishop of *Aix*, who, lifting up his voice above all the rest, said thus unto the Council: What little Faith I whereof art thou in doubt? Dost thou repent that that thou hast well done? Thou hast told here a Tale that smelleth of Fagots and Broomsteele. Is there any difference (thinkst thou) between Heretics and Blasphemies spoken and maintained against the holy Scriptures, and Opinions holden against our holy Mother the Church, and contrary to our holy Father the Pope, a most undoubted and true God on Earth? Art thou a Master in Israel, and knowest thou these things? Then said the Bishop of *Aix*, Could any Man increase better of the little Bark of Christ Jesus, than my Lord of *Aix* hath done? Then stood up *Bassinet* again, and made this Oration.

It is true that my Lord the Bishop of *Aix* hath very well set out the manners and state of the Clergy, and hath applied approved the Vices and Heresies of this present time; and therefore so soon as mention was made of the Ship of Christ Jesus, it came into my mind, and all of the high Bishop of *Tyran*, the Priests, the Doctors of the Law, the Scribes and Pharisees, which sometimes had the governance of this Ship, being ordained Pastors in the Church of God: But when they forsook the Law of God, and served him with Men's inventions and Traditions, he deloyed those Hypocrites in his great Indignation; and having compassion and pity upon the People which were like Sheep without a Shepherd, he sent diligent Fishers to fish for Men, faithful Workmen into his Harvest, and Labourers into his Vineyard, which shall all bring forth true Fruits in their Foliage. Secondly, considering the purpose and intent of the Reverend Lord Bishop of *Aix*, I called to mind the saying of the Apostle in his first Epistle to the Church of *Corinth*, *That the false Prophets shall come disguised in Sheep-skins, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves*, and by their Fruits they shall be known. By these two, and divers such other places, it is easy to understand, who are they that go about to drown this little Bark of Christ.

As they do not those which fill the lane with filth and unclean things, with mire and dirt, with puddle and filth, and with Water? Are they not those which have forsaken Jesus Christ, the Fountain of living Water, and have dugged up unto themselves Pits or Cisterns which will hold no Water? Truly even those they are which vaunt themselves to be the Salt of Earth, and yet have no favour at all, which call themselves Patrons, and yet are nothing less, than true Patrons, for they minister not unto the Sheep the true pasture and feeding, neither divide and distribute the true Bread of the Word of Life. And if it may be bold to speak it) would it not be to this present as great a Wonder to hear a Bishop preach, as to see an Afirm? Are not they accused of God which glory and avaunt themselves to have the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and neither enter in themselves, nor further than that would enter, to come in? They may, and yet are nothing less, than their Fruits: for they have forsaken Faith, Judgment, and Mercy, and there is no honesty, clean, or undefiled thing in them, but their Habit, their Rochet, and their Surplice, and such others. Outwardly they are exceeding neat and trim, but within they are full of all Abominations, Rapines, Grijmity, filthy Lufts, and all manner of Uncleanness: they are like painted Sepulchres, which outwardly appear beautiful and fair, but within they are full of Filth and Corruption. A Man shall know, I say, these things, by whose their Fruits, which devour the quick and the dead under the pretence of long Prayers, and forswearing as I am enforced to give place to the Truth, and that you call me a Master in Israel, I will not be afraid to prove by the holy Scriptures, that your great Plot and Pattern of the Pope, and the Bishops the Mariners, and fish catchers which unjustly forsake the Ship of Christ Jesus, to imbarck themselves in Finances and Brigandages, are Pirates and Robbers of the Sea, false Prophets, Deceivers, and not true Patrons of the Church of Christ Jesus.

When Dr. *Bassinet* had thus freely and boldly uttered his mind, the whole multitude began to gather about him, and impatiently raised up to him. But the Bishop of *Aix*, about other, raging and crying out as he had been said to. Get thee out, said he, from amongst us, thou wicked Apostata, thou art not worthy to be in this Company. We have borne daily a great much which have not well deserved it, as thou hast: We may now perceive, that there is none more ill fed and fervent in the Faith than the Doctors of the Canon Law. And therefore it were necessary to be decreed in the next General Council, that none should have to do in matters of Religion but they alone: For these Knaves and beggarly Monks and Friars will bring all unto naught. Then the other Doctors of the Law order boldly reproved the Bishop of *Aix* for the Injury he had done unto them. After this there arose a great Diffinition amongst them, inasmuch that there was nothing at that time determined. After Dinner all these reverend Fathers assembled together again, but they suffered neither Friar nor Monk to be amongst them, except he were an Abbot. In this Assembly they made a general Composition confirmed with an Oath, That every Man should endeavour himself that the said Aret of *Marinade* should be executed with all expedition, every Man offering to furnish out Men of War, according to his ability. The Charge whereof was given to the Bishop of *Aix*, and to the President of the Canon, to solicit the matter, and to persuade by all means possible the Presidents and Counsellors of the said Court of Parliament without fear or doubt, to execute the said Aret with Drums, Ensigns displayed, Artillery, and all kind of Furniture of War.

This Conspiracy being concluded and determined, the Bishop of *Aix* departed incognito from *Aunian*, to go unto *Aix*, to perform the Charge which was given to him. Notwithstanding the great rains and travel which after the Council was holden, at a Banquet which should be made at the house of the Bishop of *Aix*. To this Banquet such as were known to be the faithful and most beautiful Women in all *Aunian*, were called, to refresh and solace these good Prelates, after the great rains and travel which they had taken for our holy Mother the Church. After they had dined, they fell to dancing, playing at Dice, and such other Pastimes as are commonly wont to be frequented at the Banquets and Feasts of their holy Prelates. After this they walked abroad to solace themselves, and to pass the time till Supper.

Dr. Bassinet's Oration.

K. Hen. 8

The Oration of the Bishop of Aix.

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Mark. 11.

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Mark. 11.

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tenance of Liges, Brotherhoods, Churches, or to give any stirring either for the Quick or the Dead. But if any were in affliction or poverty, those they relieved gladly, and thought nothing too much.

This was the whole tenor of the report made unto Monsieur de Langens, touching the life and behavior of the Inhabitants of Merindol, and the other which ensued thereon. All at those things the said Monsieur de Langens, according to the charge that was given him, advertised the King, who understanding these things, as a good Prince moved with mercy and pity, sent Letters of Grace and Pardon, not only for those which were condemned for lack of appearance, but also for all the rest of the Country of Provence, which were accused and suspected in like case, providing, which were accused and suspected in like case, providing, which they should not thereafter proceed rigorously as they had done before, against this People: but if there were any that could be found or proved, by sufficient instructions to have been given from the Christian Religion, that then he should have good denunciation made unto him by the Word of God, both out of the Old and New Testament: and so, as well by the gentleness as by the rigor of the same, he should be reduced again unto the Church of Christ. Declaring also, That the King's pleasure was, that all such as should be convicted of Heresy in manner aforesaid, should abjure: forbidding also all manner of persons, of what estate or condition forever they were, to attempt any thing against them of Merindol, or other things they were persecuted, by any other manner of means, or to molest or trouble them in person or goods: revoking and annulling all manner of sentences and condemnations of what Judges forever they were, and commanding to let at liberty all Prisoners which either were accused or suspected of Luthery.

By virtue of these Letters they were now permitted to declare their cause, and to say what they could in defence thereof. Whereupon they made a Confession of their Faith, the effect whereof you shall see in the end of the Story. This Confession was sent first to the Court of Parliament; and afterwards being declared more at large, with Articles also annexed thereto, it was delivered to the Bishop of Cavaillon, who required the same. Also to Cardinal Sadole, Bishop of Carpentras, with the like Articles, and also a Supplication to this effect: That the Inhabitants of Cabriers in the Country of Voies most humbly desired him, that he would vouchsafe to receive and read the Confession and Declaration of their Faith and Doctrine, in the which they, and also their Fathers before them, had been of a long time instructed and taught, which they were prepared to be agreeable to the Doctrine contained in the Old and New Testament. And because he was learned in the holy Scriptures, they desired him that he would mark such Articles as he thought to be against the Scriptures; and if he should make it to appear unto them, that there was any thing contrary to the same, they would not only submit themselves to abjuration, but also to suffer such punishment as should be adjudged unto them, either the loss, not only of all that they had, but also of their Lives. And moreover, if there were any Judge in all the Country of Voies, which by good and sufficient information should be able to charge them that they had held any erroneous Doctrine, or maintained any other Religion than was contained in the Articles of their Confession, they desired him that he would communicate the same unto them, and with all obedience they offered themselves to whatsoever should be thought just and reasonable. Upon this request Cardinal Sadole answered by his Letters written by his secretary, and signed with his own hand, the tenor whereof here followeth.

I have seen your Request, and have read the Articles of your Confession, wherein there is much matter contained, and do not understand that you are accused. For any other Doctrine, but for the very same which you have confessed. It is manifest, that many have reported diverse things of you worthy of reproach, which, after diligent enquiry made, have been found to be nothing else but false reports and flanders. As touching the rest of your Articles, it seemeth unto me, that there are many more therein which might well be changed without prejudice unto your Confession. And likewise it seemeth to me, that it is not necessary that you should speak so manifestly against the Pastors of the Church. For my part, I desire your Welfare, and would be sorry that you should be

so spoiled or distressed as they do pretend. And to the end you shall the better understand my amity and friendship to them, I write you, shortly I will be at my House by Cabriers, whither you may resort unto me either in greater or smaller numbers, as you will, and return safely without any hurt or damage, and there I will subscribe you of all things that I think meet for your profit and health.

About this time, which was the year of our Lord 1542, the Bishop of Cavaillon assembled a great number of Men of War, as the fulfil of the Bishop of Cavaillon, to destroy Cabriers. When the Army was come within a mile of Cabriers, the Cardinal Sadole went with speed to the Vice-legat, and shewed him the request of the Inhabitants of Cabriers, with the Articles of their Confession, and the Offices that they made, so that for that present the Army retired, without any hurt or damage done unto the Inhabitants of Cabriers. After this the Cardinal Sadole went unto Rome: but before his departure he sent for divers of Cabriers, and certain Farmers of his own, whom he knew to be of the number of those which were called Luthers, and told them, That he would have them in remembrance as soon as he came to Rome, and communicate their Articles and Confession unto the Cardinals, trusting to find a means to have some good reformation, that God should be so glorified, and all Christians brought to unity and concord: at the least, nothing at all doubting but, that the foulest Abuses should be corrected and amended; advertising them in the mean time to be wise and discreet, to watch and pray, for that they had many enemies, which this Opinion of Cardinal Sadole, they of Cabriers were greatly comforted, trusting that at the last of Cardinal Sadole they should have answer of their Confession. But at his return they understood that he found all things comeout at Rome, that there was no hope of any Reformation there to be had, but rather mortal War against all such as would not live according to the Ordinances of the Church of Rome. Likewise said the Treasurer of Carpentras, who alighted he sent out money to furnish Soldiers that were hired for the defence thereof, notwithstanding he was himself then secretly all that he might. However he could not do so secretly, but that it came to the knowledge of the Legate: whereupon he was constrained to withdraw himself.

On the other part, the Bishop of Cavaillon purchased full the execution of the Arrest of Merindol. Then it was ordained by the Court of Parliament, That, according to the King's Letters, John Durand, Counsellor of the Court of Parliament, with a Secretary, and the Bishop of Cavaillon, with a Doctor of Divinity, should go unto Merindol, and there declare unto the Inhabitants the Errors and Heresies which they knew to be contained in their Confession, and make them apparent by good and sufficient information; and having so convicted them by the Word of God, they should make them to renounce and abjure the said Heresies; and if the Merindolians did refuse to abjure, then they should make relation thereof, that the Court might appoint how they should farther proceed. After this Decree was made, the Bishop of Cavaillon would not tarry unto the time which was appointed by the Court for the execution of this matter; but he himself, with a Doctor of Divinity, came to Merindol to make them to abjure. Unto whom the Merindolians answered, That he entertained against the authority of the Parliament, and that it was against his Commission so to do. Notwithstanding he was very earnest with them that they should abjure, and promised them, if they would so do, to take them under his wings and protection, as the Benign Father of the Children, and that they should be no more robbed or spoiled. Then they required that he would declare unto them what they should abjure. The Bishop answered, that the matter needed no disputation, and that he required but only a general Abjuration of all Errors, which he had no damage or prejudice to them; for he himself would not like to make the like Abjuration. The Merindolians answered him again, That they would do nothing contrary to the Decree and Ordinance of the Court, or the King's Letters, wherein he commanded that the Errors should be declared unto them, whereto they were accused: wherefore they were resolved to understand what those Errors and Heresies were, that being informed thereof by the Word of God, they might satisfy the King's Letters: otherwise

it were but hypocrisy and dissimulation to do as he required them. And if he could make it to appear unto them by good and sufficient information, that they had hidden any Errors and Heresies, or should be convicted thereupon by the Word of God, they would willingly abjure: or if in their Confession there were any word contrary to the Scriptures, they would revoke the same. Contrariwise, if it were not made manifest unto them, that they had hidden any Heresies, but that they had always lived according to the doctrine of the Gospel, and that their Confession was grounded and confirmed by the Word of God, they would not move or constrain them to abjure any Errors which they held, not that it were plainly against all equity and justice so to do.

Then the Bishop of Cavaillon was marvelously angry, and would bear no word spoken of any denunciation to be made by the Word of God, but in a fury curbed and gave him to the Devil that first invented that means. Then the Doctor of Divinity, whom the Bishop brought thither, demanded what Articles they were that were printed by the Inhabitants of Merindol; for the Bishop of Cavaillon had not yet shewed them unto him. Then the Bishop of Cavaillon delivered the Doctor the Confession, which after he had read, the Bishop of Cavaillon said, What will you say me more witness or declaration? this is full of Heresy. Then they of Merindol demanded, In what point? whereupon the Bishop knew not what to answer. Then the Doctor demanded to have time to look upon the Articles of the Confession, and so commanded whether they were against the Scriptures or no. Thus the Bishop departed, being very sore aggrieved that he could not bring his purpose to pass.

After eight days the Bishop sent for this Doctor, to understand how he might order himself to make their Heresies appear which were in the said Confession. Whereupon the Doctor answered, That he was never so much abashed: for when he had beheld the Articles of the Confession, and the Authorities of the Scriptures that were there alleged for the confirmation thereof, he had said, What will you say me more witness or declaration? and according to the holy Scriptures; and that he had not learned so much in the Scriptures all the days of his life, as he had in those eight days, in looking upon those Articles, and the Authorities therein alleged.

Shortly after the Bishop of Cavaillon came unto Merindol, and calling before him the Children both great and small, gave them money, and commanded them with their wives to learn the *Pater noster* and the *Credo* in Latin. The most part of them answered, That they knew the *Pater noster* and the *Credo* already in Latin, but they could make no reason of that which they spoke, but only in the vulgar tongue.

The Bishop answered, That it was not necessary they should be so cunning, but that it was sufficient that they knew it in Latin; and that it was not requisite for their salvation, to understand or to expound the Articles of their Faith: for there were many Bishops, Curates, yeas, and Doctors of Divinity, whom it would trouble to expound the *Pater noster* and the *Credo*. Here the Bayllif of Merindol, named Andrew Maynard, asked, To what purpose it would serve to say the *Pater noster* and the *Credo*, and not to understand the same? for in doing they should but mock and deride God. Then said the Bishop unto him, Do you understand what is signified by these words, I believe that he would be present at Merindol, to the end and purpose that he would be present at Merindol, to the end and purpose that he would be present at Merindol.

The Bayllif in God? The Bayllif answered, I should think my belief very miserable, if I did not understand it: and then he said he would give an account of his Faith. Then said the Bishop, I would not have thought that you had been so great a Doctor in Merindol. The Bayllif answered, The least of the Inhabitants of Merindol can do it yet more readily than I: but I pray you, question with one or two of these young Children, that you may understand whether they be well taught or no. But the Bishop either knew not how to question with them, or at the least would not.

Then one named Pierre Roy said, Sir, one of these Children may question with another, if you think it so good, and the Bishop was contented. Then one of the Children began to question with his fellow, with such voice and gravity as if he had been a Schoolmaster; and the Children one after another answered to the purpose, that it was marvellous to hear: for it was done in the presence of many, among whom there were four Religious Men, that came lately out of Paris, of whom one said unto the Bishop,

I must needs confess, that I have often been at the common Schools of Sorbon in Paris, where I have heard the disputation of the Divines: but yet I never learned so much as I have done by hearing these young Children. Then said William de Mont, Did you never read that which is written in the eleventh Chapter of St. Matthew, where it is said, O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, I render thanks unto thee, then, that thou hast hidden these things from the sage and wise Men of the World, and hast revealed them unto young Infants: Thou holdst, O Father, such secrets thy good will and pleasure. Then every Man marvelled at the ready wit and witty answers of the Children of Merindol.

When the Bishop saw he could not thus prevail, he tried another way, and went about by fair and flattering words to bring his purpose to pass. Wherefore, causing the Strangers to go apart, he said, That he now perceived they were not so evil as many thought them to be: notwithstanding, for the contentation of them which were their persecutors, it was necessary that they should make some final Abjuration, which only the Bayllif, with two Others, might make: generally in his presence, in the name of all the writ, without any Notary to record the same in writing; and in so doing they should be loved and favoured of all Men, and even of those whose lives they now persecuted: and that they should sustain no injury thereby, for there should be no report thereof made, but only to the Pope, and to the High-Court of Parliament of Provence: And also if any Man in any time would come to them to their reproach, or allege it against them to their hurt or damage, they should utterly deny it, and say they made no Abjuration at all, because there were no records made thereof, or writtens to prove the same. For this purpose he desired them to talk together, to the end there might be an end made in this matter, without any further labour.

The Bayllif, and the two Others, which divers other Ancients of the Town, answered, That they were fully resolved not to consent to any Abjuration, howsoever it were to be done, except that (which was their only exception) they could make it appear unto them by the Word of God, that they had hidden or maintained any Heresy: marvelling much that he would go about to persuade them to lie to God and to Man. And albeit that all Men by nature are Liar, yet they had learned by the Word of God, that they ought diligently to take heed that their Children did not accustom or use themselves to lie, and therefore punished them very thrashly, when as they took them with any Lie, even as if they had committed any Rebecky: For as the Devil is a Liar, and the Father of Lies, hence the Bishop took up in great anger and indignation, and so departed.

Within a while after the Bishop of Aix solicited Master John Durand, Counsellor of the Court of the Parliament of Provence, to execute the Commission which was given him; that is, to go unto the place of Merindol, together with the Secretary of the said Court, and there in the presence of the Bishop of Cavaillon, accompanied with a Doctor of Divinity, to declare the Errors and Heresies, which the Bishop pretended the Inhabitants of Merindol to be infected and entangled withal, and, according to their duty, to make it appear by the Word of God, and so being convicted, to make them abjure and renounce the said Heresies. Whereupon the said Counsellor Durand certified the said Bishop that he would be present at Merindol, to the end and purpose that he would be present at Merindol.

At that day appointed the said Counsellor Durand, the Bishop of Cavaillon, a Doctor of Divinity and a Secretary, came unto Merindol, where were all present divers Gentlemen, and Men of understanding of all sorts, to see this Communion executed. Then they of Merindol were advertised that they should not appear all at once, but that they should keep themselves apart, and appear as they should be called, in such order and number as should be appointed unto them. After that Durand, the Bishop of Cavaillon, the Doctor of Divinity, and the Secretary were let in place where Justice was accustomed to be kept, there was called first Andrew Roy Maynard, the Bayllif of Merindol, and then Pierre Roy, and others Ancients of Merindol; and John Cabrier, and John Palens, Mayors of Merindol; and John Burdell, Under-bayllif. After they had prepared themselves with all due reverence, the Counsellor Durand spoke thus unto them.

You are not ignorant that by the Arrest given out by the high Court of *Providence*, you were all condemned to be burned, both Men, Women, and Children; your Houses also to be beaten down, and your Town to be razed and made desolate, as is more largely contained in the said Arrest. Notwithstanding, if I had pleased the King, our most gracious Prince to send his Letters unto the said Court, commanding that the said Arrest should not so rigorously proceed against you: but if it could by sufficient Information be proved, that you, or any of you, had fwered from the true Religion, demonstration thereof should be made thereof unto you by the Word of God, whereby you might be reduced again to the Flock of Christ. Wherefore it was determined in the said Court of Parliament, that the Bishop of *Cassillon*, with a Doctor of Divinity, should in my presence declare unto you the Errors and Heresies wherewith they say you are infected; and after good demonstration made by the Word of God, you should publicly and solemnly renounce and abjure the said Heresies; and in so doing, should obtain the Grace and Pardon contained in the King's Letters: wherefore I have now delivered unto you, that you be obedient unto God, the King and the Magistrates. When he had thus spoken, what answer you, said he, to that which I have propounded?

Then *John Maynard* the Bailiff, desired that they would grant them some Advantages to answer the same, by Instructions which they would give him, forasmuch as they were Men unlearned, and knew not how to answer as in such a case was requisite. The Commissioner answered that he would hear their Answer, neither by Advocate nor by Writing, but would hear them answer in their own words. Notwithstanding he would give them leave to go apart, and talk together, but not to ask any counsel, but only among themselves: and then to answer one after another. Upon this determination, the Bailiff and the two Syndiques with other two ancient Men, who were called a while, and determined that the two Syndiques should speak first, and after them the Bailiff, then the two ancient Men, every Man according as God should give them Grace, and by and by presented themselves. Whereat the Commissioner *Durandus* was greatly pleased, to see that they had decreed and determined so freely. Then *Michiel Maynard* began to answer, desiring the Commissioner and the Bishop, with the other Assistants, to pardon him, if that he answered over rudely, having regard that they were poor, rude, and ignorant Men. His Answer here followed.

We are greatly bound, faith he, to give God thanks, that, besides other his Benefits bestowed upon us, he hath now delivered us from these great Affluents, and that it hath pleased him to touch the heart of our Noble King, that our cause might be interceded with justice, and not by violence. In like manner we are also bound to pray for our Noble King, which, following the example of *Samuel* and *Daniel*, hath not declined to look upon the cause of his poor Subjects. Also we render thanks unto the Lord of the Parliament, in that it hath pleased them to minister Justice according to the King's Commandment. Finally, we thank you my Lord *Durandus* Commissioner in this present cause, that it hath pleased you in a few words to declare unto us the manner and order which we are to observe. And for my part, I greatly desire to understand and know the Heresy and Errors wherewith I am accused: and whereas they have made it appear unto me, that I have holden any Errors or Heresies, I am contented to amend the same, as it shall be ordained and provided by you.

After him answered *Joan Remme* the other Syndique, a very ancient Father, approving all that which his Fellow before had said, giving God thanks that in his time, even in his latter days, he had seen and heard of good news, that the cause of Religion should be decided and debated by the Holy Scriptures, and that he had often heard ancient Men say, that they could never obtain of the Judges, in all their Persecution, to have their Cause debated in such sort.

Then *Andrew Maynard* the Bailiff answered, saying, That God given to the two Syndiques the Grace and favour so well, that it was not necessary for him to say or add any more thereto. Notwithstanding it seemed good that their Answers were put in writing, which was not done by the Secretary, that the Bishop might see and mark yea or nay as all that had been said: Wherefore he required the Commissioner to look unto the matter.

Then the Commissioner was very angry, and sharply rebuked his Secretary, commanding him to sit nearer and to write their Answers word for word, and he himself with a singular memory repeated their answers, and utterances as if they were not so. The said Answers being thus put in writing, the Commissioner asked the Bailiff, if he had any more to answer, saying, that he had done him great pleasure to hear him his Secretary's Fault, willing him to speak boldly what he thought good for the defence of their Cause. Then the Bailiff said, Forasmuch as it hath pleased you to give me audience and liberty to say my mind freely: I say moreover, that it seemeth unto me, that there is no due form of Process in this Judgment: for there is no Party here that doth accuse us. If we had an Accuser present, which, according to the rule of the Scripture, either should prove by good demonstration out of the Old and New Testament that wherewith we are accused, or, if he were not able, should suffer punishment due unto such as are Heretics; I think he would be as greatly troubled to maintain his Accusations, as we to answer unto the same.

After that the Bailiff had made this answer, *John Palme*, one of the Ancients of *Merindol*, said, that he approved all that had been said by the Syndiques, and that he was able to say more than had been said by them before. The Commissioner said unto him: You are, I see, a very ancient Man, and you have now lived long, but that you have something to answer for your part in defence of your cause. And the said *Palme* answered, saying it is your pleasure that I should say something, it seemeth unto me impossible that (say what we can) we should either victory or vanquish. For we will be our Enemies.

Then *John Brunel*, Under-Bailiff of *Merindol*, answered, that he would very vain know the Authority of himself as the Commissioner in this Cause, forasmuch as the said Court had given them leave to understand that he had Authority of the High Court to make them abjure their Errors which should be proved by good and sufficient information, and to give them, if doing, the Pardon contained in the King's Letters and quit them of all Punishment and Condemnation. But the said Commissioner did not give them to understand that it could not be found, by good and sufficient information, that they were in error, he had any power or authority to quit and absolve them of the said Sentence and Condemnation: wherefore it seemed that it should be more advantageous for the said *Merindolians*, if it should appear that they were Heretics, than to be found to live according to the Doctrine of the Gospel. For this cause he required, that it would please the said Commissioner to make declaration thereof: Concluding, that if it did not appear, by good and sufficient information against them, that they had departed from the Faith, if there were no Accuser that would come forth against them, they ought to be fully absolved, without being any more troubled, either in Body or Goods.

These things were thus in debating, from seven of the clock in the morning until eleven. Then the Commissioner dismissed them till after dinner. At one of the clock at afternoon, they were called for again, and demanded whether they would say any else touching that which was propounded in the morning by the said Commissioner. They answered, No. Then said the Commissioner, What do you conclude for your defence? The two Syndiques answered, We conclude, that it would please you to declare unto us the Errors and Heresies wherewith we are accused. Then the Commissioner asked the Bishop of *Cassillon* what information he had against them. The Bishop spake unto him in his ear, and would not answer aloud. This talk in the ear continued almost half an hour, that the Commissioner & all other that stood thereby were weary thereof. Then the Commissioner said unto them, That the Bishop of *Cassillon* had told him, that it was not needful to make it appear by information, for such was the common report. Hereunto they answered, that they required the Causes and Reasons alleged by the Bishop of *Cassillon* against them, which should be put in writing. The Bishop was earnest to the contrary, and would have nothing, that either he said or alleged, to be put in writing. Then *John Brunel* required the Commissioner, that at the least he would be put in writing what the Bishop had said, and that he would not speak before the Commissioner: but only in his ear.

Ear. The Bishop on the contrary part defended, that he would not be named in Process. There was great indignation upon this matter, and continuing long. Then the Commissioner asked the *Merindolians* if they had the Articles of their Confession, which they had presented to the High Court of Parliament. Then they required that their Confession might be read, that by the reading thereof, they might understand whether it were the Doctrine which they held, and the Confession which they had presented, or no. Then the Commissioner asked the Doctor, if he did mind in the said Confession any heretical Cause, wherewith he could make demonstration by the Word of God, either out of the Old or New Testament. Then spake the Doctor in Latin a good while. After he had made an end, *John Maynard* the Bailiff desired the Commissioner to give him information, or at the least to mark those Articles of their Confession, which the Bishop and the Doctor pretended to be heretical; requiring him also to put in writing, whom the one spake in his ear, and the other in Latine, so that they of *Merindol* could not understand one word. Then the Commissioner promised them to put in Writing all that should make for their Cause. And moreover he said, that it was not needful to call the rest of the *Merindolians*, if there were no more to be said to them than had been said to those which were already called. And this is the Sum of all that was done at the Afternoon.

Many which came thither to hear these Disputations, supposing they should have heard some goodly Demonstrations, were greatly abashed to see the Bishop and the Doctor so confounded: in which thing afterward turned to the great Benefit of many: for hereby they were moved to require Copies of the Confession of their Faith, by means wherewith they were converted and embraced the Truth, and namely three Doctors who went about divers times to disavow the *Merindolians* from their Faith, whole Ministry God afterwards used in the preaching of his Gospel. One was Dr. *Comand* Prior of *St. Martin*, afterwards a one was Dr. *Samati*, who was also a Preacher in the Bailiwick of *Tonn*. The other was Dr. *Herault*, Pastor and Minister in the County of *Nemours*.

After this the Inhabitants of *Merindol* were in rest and quietness for a space, inasmuch that every Man feared to go about to trouble them, seeing those which persecuted them did receive nothing but shame and confusion: as it did many a gentle *Chaplain*, but also many other of the chiefest Councilors of the Parliament of *Providence*, whose horrible End terrified many, but especially the strange and fearful Example of that bloody Tyrant *John de Roma*, set out as a Spectacle to all Persecutors, wherewith have spoken before.

Thus the Lord repressing the rage of the Adversaries for a time, stayed the Violence and Execution of that cruel Sentence or Arrest given out by the Parliament of *Providence* against the *Merindolians*, until *John Minier*, an excommunicated bloody Tyrant, began a new Persecution. *Minier*, being Lord of *Opde* near to *Merindol*, first began to vex the poor Christians by pilling and polling, by oppression and extortion, getting from them what he could: he also sent his Sergeants or Lordships, which before were his bailiffs. For this cause he put five or six of his own Tenants into a Cistern under the ground, and closing it up, there he kept them till they died for hunger, pretending that they were Lutherans and *Waldenses*, to have their Goods and Possessions. By this, and such other Practices this Wretch was advanced in thence space to great Wealth and Dignity, and so at length became not only the chief Priesthood of the High Court of Parliament, but also the King's Lieutenant General in the County of *Providence*, in the absence of the Lord *Grigien*, then being at the Council of *Worms* in *Germany*. Now therefore seeing no opportunity to be lacking to accomplish his devilish Enterprise, he employed all his Power, Riches, and Authority not only to constrain and to revive that cruel

reign given out before by the Court of Parliament, but also (as a right Minister of Satan) he exceedingly increased the Cruelty thereof, which was already so great, that it seemed there could nothing more be added thereto. And to bring this mischief to pass, he forged a most impudent Lying King to understand that they of *Merindol* and all the Country near about, to the number of twelve or fifteen thousand were in the field in Armour with their Esquippeds displayed, intending to take the Town of *Marillac*, and make it one of the Cantons of the *Swissers*: and to fly this Enterprise, he said, it was necessary to execute the Arrest *Marillac*; and by this means he obtained the King's Letters Patent, through the help of the Cardinal of *Tonn*, commanding the Sentence to be executed against the *Merindolians*, notwithstanding that the King had before revoked the said Sentence, and given strict Commandment that it should in no wise be executed, as is before mentioned.

After this he gathered all the King's Army, which was then in *Provence* ready to go against the *Englishmen*, and took up all besides, that were able to bear Armour, in the chiefest Towns of *Provence*, and joyined them with the Army which the Pope's Legat had levied for that purpose in *Avignon*, and all the Country of *Vois*, and employed the same to the Destruction of *Merindol*, *Cabrier*, and other Towns and Villages to the number of two and twenty, giving Commission to his Soldiers to kill, murther, burn, and to deliver all together, and to kill Man, Woman, and Child without any mercy, sparing none: No otherwise than the Infidels and cruel *Turks* have dealt with the Christians, as before in the Story of the *Turky* you may see mentioned.

For as the Papists and Turks are alike in their Religions so are the said Papists like, or rather exceed them in all kinds of Cruelty that can be devised. But this Arch-tyrant before he came to the said towns, he first sent certain Towns, namely *La Rochette*, *St. Stephen*, *Ville Laure*, *Lormarin*, *La Motte*, *Cabrieret*, *St. Martin*, *Pignat*, and other places more, notwithstanding that the Arrest extended but only to *Merindol*: Where the most of the poor Inhabitants were slain and murthered without any distinction. Women and Maidens ravished: Women with Child, and little Infants born and to be born, were also most cruelly murthered: the Paps of many Women cut off, which gave rise to their Children, which looking for their sick at their Mother's Breast, being dead before, died also for hunger. There was never any such Cruelty and Tyranny seen before.

The *Merindolians* seeing all on a flaming fire round about them, left their Houses, and fled into the Woods, and remained all that Night at the Village *Saints*, and thereabouts in wonderful fear and perplexity: for the Bishop of *Cassillon*, Deputy to the Bishop of *Rome's* Legat, had appointed certain Captains to go and slay them. The next day they went a little further, hiding themselves in Woods, for there was danger on every side, and *Minier* had commanded under pain of death, that no Man should aid them by any means, but that they should be slain without pity or mercy, wherever they were found. The same Proclamation was of force also in the County of *Rome's* Legat's Dominion: thereby it was said, that the Bishops of that Country did find a great part of the Army. Wherefore they went a tedious and painful Journey, carrying their Children upon their Shoulders, and in their Arms, and in their Swallowing-clothes, and many of them also being great, were constrained to do so. And when they were come to the place appointed, there was already reserved a great number which had lost their Goods, and saved themselves by flight.

Not long after it was moved them, how that *Minier* was coming with all his power to give the charge upon them. This was in the evening, and because they could go through rough and cumbersome places, and had to pass by, they thought it most expedient for their safety to leave behind them all the Women and Children, with a few others, and among them also certain Ministers of the Church, the residue were appointed to go to the Town of *Maid*. And this did they upon hope that the Enemy would have mercy to the multitude of the poor, and spare the being detestable of all *Secours*. No Tongue can express what Sorrow, what Tears, what Sighings, what Lamentations

As was said of the *Merindolians*.

The Answer of the *Merindolians* to *Durandus* the Commissioner.

The Bailiff of *Merindol* answered.

K. Hen. 8.

The Pope's cruelty is the *Merindolians* cause of Law.

John Palme.

The under-Bailiff of *Merindol*.

*Durandus* the Commissioner.

The Bishop of *Cassillon*.

The Bailiff of *Merindol* answered.

*Minier* a persecutor.

The King's Order.

*Minier* the King's Lieutenant.

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John Arce.

The King's cruelty.

Eight Towns.

Horrible.



*Cabriers* ; also against them of *Prague* and *Cal*

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To the second, touching Auricular Confession, they said, that for their part they confessed themselves daily unto God, acknowledging themselves before him to be miserable sinners, desiring of him pardon and forgiveness of their sins, as Christ instructed his in the Prayer which

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ing but if they should find certain to the Court with a Supplication, they should obtain more that they themselves would require; and he for his part would employ himself in their Affairs to the uttermost of his power; and so he promised that he would retire himself with his Army. This he seemed to speak unfeignedly. The People desiring but to live peaceably in their Religion, and under the Obedience of their lawful Prince, were content to follow his Counsel.

About this season they of *Angrong* perceived that a part of the Army ascended the Hill of *Talliers*, (which is the half way between *Angrong* and those of the Valley of *Lufene*) and the other part had already gotten away, which led to the Meadow of *Tours* by the which they of *Angrong* might easily have been inclosed. Therefore they sent forth immediately to keep the Way, who found after encounter with their Enemies and obtained the Victory, pursuing and chasing them to their Camp, not without great loss of their Men. The number of their Enemies slain, was not known; for their custom was invariably that they should not keep the Way, nor one doted to carry away those which were slain. Not one of *Angrong* retired that day, nor yet was hurt. It was feared that this Combat would have hindered the Agreement; but the Lord of *Trinity* could well defend the matter, and excused that day's Journey, saying the fault of *Talliers*, when he charged to have slain certain of his Men in the Highway, and amongst other his Barbar.

On Saturday following, being the ninth of November, the said Lord of *Trinity* sent again for them of *Angrong*, to the consult with them touching the Agreement, which like Communication as before, and added thereto, that in token of true obedience they should carry their Armour into two of the Houses of the chief Rulers, not fearing, but it should be safe, for it should remain in their own keeping; and if need were, they should receive it again. Also, that by upon Sunday (which was the next day) would cause a Mass to be sung within the Temple of *St. Laurence* in *Angrong*, accompanied with a very few, and thereby the Duke's wrath would be assuaged.

The next morning he went into the Temple (whereat they were fore agreed, albeit they could not withstand him) his Army marching afore him: and having caused a Mass to be sung, he desired to see the Meadow of *Tours*, to much spoken of; that thereof he might make a true Report unto the Duke; and thither the Rulers with a great Troop of his own Men went, the residue of his Company remained behind; the which spoiled certain Houses, and seized the Armour which they had delivered up before; but they found no great force, for the People had taken away the greater Part thereof. The said Lord being entered unto the Meadow of *Tours*, the People began to make a Commotion; whereat he having intelligence, returned immediately. All that day he showed himself very courteous to all whom he met.

The People in this mean time perceived themselves to be in great danger, and were fore moved at the sight of the Army, the Spoil of the Soldiers, the taking away of their Armour, but especially because the said Lord of *Trinity* had viewed the Meadow of *Tours*, foreseeing his traitorous meaning and purpose. A few days after the said Lord of *Trinity* sent his Secretary *Gallant* to *Angrong* to talk with them concerning the Agreement, and to make a full Revelation thereof, which was read in the Assembly by the Secretary; the Sum whereof was this: That the People of *Angrong* submitted themselves to render all Honour and Reverence to God according to his holy Word, and all due obedience to the Duke their Sovereign Prince, to whom they should lend certain Men to demand extreme necessity, and humbly to beseech him that he would suffer them to live peaceably in their Religion, which was according to the Word of God, nor compelling them to do any thing against their Conscience; as it appears more amply in the Supplication, which after this the *Angrongians* made, and caused to be read before the Secretary in the open Assembly, the which here ensueth.

To the most excellent and worthy Prince, the Duke of Savoy, &c. our Sovereign Lord and natural Prince

Most Noble and Renowned Prince, we have sent certain of our Men unto your Highness, to give testimony of our humble, hearty, and unfeigned Obedience unto the same, and with all submission desire Peace touching the hearing of our Lord, by certain of our People in their extreme necessity, and for all other of Treasures, for the which your Sovereign Grace might conceive any offence against us.

Secondly, To define in most humble way your said Highness, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that it would please the same, to suffer us to live with freedom of Conscience in our Religion, which also is the Religion of our Ancestors, observed for certain hundred years past. And we are persuaded, that it is the pure Gospel of our Lord Jesus, the only Verity, the Word of Life and Salvation, which we profess. Also, that it may please your most gracious Clemency not to take in ill part, if we, fearing to offend and dilapidate God, cannot consent unto certain Articles and Ordinances of Church of Rome, and herein to have pity upon our poor Souls, and the Souls of our Children, to the end that your Highness be not in any way charged in the just Judgment of God for the same, where all Men must appear to answer for their doings.

On our part, we protest that we will seek nothing but to be the true Servants of God, to serve him according to his holy Word; and also to be true and loyal Subjects to your Highness, and more obedient than any other, being always ready to give our Goods, our Body, our Lives, and the Lives of our Children, for your Noble Grace, as also our Religion liberally to do: only we desire that our Souls may be left at liberty to serve God according to his holy Word.

And we your poor humble Subjects shall most heartily pray our God and Father for the good and long Prosperity of your Highness, for the most virtuous Lady your Wife, and for the Noble House of *Savoy*.

To this Supplication they of *St. Yba*, of *Escopania*, of *St. Barthelemy*, and of *Proenfi*, with those of the Valley of *Lufene*, did agree. For it was concluded, that the Agreement made should extend to all the Confederates of the same Religion. Whiles they were treating of this Agreement, the Lord of *Trinity* heard cruelly them of *Talliers*, under this pretence, because they had not presented themselves to attend upon him, to hush all the Names of those which would be of the said Agreement.

Whereupon the next morning the chief of the Householdiers went to the Village named *Bunets*, the place appointed thereto, and when they had heard a Sermon, and called upon God, they began to wear the Names. The anroling of their Names not being fully ended, word was brought, that the Soldiers had gotten the top of the Mountain, and had taken all the Palisades; whereat they of *Talliers* were fore amazed, and ran with all speed to defend their Wives and Children. Some they saved, the rest perished with their Goods, were in their Enemies hands already. At this time with facking, spoiling and burning, they did much mischief.

After this the Lord of *Trinity* sent word to them which were fled, that if they would return, he would receive them to mercy. The poor people for the most part, trusting on his promise, returned to *Bunets*, and yet the next morning the Soldiers came thither to apprehend them and the Ministers, and beat the people on every side, Such as were swift of foot, and could fly their heels, escaped they all eluded by a marvellous means: for it happened that there was an old Man which could not run fast; whom one of the Soldiers came with a naked Sword in his hand to have slain him. The old Man seeing the imminent danger

R. Hunt

The Supplication of the Angrongians to the Duke of Savoy.

The Duke of Savoy.

The Duke of Savoy.

A fearful request of the Angrongians to the Duke of Savoy.

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caught the Soldier by the Legs, overthrew him, and drew him by the heels down the hill.

The Soldier cried out, Help, help, this Villain will kill me. His Fellow hearing him cry, came to his aid, and seeing what the old Man had done, took heart of Grace, and albeit their Armour and Weapons were taken from them, yet with Stones and Slings they fo beat and discomfited their Enemies, that for that present time they carried no Prisoners away.

The day following the Soldiers returning to the said *Talliers*, robbed, spoiled, and carried away all that they could find, and so continued three days together; and was very cruel for them to do, because the poor Men, fearing they should be charged with violating the Agreement, made no resistance, but retired towards *Villars*.

The fourth day the said Lord of *Trinity*, to torment the poor *Talliers* yet more cruelly, sent his Army again because the People of the said Village were retired towards *Villars*, and scattered about the Borders thereof in the high Mountains, the Soldiers now yet continued with the said *Talliers*, ranging about the Counties thereof, ravaged and made havoc on every side of whatsoever they could lay hands on, taking Prisoners both Men and Women, which were laden with cartage.

The poor Prisoners were cruelly handled. Amongst other there was one, whose Ear a Soldier of *Mondou*, in a raging fury, beat clean off, with these words, I will carry, said he, the flesh of this wicked Heretic with me into my Country. They of *Villars* also complained of the great Cruelty that was shewed unto them, during the time of the Agreement.

The which when the Lord of *Trinity* understood, to make a shew that he was offended therewith, he came to his Soldiers (which were so weary that they could faintly loaden with their fighting, but because they were so heavily laden with spoil, that they were not able to carry it) and pretending to be in great cholour, he rose to beat, and fane things also of a small value he caused to be retained, and the first was kept back and carried away. The same day two Women, the Mother and the Daughter, were found in a Cave in the Mountain, wounded to death by the Soldiers, and died immediately after. So likewise a blind Man, an hundred years of age, which was led by a Cave with his Son's Daughter being eighteen years old, which fell him, was slain by the Enemies, and as they would have forced the Maiden, the escaped from them, and fell from the top of the Mountain, and died.

At that time also a great Company of Women of *Talliers* and *Villars* were taken at their bed, with their Goods, and brought to the Camp, and sent away empty. There was at the same time a certain Soldier which promised the Lord of *Trinity* to find out the Minister of *Talliers*, and to deliver him into his own hands. And to bring his purpose to pass, he never ceased till he had found him, and after that he pursued him a long time. But as he was pursuing and chasing him, certain at unawares coming out of the Mountain, rescued the poor Minister, and killed the Soldier with stones.

But this especially is to be noted, that during their troubles divers of the Papists had sent their Daughters into the Mountains unto the *Waldos* to be kept, fearing lest they should have been ravished by the Soldiers, being wholly given over as to all Cruelty and Rapine, so to all Villany and Abomination, by whom they were before threatened to be abused.

All this being done, the said Lord of *Trinity* caused the Head Officers and chiefest of the People to assemble together, and declared unto them, that the maintaining of the Army was a great charge to the Duke, and that it was meet that they should bear the one half of the Charges. For this cause he demanded of them twenty thousand Crowns.

But by the means of the Secretary *Gallant*, who was for a Bribed a hundred thousand of his Wine (that is to say, for which he granted unto him sixteen thousand, of which Sum the Duke released the one half). Then the Lord of *Trinity* pressed this poor People to deliver the eight

thousand out of hand, to pay the Soldiers their Wages (as he said) and so to withdraw his Army. The year before Com was exceeding dear, for a Sack was commonly sold for six Crowns, yet, and for eight Crowns, and also they had very little Corn growing upon their Mountains: wherefore they were now very bare of Money. But they being in this perplexity, and defying nothing more than to live in peace and quietness, were about to tell their Cattel to pay this Money. But the Lord of *Trinity* had given out a Commandment, that none should buy any Cattel of the *Waldos* without his Licence. Then Licence was given out to certain to buy great herds of Cattel, and that for a small price, and the common bruit was, that he had part of the Gain. When the Money was paid, yet the Army notwithstanding retired not.

After this the Lord of *Trinity* commanded the *Waldos* to furnish up all their Armour to furnish the Duke's Forts, otherwise he threatened to send his Soldiers among them, and indeed he constrained many to do so. Then he demanded moreover the eight thousand Crowns, which the Duke had remitted, and constrained them to promise the payment thereof. After that, he commanded that the Ministers should be sent away, until the matter were determined by the Duke, otherwise he would send his Soldiers to dislodge them out of hand: whereupon, with one common assent and accord, they determined that their Ministers should withdraw themselves for a space, until the Army were retired; whereat the Ministers were marvellous Sigh, and Lamentation and Tears. At that season there fell such abundance of Snow, that the like had not been seen of a long time before: so that the People were constrained to make a Way with great travel and pain, through the top of the Mountain of *St. Martin*, for their Ministers to pass. Now thought the Lord of *Trinity* to have inclosed them, he keeping the plain, and the Mountains being covered so thick with Snow, that by no means they should have escaped thence. But the Ministers, without them to pass the top of the Mountain, and at their Departure there flocked out of every quarter great multitudes to the Village of *Baby*, and came together in a secret place, there called *le Pais*, not without great Grief and Sorrow; for they found them altogether in tears and mourning, and their Ministers should be taken from them, and they now left as Lambs amongst Wolves.

The Army was advertised that the Ministers were assembled together, and inclosed a great Troop of Harquebuses were at hand, which fought them with the very top of the Mountain, inasmuch that if they had remained there but one hour longer, they had been all taken. From that time for certain days after they did nothing, but range about in all places, seeking for the Ministers, and there was no House, Chamber, Cave, nor secret Corner into which they did not enter, under pretence to seek for the Ministers. There was neither Clief, nor any thing else so strong, but they brake it open, saying, that the Ministers were hidden therein, and by that means they took, spoiled, and carried away whatsoever they would.

The Lord of *Trinity* promised oftentimes, that also he were forbidden to all the Ministers to preach, yet the Minister of *Angrong* should be excepted; and furthermore, for the said Minister word, that if he would demand any thing of the Duke, it should be granted him. Whereupon the said Minister made this Request, That the poor People might live peaceably in their Religion. A while after, he sent for the same Minister to confer with him privately upon certain Points of Religion. The Minister went unto him, having thereto the content of the People. The Lord of *Trinity* propounded unto him three Points: The first concerning the Supremacy of the Pope; the other concerning Transubstantiation. Of the which two Points the Minister then immediately declared his Opinion, and he seemed to agree thereto, and required him to put the same in Writing. The last (which was his whole drift) was to persuade the Minister to go to the Duke's Court and there he to defend the Cause of the People, alleging certain Reasons, to persuade him to do so. Whereunto the Minister answered, that he was bound to God and his Church, and if it seemed convenient to the Ministers and People that he should go, he would be content to do the same, and thereof he promised to send an answer immediately, with the which answer he seemed to be contented.

Shortly

Shortly after, the forefild Lord, and tarrying for an answer, sent his Army to the Temple of St. Lawrence in Angrong, pretending to sing a Mass there, and suddenly the Soldiers besieged the Minister's house. The Minister being warned thereof, fled to escape. The Soldiers attempted nothing by force, but used gentle persuasions to the contrary, for there were not very many of them. But the Minister pushed on further, and the Soldiers followed him half a mile, but fearing the People, durst go no further. The Minister withdrew himself into the Rocks upon the Mountain, accompanied with five others. The Army was by and by at his heels, and fought a good while in the Houses and Cottages on every side, cruelly handling the People whom they took, to make them confess where their Minister was; polluting their Houses, taking from Priests, and beating other some; but yet they could not learn of them where their Minister was. At the length they epied him among the Rocks, where they thought to have enclosed him, and to they purified him in the Rocks, all covered with Snow, until it was night, and could not take him. Then they returned and spoiled his House, and diligently searched out all his Books and Writings, and carried them to the Lord of Trinity in a Sack, who caused them all to be burnt in his presence: suppling (as it well appeared) that the Letters which he had sent to Angrong, touching the Agreement, should be with the rest burnt, for he did not like the in the other Ministers Houses. That day they spoiled forty Houses in Angrong, broke their Mills, and carried away all the Corn and Meal that they found.

About midnight the Soldiers returned with Torch-light to the Minister's House, to seek him, and found every Corner. The next morning Communion was given to the Rulers of Angrong, that within twenty four hours they should deliver their Minister, or else Angrong should be put to the Fire and Sword. The Rulers answered, that they could not do so, for they were not where he was, and the Soldiers had chased him over the Mountain. After certain days, when the Soldiers had burned Houses, spoiled the People, broken their Mills, and done what mischief they could, the Army retired. Notwithstanding the Lord of Trinity left Garrisons in the forenamed Forts, where there dwelt six monks, and all that while of the Waldy; the which Garrisons, not contented with their Wages, spoiled continually. Upon a night five Soldiers went with Torches to a rich Man's House of Angrong, and spoiled the same. The good Man of the House hardly escaped with life by the top of the House, for there were twelve Pellets shot at his head. Whereon he touched his Face, and strook his Hat from his Head, without any further hurt.

The Rulers of Angrong, which were gone to the Forts to carry their Victuals and Money, were by the Soldiers retained, and in despite of them and the People caused a Mass to be sung before them, and forced them to be present at it: and because they would not kneel down to it, they were beaten almost to death. The one of them was sent again for more money; the other with great peril of his life leapt over the Walls, and being purified to Angrong, escaped.

Certain days after a certain company of Soldiers came unto the middle of Angrong, as tho they would have paid them, and called for Meat and Drink. The poor Men brought that they had eaten and drunk in a close Court. When they had eaten and drunken, they caused the Women to avoid, and then bound fourteen of those which had brought them Victuals, by two and two together, and led them away. Their Wives and Children perceiving this, so fiercely pursued them with stones, that they were fain to let go ten of their Prisoners for safe, and had much ado to save themselves. The other four they led away to the Forts; of the which two were ransomed: the other two were hanged up by the Feet and the Hands; and having tormented them almost to death, they released them for a great sum of money. The one of the which died the next night; the other lay sick without hope of life a long time after, and his bed fell from his hands and his feet, and therefore he became lame, and after that his fingers fell off also.

In like manner did the other Garrisons entreat the Waldyes adjoining unto them.

The Garrison of *Tours* and of *Villars*, being assembled together in a night, went to *Talliers*, to the place called *Bonnet*, and breaking in at the windows and tops of the houses, breaking open the doors, facking and spoiling all that they could by hand of, took also 14 Prisoners, and bound them two and two together by the Arms, and so led them to the Forts of *Tours*. But two which were escaped, whilst the Soldiers were taking others, let upon them which led the Prisoners, and so valiantly assaulted and beat them with stones, that they forced them to let go 12 of the Prisoners, the which tumbling and selling themselves down the Mountain, having their hands bound behind their backs, and fainted two and two together by the arms, were contented rather to die, than to be carried to the Forts; and yet in the end they escaped. The other two which were led to the Forts, were cruelly tormented, and in the end, the one of them the Captain fringed with his own hands, who was very young, and but a Child: The other which was about three score years of age, whose name was *Oldi Comet*, suffered a frange and cruel death: for when they had bound him, they took a kind of Beasts which live in Horse-dung, called in French *Rebarbe*, and put them into his Navel, covering them with a dith, which within short space pierced into his Belly, and killed him. There and the like, more than barbarous cruelties, have been revealed by the Soldiers themselves.

The poor *Waldy* were yet in great Captivity and distress, but especially because they had not the preaching of God's Word amongst them as they were wont to have, and therefore taking to them a good courage, they determined to begin preaching again, albeit secretly, for two principal causes: The one for fear of moving the Duke, and hindering the voyage of their Messengers, having yet some hope of good success. The other, that no occasion might be given to the Soldiers of further trouble and courage for that it was which they especially desired. Also they of Angrong were fully determined, as soon as their Messengers were returned from the Districts, having yet some hope, never they brought, were they good or evil; and furthermore, not to be Contributors to the finding of the Garrison, neither yet to suffer the fate to enter into Angrong.

The Messengers which were sent to the Duke, being at *Villars*, were there detained six weeks, and all that while were cruelly handled by the Popish Doctors, and were so flayed by force and violence to promise to return to the Mass. Furthermore, they would have constrained them to promise the same in the behalf of the rest, but they would not. After they were presented to the Duke, the Secretary *Gahane* took the Supplication of the *Waldy* out of the Messenger's hands, and delivered another. After they had presented themselves to the Duke, and asked pardon for bearing of Armour; they were constrained also to crave pardon of the Pope's Legat: at which the beginning they would in no case do. Now when these Messengers were returned, bringing these woful News, and the People understood that there was a new Commandment given out, that they should return to the Mass: also that the Popish Preachers were appointed, and ready to come unto them, and they commanded to go to fetch them and entertain them accordingly; there was wonderful lamentation, weeping, and moaning, for this great calamity.

Hereupon, they of the Valley of *Lufene* and of *Bohy*, being assembled together, by one assent sent two Ministers, with certain others, to the Churches of *Pragda* and *Bohy* (which be in the Country of *Dolphine*): to signify unto them the pitious estate of the poor Churches of the Valleys of *Piedmont*, to have their counsel and advice how to prevent the great dangers at hand if it were possible. For this cause they fell all to prayer and after they had long called upon God, defining his Grace and the spirit of discretion and counsel, well to consider of those weighty and urgent Affairs wherewith they were oppressed; in the end it was concluded, that all the People dwelling in the said Valleys and Mountains of *Piedmont*, and those of *Dolphine* should join in a league together. Whereupon they all promised by God's Grace and Alliance to maintain the pure preaching of the Gospel, and administration of the holy Sacraments: the one to aid and assist the other, and to render obedience to their Superiors, so far as they were commanded by the Word of God. Moreover, that it should be lawful

for none of the said Valleys to promise or conclude any thing touching the Estate of Religion, without the consent of the rest of the Valleys. And for more confirmation of the said League, certain of the Ministers and Elders of the Churches of *Dolphine* were sent to the Valley of *Lufene*, to signify unto them the good will of their content hereto, and ratify the same.

The Messengers, the Ministers and others of *Dolphine*, being arrived in the Evening at the Village of *Bohy*, and the People being there assembled, word was brought that the next day every Household should appear in the Council-house, to know whether they would return to the Mass or no; and that they which would receive the Mass, should quietly enjoy their Houses; and they which would not, should be delivered to the Justices, and condemned to be burned, or sent to the Gallies. Whereupon the People were renounced God. To this seemed to them well, if the great Snow had not let them: wherefore seeing themselves in such distress, they most gladly consented to the League, as we shall be obliged for to mention, to renounce and forsake our God, and revolt again to Idolatry, let us now make solemn protestation, that we will utterly forsake the false Religion of the Pope, and that we will live and die in the maintenance and confession of God's holy Word. Let us all go to possess into the Temple, to hear the Word of God, and after let us cast down to the ground all the Idols and Altars. To this every Man agreed, saying, Let us do so, yea, and that very same hour in the which they have appointed us to be at the Council-house.

The next day after they assembled themselves in the Church of *Bohy*, and as soon as they came into the Temple, without any further delay, they beat down the Images, and cast down the Altars. After the Sermon, they went to *Villars* to do the like there. By the way they encountered with a Band of Soldiers, which were going to possess a Village named *Le Vall Gaudier*, and at this time the poor Inhabitants of *Villars*. The Soldiers, seeing them so ill appointed, mocked them, and discharged their Hand-guns upon them, thinking at the first burnt to have put them to flight. But they valiantly defended themselves, and with fives chased them even to the Forts. When they came to *Villars*, they beat down their Images and Altars, and afterwards besieged the Forts, and demanded the Prisoners which were there detained.

The same day the Judge of *Lufene*, called *Podesta*, went to the Council-house, to enroll the Names of those which would return to the Mass; but seeing what was done, he was fain afraid, and desired the People to suffer him to return quietly, which they willingly granted unto him. Divers Gentlemen also of the Valley came thither with the Judge, to make their poor Tenants to forsake God; but seeing the Tumult, they were fain to flee into the Castle, where they and the Garrison were beloved ten days together, not without great danger of their Lives. The second day of the Siege, the Captain of *Tours* went with a Company of Soldiers, thinking to raise the Siege; but they were by much wiser than the third day. The fourth day he returned with three Bands, and with the Garrison of *Tours*, which caused a furious Combat, wherein many of the Enemies were slain, and a great number hurt, and yet of those that besieged the Fort was there not one Man hurt.

In the time of this Siege the poor Waldyes meant to take the life of their oppressors, but without Ordinance it was impossible for them to do so: wherefore they were now past all hope of winning it. Moreover, the Lord of *Trinity*, returning with his Army, was come to the Valley of *Lufene*, and the four when the Garrison (not knowing that the Lord of *Trinity* was so near) desired that they might depart with Bag and Baggage, they granted their request. In this Siege half of the Soldiers were slain, and many were hurt, as well with Harquebuses as with Stones. During this Siege, the Soldiers for lack of water were constrained to make their Breed with Wine, which corrupted their Stomachs, and caused great Difficulties. There is not to be forgotten, that the Soldiers, which a while before did so cruelly persecute the poor Ministers, seeking by all means possible to destroy them, were now fain to pray them to save their Lives, and

to promise them that they should have no hurt, and also to permit them to take a fire place; neither would they depart until they had promised them so to do. Which the Ministers did promise, and also performed very willingly. Then the Soldiers seeing themselves much better taken to the Ministers for gently dealing with them, gave them great thanks, and promised them in recompence thereof all the pleasure that they could convey them. The same night the Forts were razed.

The second day of February the Lord of *Trinity* came to *Lufene*, and placed a Garrison in the Priory of St. John, a Village of the *Waldy* between *Lufene* and *Angrong*. The next day in the morning the said Lord of *Trinity* went unto them of *Angrong*, that if they would not take part with the rest, they should be gently handled. All the week before they were followed by him to content to the same, but they would give no answer. The same day the Lord of *Angrong*, and the rest of the Valleys, fully agreed and determined to defend their Religion by force, and that the one should aid the other, and no agreement to be made by any one without the consent of the rest. About noon the Lord of *Trinity* marched with his Army from St. John, to enter into the Borders of *Angrong* by a place called *La Sennelle*, where they had fought before. The People had made certain Bulwarks of Earth and Stone, not past three foot high, where they defended themselves valiantly against their Enemies, which assailed them divers ways. When the Enemies were so weary that they could fight no longer, they put fresh Soldiers into their places; so that the Combat endured until night, and all that day the Army had not eaten since the Borders of *Angrong*. Many of the Enemies were slain, and a great number hurt: but two of *Angrong* slain, of whom the one was slain by his own fall, because he was too greedy upon the spoil. The Army, being now well beaten and tired, retired a while, to make themselves strong for another mischief.

The Friday following, which was the seventh of February, at the break of the day, the Army marched towards *Angrong* by five several places. The People of *Angrong* were not yet assembled, and none there were to resist, but only a few which kept the Watch: the which seeing their Enemies coming upon them in so many places, and perceiving that they went about to enclose them, after they had valiantly fought for a space, they recoiled by little and little to a high place called *La Caffa*, where the Combat was renewed with a greater heat than before. But the Lord of *Trinity* seeing the loss of his Men, and above all, the loss of one of great credit and authority in the Duke's Court, was wounded to death, by a retreat, and defended to *Angrong*, (the People being fled to the Meadow of *Tours*) and there spoiled and burnt all the Wines, Victuals, and the rest of the Goods that he could find; so that in a short space he had burned about a thousand Houses of *Angrong*.

And here is not to be forgotten, that they oftentimes fell fire upon the two Temples of *Angrong*, where the Word of God was preached, but they could never burn them. So did they also to the Minister's House, which notwithstanding remained whole, the Houses round about being all consumed with fire. This day none of *Angrong* was slain or hurt, having only one that was hurt in his thigh.

There were in all *Angrong* but two that were Enemies to the Word of God, which that same day were slain by the Soldiers not in the Combat, but for their riches which they had about them, as they were running away. The one of them was a very covetous Wretch, and had great store of Gold and Silver, and would spend nothing, either to help himself, or favour others, nor his poor Parents. All this was spoiled by the Soldiers, with a hundred or two hundred Groats besides, which he had about himself. Besides these two there was not one of *Angrong* slain that day. All the rest of the People retired to the Meadow of *Tours*, the situation whereof we will here declare, for the better understanding of that which follows.

*Tours* is a little Valley upon the Borders of *Angrong*, intervened about with Mountains, two miles in length, but very narrow. On both sides, and in the middle thereof, there be about a hundred small Houses or Cottages; also Meadows, Pastures for Cattel, Ground for Tillage, Trees, and goodly Fountains. On the South-side are the North Mountains of *Bohy*, that so Man can that way approach unto the said Valley. On the other coasts a Man

may enter by seven or eight ways. This place is not put two miles from *Angouers*: the way thither is very narrow, and ill to pass by because of the Hills which be cutthroes. There is also a River hard by, but very small, but the banks thereof be very high in many places. The People had carried thither very few Vahals, partly because the way was so ill, and also through the sudden return of the Army.

In the mean time the Lord of *Trinity*, after he had now twice assaulted *Angouers*, sent certain to him *Rafa*, and to discover the ways which led to the Valley of *Lufene*: but the Soldiers were driven back four days together by those which kept the Passages. Whereupon he sent his whole Army, whom they valiantly withstood from the morning till night. Then they of *Lufene* sent new Aid. During this Combat, an Ambushment of Soldiers descended from the top of the mountain a place far hard to pass by, that no man would have suspected it. The poor People, seeing themselves environed of their Enemies, fared themselves, some running through the midst of their Enemies, and other some into the Rocks.

The Enemies being entered into *Rafa*, consumed all with Fire and Sword. The residue of the People fled by the easy way leading to the Valley of *Lufene*, and wandered all that night upon the Mountains full of Snow, laden with their stuff, carrying their little Infants in their arms, and leading the other by the hands, with great pain and travel. When they of the Valley saw them, they ran to them, praising God for their deliverance, for they thought they had been all slain. Albeit this poor People were here in such great extremity, yet they were joyful, and comforted themselves, without any lamentation or mourning, except the little poor Infants which cried out for cold.

A few days after the Lord of *Trinity* entered into the Valley of *Lufene* by three several ways, that is to say, by *Rafa*, by the Plains, and by the fides of *Talliers*. They kept the Passages, as the first resisted their Enemies valiantly, but perceiving that they were assailed on every side, they retired to *Pillars*, and there defended themselves awhile. But because they saw that their Enemies had already passed the Plain, and gotten above *Pillars* towards *Boby*, they gave over, and left *Pillars*, and fled into the Mountains. The Soldiers being entered, burned Houses, and flew all that they could find. The poor People which were fled into the Mountains, seeing the Village on fire, praised God, and gave him thanks, that had made them worthy to suffer for his Name, and for his Cause: and also they were glad to see the Village on fire, lest that their Enemies should encamp there themselves. Then the Soldiers in great rage mounted the Hills on every side, pursuing the poor People in great fury: but a few of them, after they had utterly called upon God, took courage, and beat back their Enemies to *Pillars*. This done, the Army retired.

Few days after the Meadow of *Tours* was assaulted by three several ways on the East side. The Combat endured a long time, where divers of the Enemies were hurt, and many slain. But none of this poor People were slain that day, only two were hurt, which were soon healed again. But to declare the Conflicts, Assaults, Skirmishes, and Alarms, which was at *Angouers* and other places thereabouts, it were too long: for brevities sake it shall be sufficient to touch the most principal, and those which are most worthy of memory.

On Saturday, which was the 14th day of February, the People which were in the uppermost part of the Meadow of *Tours*, perceived that a Company of Soldiers were ascended up the Hill to *Angouers*, and burning the rest of the Houses there: they doubted that it was a policy of their Enemies to draw them thither, and in the mean time to set on them behind, and so to win the Meadow of *Tours* from them. Therefore they sent only six Harquebuses against those Soldiers: the which having the higher ground, and not aided of their Enemies, discharged all their Guns together. Whereupon incontinent the Soldiers fled, albeit no man pursued them: whether they fled of policy, or for fear, it was not known.

Shortly after they of the Ward of the Meadow of *Tours*, which were in the Watch on the top of the Mountain, (because every morning there was a Sermon made, whereunto the People resorted, and they might be afar off round about them) espied a Troop of Soldiers marching

on that side of the Hill which is between the East and the North, and soon after that discovered another Company, *Rafa*, and forthwith marched on the North side towards the fide of *Trinity*. The first were ascended an hour before the otherd fought on the top of the Mountain called *Melde*, but they were soon discomfited: and because they could not run fast by means of the deep Snow, and difficulty of the way, in fleeing they fell often down upon the ground. Whilth they that pursued them were candel in the chafe, and had taken from them their Drum, behold, there came certain unto them, crying out that the other Troop was entered into the Meadow of *Tours*, by means whereof they gave over the chafe, or else not one of their Enemies had escaped, as they which were there reported for a truth. Not one of *Angouers* was slain or hurt.

The other Troop which came by the North fide, took a high Hill in the top of the Mountain, the which seemed to be almost inaccessible, by reason of the Snow and Ice which was there. The chieft of this Company were *La-danich*, of *Montell*, (which had been before Master of the Camp in the King's Wars) and *Charles Truchet*. When they were come to the top of the Hill, they called seven Soldiers to go down the Hill, and to view the way, and to see whether the Troop might defend that way or no. These seven went down almost to the Houses. They sent also other to occupy the rest of the high places which were near to the foot of the Hill and the Rocks. In the mean time the Minstrels, and the People which were in the middle of the Valley of the Meadow, saw all this, and were much discouraged therewith: wherefore they fled to prayer, and called upon God ardently, without great sighs, lamentation and tears even until night.

The seven Spies which came down to discover the ways, cried unto their Captain *Treder*, Come down, come down. *Seigneur Charles*, this day *Angouers* shall be taken. The other cried to them again, *Ascend, ascend, and return, or else you shall be slain every one of you*. Immediately after these sayings, these Spies, and took certain, and chased the rest. The first of the five which fell upon them, cut two of them down upon the ground with a Fork of Fire. Soon after eight of *Angouers* issued out against the whole Troop, which was wonderful to see them go with such courage and boldness, so assailed with a multitude, and it seemed that they should have been all destroyed and hewn in pieces. The first of the eight went a good way before the other, to discover the Enemies, and carried a great Staff, which they call a *Rancon*, as is somewhat bigger than an Halbert: the other followed by two and two together, with Harquebuses. These eight went from Rock to Rock, from hill to hill, about the Mountain, and chased their Enemies valiantly. Then came twelve other, the which joining with the rest, fought with a wonderful courage and made great laughter of their Enemies. Soon after there came from the Valley of *Lufene* an hundred Harquebuses, with one of their Minstrels, according to their manner, which were wont to send out a Minstrel withal, as well for prayer and exhortation, as to keep the People in order, that they exceed not measure, as it came to pass that day.

At the length they saw them also coming which returned from the discomfiture of the former Troop, making a great noise, and having a Drum sounding afore them, which they had taken from their Enemies: which joined with them of the Valley of *Lufene*, and having made their earnest prayer unto God, immediately they came to succour the other which were valiantly fighting with their Enemies. Then the Enemies being such a Company marching against them, with such courage and boldness, after the other had once called upon God, their Hearts were to taken from them, that suddenly they fled, and as soon as the other began to pray, they began also to flee: But because they could not well save themselves by running away, they turned back round, and fought, and some in the mean time fled.

He that carried the *Rancon*, and discovered the Enemies, was but a very young man, and a simple Man, and he seemed to be one that could do nothing but (as they say) in their language) handle *La Sapa*, that is to say, a Harchet, and kept Cattel: and yet, with those that followed, he discomfited the Enemies, that it was wonderful to behold. He brake his great *Rancon* with laying load upon them;

and after that he broke also four of his own Swords in pursuing of them. There was a Boy of eighteen years of Age, and of small stature, which alone flew the Lord of *Montell*, Master of the Camp (as is said) to the King: wherewith the Enemies were marvelously abashed, and discouraged. Another simple Man, who a Man would have thought, durst not once have looked *Charles Truchet* in the face (because he was a very big Man, strong, and puffed, and one of the chiefest Captains of the whole Army) threw down the said *Truchet* with the broke of a Stone. Then a young Man leapt upon him, and flew him with his own sword, which was four fingers broad, and chafed his head in pieces.

This *Truchet* was one of the principal Authors of this War, and one of the chiefest Enemies of true Religion, and of the poor *Waldos*, that could not be found. There a also, that he vaunted and promised before to the said Lord of *Trinity*, that he would deliver into his hands the Meadow of *Tours*. But God soon brought his proud braggs to naught. And for his spoiling, pilling, and polling of the poor People, he lay spoiled and spoiled like a Beast in the wild Mountain of *Angouers*. Two of the chiefest among them offered to pay a great sum of Crowns for their Rancon, but they could not be heard. They were purified more than a mile, and were so discomfited, that they fled without any resistance, and if the night had not let them, they had pursued them further.

The Minstrel, when he saw the great effusion of Blood, and the Enemies to flee, cried to the People, saying, that it was enough, and exhorted them to give thanks unto God. They which heard him, obeyed, and took to prayer: but they which were further off, and heard him not, chafed their Enemies till dark night. Infomuch, that if the rest had done the like, very few of their Enemies had escaped. That day they had spoiled their Enemies of a great part of their Armour and Munition. So God returned in this Combat, and in others, to the poor *Waldos*, the Armour which they of *Trinity* had taken from them before. Thanks were given to God in every place: and every Man cried, who is he which feeds not that God fighteth for us? This Victory gave great courage to the poor *Waldos*, and greatly abated the Enemies.

The 8th day of February, The Lord of *Trinity* not satisfied with burning and destroying the greatest part of *Villars*, returned to burn all the little Villages round about, which pertained to the same, and especially to pursue the poor People, which were fled up into the Mountains, and dividing his Army into three parts, he entered by three several ways above mentioned. The two first Companies joined together between *Villars* and *Boby*, having a great Company of Horsemen. From thence they went to seek the People which were in the Mountains of *Combe*, by such a way as they did not suspect, and where there were no Wardens to defend the place. Notwithstanding, the Wardens which were next, seeing their Enemies ascending, that way, freely ran before them, and calling upon God for his aid and succour, they set themselves against their Enemies: and albeit they were but thirty in number, yet they valiantly beat them back twice, coming out of their Bulwarks, that is to say, certain Houses which at that time served them for that purpose, albeit they were not made to that use. Many of the Enemies were slain at those two Combats, and not one of the other side. The Lord of *Trinity*, seeing his loss so freely recovered back, sent out the greatest part of his Army, which were esteemed to be 15 hundred Men. There came also about an hundred to succour the Wardens. The Combat was very cruel and fierce. At length the poor People were assaulted so vehemently, that they were fain to forsake their Bulwarks, being two of their Men. Then the Enemies thought all to be theirs, and blew their Trumpets, triumphing that they had put the People to flight. But the People, retiring not past a stones cast, took courage, and crying altogether to the Lord for succour they turned themselves to the face of their Enemies, and with great force and power they haled stones at them with their hands.

After this the Enemies retired themselves a while, and by and by after they gave a furious assault, but they were again mightily retired. Yet once again the Enemies retired, and in the mean time the People fell to their stones, calling upon God altogether, with their faces lifted up towards Heaven; which frayed the Enemies more than any thing else. After this, they gave yet another great assault, but God by the hands of a few drove them back. Yet, God here showed his great Power, even in the little Children also, which fiercely fell upon God's Enemies, and at their Enemies, and gave courage also unto the Men. So did also the Women, and the vulgar sort, that is to say, those which were meet for no feats of War, remaining upon the Mountain: and beholding these furious Combats, knelt upon the ground, and having their faces lifted up towards Heaven, with tears and groanings they cried, *Lord help us*. Who heard their Prayers.

After that these three Assaults were given, there came one unto them crying: Be of good courage, God hath overcome *Angouers* to succour us. He meant, that they of *Angouers* were fighting for their Rancon, and that is to say, towards *Talliers*, where the third part of the Army was. The People perceiving that they of *Angouers* were come to that place to succour them, began to cry, Blessed be God, who hath sent us succour: they of *Angouers* be here to succour us. The Enemies hearing this, were abashed, and suddenly blew a Retreat, and retired into the Plain.

That Troop which was gone towards *Talliers*, divided themselves into three Companies. The first marched by the side of the Mountain, burning many Houses, and joined with the main Army. The second Company, which was of seven fives, marched higher, thinking to take the People at unawares. But they were by them soon thoroughly retired, and driven back. The third Company attained the top of the Mountain, thinking to force the People, but at God's word, they of *Angouers*, which came to succour them, encountered with them, and with great force put them to flight.

They of *Villars*, of whom mention is made before, after they had refreshed themselves with a little Bread and Wine, (for the most part of them had eaten nothing all that day) chased their Enemies till it was almost night, so fiercely, that the Matter of the Camp was fain to send to the Lord of *Trinity* (which was at *Tours*) for succour, or else all would have been lost. Which he did: and immediately he rode with all speed to *Lufene* to save himself, hearing the Alarm which was given at St. *Jehan* by those of *Angouers*, and fearing lest the way should have been stopped. The Army retired with great difficulty (notwithstanding the new Aid which was sent them) and with great loss of Men. One of their Captains confessed since, that if they had been purified any further, they had fled all that night long. Since that time they never returned again into the Valley of *Lufene*.

On Monday, being the 17th of March next following, the Lord of *Trinity*, to revenge of those of the Meadow of *Tours*, assaulted all the Force that he could make with the Gentlemen of the Country. Infomuch that whereas before his Army was commonly but four thousand, it was now between six and seven thousand: and secretly in the night fawn he encamped with part of his Army in the midst of *Angouers*, from whence the poor inhabitants were fled before. The next morning, after the Sermon and Prayers were ended, they perceived the other part of the Army to be encamped at the foot of the Mountain of *Angouers* on the East side. Soon after they perceived how both parts of the Army had taken the Hills side, the one towards the other, being such a multitude, so glittering in their Harms, and marching in such array, that the poor People at the first were astonished thereunto. Notwithstanding, the Affirming fell down upon their knees three or four times, crying, Help us O Lord: beseeching him to have regard to the glory of his holy Name, so to stay the effusion of Blood, if it were his good pleasure, and to turn the hearts of their Enemies to the match of his holy Gospel. These two parts of the Army joined together near to the Bulwarks of the Meadow of *Tours*, and gave the assault in three several places. One of the Bands mounted secretly by the Rocks, thinking to have inclosed the People in their Bulwarks. But as soon as they which kept the Bulwark below had espied them, they forsook the place and marched straight towards them, and as they marched, they met with the Aid which was sent unto them from the Valley of *Lufene*, very luckily, and coming as it were from Heaven: which joining together, soon discomfited their Enemies with stones and Harque-

The Enemies slain down back.

The poor Christians run through themselves, some running through the midst of their Enemies, and other some into the Rocks.

The Angouers slain with their young Infants fled into the Mountains.

The Waldos slain by the Lord of Trinity.

David with his sling killed the King.

The cruelty exercised toward the plainst his poor People, especially in this fury.

God fighteth for the poor.

Prayers sent up to succour the poor.

The courage of the People against their Enemies.

A Conflict between the Angouers and the Waldos.

The Waldos again after their Enemies back.

The wicked threat which the Waldos made.

The Angouers slain in prayer.

The march of the Lord.

Then the Soldiers made certain Fences of wood, five foot long, three foot broad, and of the thickness of the boards; but they were to fore-vested with the foot of the Harquebuses, that they were to be ready to strike the Enemies as they came to the Earth for the Soldiers. But all these Policies of the Enemies availed them nothing: At the slaughter was so great, that in divers places you might have seen three lying dead one upon another. God wrought with the Arms of the Christians, that they might overcome the Enemies. It was said for a certain, that a shot of an Harquebus came near the Lord of *Trinité*, that head, that it brake a Wand which he bare in his hand, and made him to retire fiftore paces backward; and retired he saw his Soldiers, that they were not hurt, and he returned to his Stand on every side, he went betterly. Then he retired to his Army. That day he thought sufficiently to have entered into the Meadow of *Tou-Morever* he was determined, that if that day journey had not succeeded, to incamp there that night, and to move on the morrow. But the Lord of *Trinité* Many Gentlemen and others came thither to see the continuance of the peace *Walding*; and likewise those of the Plain looked to *Walding*; but to hear the procreant and declaration of this; the Lord of *Trinité* had much ado to save himself and his; and being the mischief which they incurred

After that, the Lord of Trinity sent two Gentlemen of the Valley of *Lulerne* to them of *Angreigne*, to feel them if they would come to any agreement. To whom answer

Scarceness  
of  
Visuals  
among the  
Anglo-  
God's  
towards  
People.

After this, the Lord of Trinity, having left certain Garrigons about *Angrege* and the Valley of *Lufrene*, went to *Perpouls* near to the Valley of *St. Martin*, to succour the Garigons there, being in great numbers, who there remained twelve months. At what time, they of *Angrege*, and the Valley of *Lufrene* lived in more quietness than afore: but yet they were much afflicted, by reason of the scarcity of Victuals which fore preyed them, and namely those of the Meadow of *Tours*, for they were spoiled of their Victuals. This poor People lived with Milk and with Herbs, and were so much afflicted, that they were ready to die, even like to be famished. God of his goodnefs sent them better victuals, both of Corn and Bread than they had before. The Enemies thought to have taken the Meadow of *Tours* by Famine: for they took away the Victuals that were to be had in all places round about. Every Household was just as if they had no more victuals left, and so they remained in that state for very little time, to the end that they should not succour this poor People.

Within a few days after, they of *Angoune* were advertised by the Lord of *Trinity's* Letters, that he fully determined to cut down their Trees and Vines, and destroy their Corn being on the ground. And furthermore, that two Forts should be built at *Angoune*. The day was set, and the Hofenien appointed, with all speed to execute this mischief, and enter the Country. But when they saw they should be assailed as free as ever they were, and fight as hard as ever they did before. But God prevented this cruel attempt; for the night before that this should be executed, the Lord of *Trinity* received certain Letters from the Duke, who had enterprise, they of the Meadow of *Tours* were being overthrown, that the Duke of *Angoune* now intended to send Ordnance to beat down the Balwarks which were made of Stones, they made a Balwark of Earth, which was in compass about 500 paces which they might easily flee from. *Luzerne*, they in the Meadow of *Tours* told the Lord of *Trinity's* Men, that if they brought any Artillery, they thought









## The Conclusion.

K. Hen. 8.

The Contents of the Book following.

Antichrist here hid, and now revealed.

Having thus comprehended the Troubles and Persecutions of such godly Saints, and blessed Martyrs, which have suffered in other Foreign Nations above mentioned: here now ending with them, and beginning the eighth Book, we are, God willing, to return again to our own Matters, and to prosecute such Acts and Records, as to our own Country of England do appertain. In the process whereof, among many other things, may appear the marvellous Work of God's Power and Mercy in suppressing and bringing out of this Realm, the long usurped Supremacy of the Pope: also in subverting and overthrowing the Houses of Monks and Friars, with divers other matters appertaining to the Reformation of Christ's true Church and Religion. All which things as they have been long wished, and greatly groaned for in times past of many godly learned Men: so much more ought we now to rejoice and give God thanks, seeing these days of Reformation which God hath given us. If John Husse, or good Jerome of Prague, or John Wickliffe before them both, or William Brute, Thorpe, Swinderby, or the Lord Cobham; If Zisca with all the Company of the Bohemians; if the Earl Reymundus, with all the Tholossians; if the Waldos, or the Albigenses, with infinite other, had been either in these our Times now, or else had seen then this ruin of the Pope, and revealing of Antichrist, which the Lord now hath dispensed unto us, what joy and triumph would they have made! Wherefore now beholding that thing which they so long time have wished for, let us not think the benefit to be small, but render therefore most humble thanks to the Lord our God: who by his mighty Power, and the brightness of his Word, hath revealed this great Enemy of his so manifestly to the eyes of all Men, who before was hid in the Church so colourably, that almost few Christians could espy him. For who would ever have judged or suspected in his mind, the Bishop of Rome (commonly received and believed, almost of all Men, to be the Vicar and Viceroy of Christ here in Earth) to be Antichrist, and the great Adversary of God, whom St. Paul so expressly prophesied of in these latter days to be revealed by the brightness of the Lord's coming, as all Men now for the most part may see it is come to pass? Wherefore to the Lord, and Father of Lights, who revealeth all things in his due time, be praise and glory for ever. Amen.

## The End of the Seventh Book.

[PRINTED  
IN 1558.]

# THE EIGHTH BOOK.

CONTINUING

The History of English matters appertaining to both States, as well Ecclesiastical, as Civil and Temporal.

Martyrs of Coventry.

With Smith, Robert Hatches, a Shoemaker, Hawkins a Shoemaker, Thomas Bond a Shoemaker, Wriggham a Glover, Landiside a Hofer.

Persecutors.

Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

Mistress Smith, Widow.  
Robert Hatches a Shoemaker.  
Hawkins a Shoemaker.  
Thomas Bond a Shoemaker.  
Wriggham a Glover.  
Landiside a Hofer.  
At Coventry Anno 1519.

Simon Mounton, the Bishop of Sumner.

The Lords Bishops English Prelates of the English.

The Bishop of Coventry.

Persecutors.

Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

Frier Stafford Warden.

miles from Coventry. During which time their Children were sent for to Gray-Friers in Coventry, before the Warden of the said Friars, called Frier Stafford: who shortly examining them of their Belief, and what Heresies their Fathers had taught them, charged them upon pain of suffering such death as their Fathers should, in no wise to meddle any more with the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and Commandments in English.

When done, upon Palm-Sunday the Fathers of these Children were brought back again to Coventry, and there the Week next before Easter were condemned for relapse (because most of them had born Fagots in the same City before) to be burned.

Only Mistress Smith was dismissed for that present, and sent away. And

Seven godly Martyrs burned in Coventry.



because it was in the evening, being somewhat dark, as the should go home, the forsaide Simon Mounton the Sumner offered him self to go home

with her. Now as he was leading her by the Arm, and heard the raling of a Scrol within her Sleeve: Yes, saith he, what have ye here? And







Faith extollet God and his deeds.  
Incredulity extollet her self and her own deeds.

### Of Hope.

**H**ope is a trusty looking after the thing that is promised us to come as we hope after the everlasting Joy, which Christ hath promised unto all that believe in him.

*We should put our hope and trust in God alone, and in no other thing.*

**I**t is good to trust in God and not in man, *Psal. 118.*

He that trusteth in his own heart is a Fool, *Prov. 28.*

It is good to trust in God, and not in Princes, *Psal. 118.*

They shall be like unto the Images which they make, and all that trust in them, *Psal. 115.*

He that trusteth in his own thoughts doth ungodly, *Prov. 12.*

Confid is he that trusteth in man, *Jer. 17.*

Did the rich men of this World that they trust not in their unstable riches, but that they trust in the living God, *1 Tim. 6.*

It is bad for them that trust in money to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, *Luke 18.*

Moreover we should trust in him only, that may help us, God only may help us, therefore we should trust in him only.

Well are they that trust in God, and woe to them that trust not in him, *Psal. 2.*

Well is that man that trusteth in God, for God shall be his trust, *Psal. 14.*

He that trusteth in him shall understand the verity, *Sap. 3.*

They shall rejoice that trust in thee: they shall ever be glad, and thou wilt defend them, *Psal. 5.*

### Of Charity.

**C**harity is the love of thy Neighbour. The rule of Charity is this: Do as thou wouldst be done to: for Christ loveth all alike, the Rich, the Poor, the Friend and the Foe, the Thankful and Unthankful, the Kinsman and Stranger.

### A Comparison between Faith, Hope, and Charity.

**F**aith cometh of the Word of God, Hope cometh of Faith, and Charity springeth of them both.

Faith beareth the Word, Hope trusteth after that that is promised by the Word, Charity doth good unto her Neighbour, through the love that it hath to God, and gladness that is within her self.

Faith looketh to God and his Word; Hope looketh unto his Gift and Reward; Charity looketh to her Neighbours profit.

Faith receiveth God; Hope receiveth his Reward; Charity loveth her Neighbour with a glad heart, and that without any respect of reward.

Faith pertaineth to God only; Hope to his Reward, and Charity to her Neighbour.

### The Doctrine of Works.

#### No manner of Works make us righteous.

**W**E believe that a man shall be justified without Works, *Rom. 3.*

No man is justified by the deeds of the Law, but by the Faith of Jesus Christ, and we believe in Jesus Christ that he may be justified by the Faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the Law: for if righteousness come by the Law, then died Christ in vain, *Gal.*

That no man is justified by the Law is manifest: for *Ad. 17.* righteous man liveth by his Faith, but the Law is not of Faith.

Moreover, God Christ is the Maker of Heaven and Earth,

and all that is therein, behoved to die for us, we are compelled to grant that we were so far down and finken in sin, that neither our deeds, nor all the Treasures that ever God made or might make, could have holpen us out of them: therefore, no Deeds or Works may make us righteous.

#### No Works make us unrighteous.

**F**any evil Works make us unrighteous; then the contrary Works should make us righteous. But it is proved that no Works can make us righteous: therefore no Works make us unrighteous.

#### Works makes us neither good nor evil.

**I**t is proved that Works neither make us righteous nor unrighteous: therefore no Works make us either good or evil; for righteous and good are one thing, and unrighteous and evil likewise one.

Good works make not a good man, nor evil works an evil man: but a good man bringeth forth good works, and an evil man evil works.

Good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil: But a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit.

A good man cannot do evil works, nor an evil man good works: for a good tree cannot bear evil fruit, nor an evil tree good fruit.

A man is good ere he do good works, and evil ere he do evil works: for the tree is good ere it bear good fruit, and evil ere it bear evil fruit.

#### Every man, and the works of man, are either good or evil.

**E**very tree, and the fruits thereof, are either good or evil. Either make ye the tree good, and the fruit good also, or else make the tree evil, and the fruit of it likewise evil, *Mat. 12.*

A good man is known by his works: for a good man doth good works, and an evil man evil works. *Th. shall know them by their fruit:* for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A man is likened to the tree, and his works to the fruit of the tree.

Beware of the false Prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves: *Th. shall know them by their fruits, Luke 7.*

#### None of our Works either save us or condemn us.

**I**f works make us neither righteous nor unrighteous, then Objection. thou wilt say, It maketh no matter what we do. I answer, If thou do evil, it is a fine argument that thou art unrighteous, and wantest Faith. If thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and hast Faith: for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. Yet good fruit makes not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil: so that man is good ere he do good deeds, and evil ere he do evil deeds.

#### The man is the tree, his works are the fruit.

**F**aith maketh the good tree, and Incredulity the evil tree: such a tree, such fruit; such a man, such works.

For all things that are done in Faith please God, and are good works: and all that are done without Faith displease God, and are evil works.

Whoever believeth or thinketh to be saved by his works, denieth that Christ is his Saviour, that Christ died for him, and all things that pertain to Christ. For how can he thy Saviour, if thou mightest save thyself by thy works: or whoso should he die for thee, if any mights might have saved thee?

What is this to say, Christ died for thee? Verily that thou shouldst have died perpetually; and Christ to deliver thee from death died for thee, and changed thy perpetual death, into his own death: for thou madest the fault, and he sufficed the pain, and that for the love he had to thee before thou wast born, when thou hadst done neither good nor evil.

Now

**KING.** Now seeing he hath paid thy debt, thou needest not, neither canst thou pay it; but shouldst be damned if thy blood were not. But lieth he punished for thee, thou shalt not be punished.

Finally, he hath delivered thee from thy condemnation and all evil, and delivereth nought of thee, but that thou wilt acknowledge what he hath done for thee, and bear it in mind, and that thou wouldst help other for his sake both in word and deed, even as he hath holpen thee for nought, as without Reward.

O how ready would we be to help other, if we knew his goodness and gentleness towards us, he is a good and a gentle Lord, for he doth all for nought. Let us, I beseech you, therefore follow his footsteps, whom all the World ought to praise and worship. Amen.

**C** He that thinketh to be saved by his Works calleth himself Christ.

**F**or he calleth himself the Saviour, which pertaineth to Christ only.

What is a Saviour, but he that saveth? and he faith, I saved my self, which is as much to say as, I am Christ; for Christ only is the Saviour of the World.

**C** We should do no good Works for the intent to get the Inheritance of Heaven, or remission of sin.

**F**or whosoever believeth to get the Inheritance of Heaven, or Remission of Sin, through Works, he believeth not to get the same for Christs sake; and they that believe not that their sins are forgiven them, and that they shall be saved for Christs sake, they believe not the Gospel: for the Gospel faith, *Th. shall be saved for Christs sake, your sins are forgiven for Christs sake.*

He that believeth not the Gospel, believeth not God. So it followeth, that they which believe to be saved by their works, or to get remission of their sins by their own deeds, believe not God, but account him as a Liar, and so utterly deny him to be God.

### Objection.

Thou wilt say, Shall we then do no good deeds?

### Answer.

I say not so, but I say we should do no good Works to the intent to get the Inheritance of Heaven, or Remission of Sin. For if we believe to get the Inheritance of Heaven through good Works, then we believe not to get it, but through the promise of God. Or if we think to get Remission of our Sins by our deeds, then we believe not that they are forgiven us, and we count God a Liar. For God faith, *Th. shall know the Inheritance of Heaven for my Sons sake: Thy sins are forgiven thee for my Sons sake:* and you say it is not so, *But I will win it through my Works.*

Thus you see I condemn not good deeds, but I condemn the false trust in any works; for all the works wherein a man putteth any confidence, are therewith poisoned, and become evil.

Wherefore thou must do good works, but beware thou do them not to deserve any good through them; for if thou do, thou receivest the good not as the Gifts of God, but as debt to thee, and maketh thy self Fellow with God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought. And what needeth he any thing of thine, which giveth all things, and is not the poorer?

Therefore do nothing to him, but take of him, for he is a gentle Lord, and with a gladder will give us all that we need, than we can take it of him; if then we want ought, let us thank our selves.

Pre's not therefore to the Inheritance of Heaven through preemption of thy good works; for if thou do, thou countest thy self holy and equal to God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought; and so that thou shalt as Lucifer fell for his pride.

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### Certain brief Notes or Declarations upon the foreaid places of Matter Patrick.

**T**his little Treatise of Matter Patricks Places, albeit Notes in quantity is but short, yet in effect is comprehendeth matter able to fill large Volumes, declaring to us the true Doctrine of the Law, of the Gospel, of Faith, and of Works, with the nature and properties, and also the difference of the same. Which difference is thus to be understood, that in the cause of Salvation, in the office of justifying, they are to be removed and separated afresh, they are to be Law from the Gospel, and Faith from Works: otherwise in the person that is justified, and also in order of bequeathed Doctrine, they ought commonly to go necessarily together.

Therefore, whosoever any question, or doubt, or doubt of Salvation, or our justifying before God, there the Law and all good works must be utterly excluded and stand apart, that Grace may appear free, the promise simple, and that Faith may stand alone, which Faith alone without Law or Works, worketh to every man particularly his Salvation, through mere promise, and the free Grace of God. This word particularly, I add, for the particular certifying of every mans heart, privately and peculiarly, that believeth in Christ. For as the Body of Christ is the efficient of the redemption of the whole World in general, so is Faith the instrumental cause, by which every man is justified.

He that believeth in Christ, particularly to his own Salvation. So that in the action and office of justification, both Law and Works here be utterly excluded and exempted, as things having nothing to do in this behalf. The reason is this, for seeing that all our Redemption universally springs only from the Body of the Son of God crucified, then it is nothing that can stand us in stead, but that only wherewith this Body of Christ is apprehended. Now, so far as we are as the Law or Works, but Faith is the thing which apprehendeth the Body and Death of Christ, therefore Faith only is that matter which justifies every Soul before God, through the strength of that object which is death apprehended. For the object only of our Faith is the Body of Christ, like as the brazen Serpent was the object only of the eyes of the Misseties looking, and not of their hands working: by the strength of which object, through the promise of God, immediately proceeded health to the bidders. So the Body of Christ, being the object of our Faith, bringeth righteousness to our Souls, not through working, but believing only.

Thus you see how Faith, being the only eye of our Souls, standeth alone with her object in case of justifying; but yet necessarily, in the body the standeth not alone: for as the eye, there be also Hands to work, Feet to walk, Ears to hear, and other Members more, every one convenient for the service of the Body, and yet there is none of them all that can see, but only the eye. So in a Christian mans life, and in order of Doctrine, there is the Law, there is Repentance, there is Hope, Charity, and death of Charity; all which in Life and in Doctrine are joined, and necessarily do concur together, and yet in the action of justifying there is nothing else in man, that hath any part or place but only Faith apprehending the Object, which is the Body of Christ. Yet for as much as, in whom consisteth all the worthiness and fulness of our Salvation, by Faith: that is, by our apprehending and receiving of him, as many as it is written, John 1. Whosoever received him he gave them power to be made the Sons of God, to as yet even all such as believed in his Name, &c. Also Eley 53. John 1. And this Servant of mine in the knowledge of him shall justify many, &c.

### Arguments.

**De-** Apprehending and receiving of Christ only maketh us justified before God, *John 1.*

**ii-** Christ only is apprehended and received by Faith.

**ff.** Ergo, Faith only maketh us justified before God.

### Argument.







Persecutors. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

literally to worship the true living 'God, in spirit and truth': Where, as he was occupied in a Book of *English Prayers*, and so sitting upon a Sill by the Woods side, it chanced that one did spy him where he was, and came in great hate to the Officers of the Town, declaring, that he had seen *Harding* in the Woods looking on a Book. Whereupon immediately a rude Rabble of them, like mad men, ran desperately to his house to search for Books and in fardling went to nigh, that under the Boards of his Floor they found certain *English Books* of holy Scripture. Whereupon this godly Father, with his Books, was brought before *John Longland*, Bishop of *Lancaster* then living at *Wicham*.

Father *Harding* to examination, began to reason with him, proceeding rather with checks and rebukes than with any found arguments. *Thomas Harding*, seeing their folly and rude behaviour, gave them but few words, but rising his hands in the Lord, did let them say what they would. Thus at last they lent him to the Billets Prison, called *little-cage*, where he did lie with hunger and pain enough for a certain space, till at length the Bishop, sitting in his Tribunal Seat like a Porcuke, condemned him for relapse to be burned to ashes, committing the charge and oversight of his Martyrdom to *Roland Melinger*, Vicar of great *Wicham*.

Which *Roland* at the day appointed, with a rabble of other like to himself, brought Father *Harding* to *Chesham* again. Where, the next day after his return, the said *Roland* made a Sermon in *Chesham Church*, causing *Thomas Harding* to stand before him all the preaching time: which Sermon was nothing else, but the maintaining of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Rome*, and of the state of his Apostolical See, with the idolatry, fancies and traditions belonging unto the same. Where the Sermon was ended, *Roland* took him up to the high Altar, and asked, whether he believed that in the Bread, after the consecration, there remained any other substance than the substance of Christs natural Body born of the virgin Mary. To this *Thomas Harding* answered, *The Articles of our Belief do teach us, That our Saviour Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and that he suffered death under Pilate, and rose from death the third day; that he then ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God in the glory of his Father.*

Then was he brought into a mansehouse in the Town, where he remained all night in prayer and godly meditations. So the next morning came the foresaid *Roland* again, about ten of the Clock, with a company of Bells and Staves, to lead this godly Father to his burning. Whom a great number both of men and women did follow. Of whom many bewailed his death, and contrary, the wicked rejoiced thereat. He was brought forth, having thrust in his hands a little Crois of wood, but no Idol upon it. Then he was chained unto the Stake, and desired the people to pray for him, and forgiving all his enemies and persecutors, he commended his Spirit to God, and took his death most patiently and quietly, lifting up his hands to Heaven, saying, *Jesus, receive my Spirit.*

When they had let him down, there was one that drew a Billet at him, and dashed out his Brains: a work purpose he so did, it is not known: but as it was supposed, that he might have forty days of pardon, as the Proclamation was made at the burning of *William Thoresworth* above mentioned: whereas Proclamation was made the same time, *That whosoever did bring a Page or a Stake to the burning of an Heretic should have forty days of pardon.* Whereby many ignorant people caused many of their children to bear Billets and Fagots to their burning.

In time, when the Sacrifice and Burn-offering of this godly Martyr was finished, and he burnt to ashes, in the *Dell*, going to *Barley*, at the North end of the Town of *Chesham*, *Roland* the Ruler of the roil, commanding silence, and thinking to fend the people away with an *Ita, misse est*, with a loud voice

Th. Harding  
in the little  
cage, the Bil-  
lets Prison.

Th. Harding  
condemned.

The Faith  
and Constancy  
of Th. Harding.

The patient  
death and  
Martyrdom  
of Th. Har-  
ding.

40 days of  
pardon for  
bringing  
Fagots to  
burn good  
men.

Persecutors. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

fied to the people these words, not advising belike, what his Tongue did speak, *Good People, when ye come home, do not say that you have been at the burning of an Heretic, but of a good true Christian man, and so they departed to Dinner, *Roland* with the Rabble of other Priests much rejoicing at the burning of this good man. After Dinner he went to Church to Evening, because it was *Corpus Christi*. Even, where they fell to finging and chanting, with ringing and piping of the Organs. Well was he that could reach the highest Note, in so much did they rejoice at this goods mans burning. He should have been burned on the *affension* Even, but the matter was deferred unto the Even of *Corpus Christi*, because they would honour their breads Meas with a bloody Sacrifice. Thus *Thomas Harding* was consumed to ashes, he being of the age of sixty years and above. *Ex Iustitiam Scrip. Civium Amarjosephum.**

I find in the Records of *Lincoln*, about the same time, and in the said Country of *Buckinghamshire*, in the which the foresaid *Thomas Harding* did suffer, that divers other for the like Doctrine were molested and troubled, whose names with their causes hereunder followeth.

Mistress Alice Doly.

Elizabeth Wigthill.

Dr. London.

*Elizabeth Wigthill* being brought before Doctor *London*, in the Patience at *Stannett Harcourt*, and there put by her Oath, deposed against Mistress *Alice Doly* her Mistress. That the said Mistress *Doly*, preaching of *John Hacker* of *Colemanstreet* in *London*, *Water-beaver*, said, *That he was very expert in the Gospels, and all other things belonging to Divines Service, and could expound and declare it, and the Rector notes in English, as well as any Priest, and it would do him one good to hear him: saying moreover, That she would in no case that this were known, for burning the poor man's commanding rance over the said *Elizabeth*, that the should tell no man hereof; affirming at that same time, that the foresaid *Hacker* could tell of divers Prophecies, what should happen in the Realm.*

Over and besides, the foresumed *Elizabeth* deposed, That the said Mistress *Doly* her Mistress shewed unto her, that she had a Book which held against Pilgrimages; and after that, she caused Sir *John Barth Parson* of *Brinsford*, to read upon a Book which he called *Legenda aurea*: and one Saints life he read which did speak against Pilgrimages. And after that was read, her Mistress said unto her, *Lo Daughters, now ye may hear as I told you, that this Book speaks against Pilgrimages.*

Furthermore, it was deposed against Mistress *Doly* by the said *Elizabeth*, that he being at Sir *William Barentons* place, and seeing there in the Glasse Images new gilded, said to the said *Elizabeth*, *Look here be my Lady Barentens Gods.* To whom the said *Elizabeth* answered again, *That they were set for remembrance of good Saints.* Then said she, *If I were in an house where no Images were, I could remember to pray unto Saints as well as if I did see Images.* Nay (said the other) Images do provoke devotion.

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Persecutors. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

Then said her Mistress, *It should not worship that thing that hath ears and cannot hear, and hath eyes and cannot see, and hath mouth and cannot speak, and hath hands and cannot feel.*

Item, The said Mistress *Doly* was reported by the said party to have a Book containing the 12 Articles of the Creed, covered with books and covered. Also another black Book, which the first most price by, which Book the keeper ever in her Chamber, or in her Coffin, with divers other Books. And this was about the year of our Lord 1520. *Ex Registre Lincoln.*

¶ Note here, good Reader, in this time, which was above 46 years ago, what good matter there was to accuse and molest good Women.

Roger Hachman, at Northfok in Ox-fordshire, Anno 1525.

Against this Roger Hachman it was laid by Depositions brought in, That he sitting at the Church-door of *Northfok*, said these words, *I will never look to be saved for any good deed that ever I did, neither for any that ever I will do, unless I may have my salvation by Passion, as our Outlaw shall have his pardon of the King; and said, That if he might not have his salvation, he thought he should be lost.* *Ex Registre Lincoln.*

Tho. Ferrar.

Robert Woff, Priest of Saint Andrew Underwall, at London, Anno 1529.

Against this Robert Woff Priest, it was upon the Record, that he had commended Martin Luther, and thought that he had done well in many things, as in having Wife and Children, &c.

Item, For saying, *That whereas the Doctors of the Church have commanded Priests to say Matins and Evensong, they had no authority to do so.* For the which he was abjured, and was enjoined Penance. *Ex Registre.*

John Ryburn, at Roffborough, Anno 1530.

It was testified against John Ryburn, by his Sister Elizabeth Ryburn, being put by her Oath. That the coming to him at supper with Butter and Eggs, and being bid to sit down and eat with him, the answered, that it was no convenient time then to eat. To whom he said again, *That God never made flesh fasting days; but you (quoth he) are so far in Limbo Patrum, that you can never turn again.* And in further communication, when the said that the would go on Pilgrimage to the holy Crois at *Jerusalem*, he said against that the said night: *For there is never a step (said he) that you sit in going on Pilgrimage, but you go to the Devils; and you go to Church to worship that the Priest doth hold above his head, which is but bread; and if you cast it in the Mouth he will eat it; and said, that he would never believe that the Priest hath power to make his Lord.*

Dr. Morgan.

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Item, It was testified by another

R. Hach-  
man was  
sent.

Will. Smith,  
of North-  
fok in Ox-  
fordshire.

Tho. Ferrar.

Roger Woff,  
Priest of Saint  
Andrew  
Underwall, at  
London,  
Anno 1529.

Dr. Whar-  
ton,  
Chancellor  
Touffail Bi-  
shop of Lon-  
don.

John Ryburn  
was sent.

Dr. Morgan.

Persecutors. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

Sister named *Alice Ryburn*, That she, being with her Brother in a Cloak called *Brimmers-Cloak*, heard him say these words, *That a man shall come when no clearest on shall be made.* Whereunto the answering again asked, *And what service shall we have then?* He said, *That Service that we have now.* Furthermore, the said *John Ryburn* was accused upon their words, for saying that the service of the Church was naught, because it was not in English: For, said he, *If we had our Pater noster in English, we would say it nine times against once now, &c.* *Ex Registre Lincoln. Fol. 300.*

¶ Note here out of the Records of the Register, that in this Examination of *John Ryburn*, with his two Sisters, then his own Wife, and at last his own Father were called before *John Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and compelled by Oath to depose against him.

John Eaton, Cicely his Wife, at Roffborough, Anno 1530.

*John Eaton*, and Cicely his Wife, of the Parish of *Spin*, were detected by *Richard Ryburn*, That they were married certain in the Parish on the Sunday then last past, in the facing time, to hold down their heads, and would not look upon the Sacrament.

Item, In the Feast of *Evaluation* of the holy Crois, when the Bells did ring solemnly, between *Mattens* and high Mass, for saying in a Butchers house *What a Clapping of Bells is heard!* The said *John Ryburn* was detected of *Richard* his Father, for saying these words, *The Priests do naught, for they should say their Service in English, that every man may know it.*

Item, For these words (speaking to one of his Sisters, *That the Sacrament of the Altar is not as they take it to be. But if it be, as I trust, we shall see more of them hidden up, one of these days, over the Priests head, &c.*

Item, For saying, *That the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ hath made satisfaction for all ill deeds that have been done, or should be done, and therefore it was no need to go on Pilgrimage.* It was also laid to his charge, and confessed by himself, *That he had Jesus Gospels in English, and that he was present in the House of John Taylor, when one John Simons read to them a Lecture out of the Gospel of the Passion of Christ, the Pass of two hours.*

Item, For saying, *That Images were but Idols, and it was idleness to pray to them.*

For saying moreover, *That at fasting time he fasted down, but he had no devotion, nor belief in the Sacrament.* Item, *That the Popes authority and pardon, cannot help mans soul, and it was but casting away money, that is given for pardon; for if we ask pardon of our Lord Jesus, he will give us pardon every day.*

Item, For saying, *That at fasting time he fasted down, but he had no devotion, nor belief in the Sacrament.*

Item, *That the Popes authority and pardon, cannot help mans soul, and it was but casting away money, that is given for pardon; for if we ask pardon of our Lord Jesus, he will give us pardon every day.*

*Thomas Lound* Priest, who had been with *Luther* two years, being afterward cast into the Fleet at *London*, was a great instructor of this *John Ryburn*.

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Sister A-  
lice Ryburn  
then Wife  
against  
Richard.

Ryburn and  
Cicely his  
Wife.

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Persecutors.

Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

John Simonds.

It was laid against *John Simonds*, for saying that men do walk all day in Purgatory in this world, and when they depart out of this world, there are but two ways, either to Hell or to Heaven. *Item*, he said, *That Priests should have Wives*.

It was reported by the confession of the said *John Simonds*, That he converted to his Doctrine eight Priests and had helped two or three Friars out of their orders.

*William Wingham*.  
*The Hawks of Hichenden*.  
*Robert Hawks of Walsingham*.

John Taylor.

John Hawks.

Thomas Hens of Colstail.

Nicholas Field.

Richard Dren.

Thomas Clerk the younger.

William Hawks of Chesham.

Anno 1530.

These persons with other were examined, excommunicated and adjured, for being together in *John Taylor's* House at *Hichenden*, and there hearing *Nicholas Field* of *London* read a parcel of Scripture in *English* unto them, who there expounded to them many things: That they which went on Pilgrimage were accursed; That it booted not to pray to Images, for they were but blocks made of Wood, and could not help a man; That God Almighty biddeth us work, as well one day as another, saving the *Sunday*, for six days he wrought, and the seventh day he rested: That they needed not to fast so many fasting days, except the *Embering days*, for he was beyond the Sea in *Germany*, and there they used not to fast, nor to make such Holidays.

*Item*, That Offerings do no good, for they have them that have no need thereof. And when it was answered again by one, that they maintained Gods service: *Nay*, said *Nicholas*, *it maintained great Houses*, as Abbots and other.

*Item*, That men should say their *Pater noster*, and *Ave Maria* in *English*, with the *Credo*, and declared the same in *English*.

*Item*, That the Sacrament of the Altar was not as it was pretended, the flesh, blood and bone of Christ, but a Sacrament, that is a Typical signification of his holy body.

To *William Wingham* moreover it was objected, that he should say that there was no Purgatory; and if there were any Purgatory, every soul that is said should deliver a soul out of Purgatory, there should be never said in a day that there be more Masses said in a day than there be bodies buried in a Month.

Persecutors.

Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

Simon Wisdom of Burford.

*Simon Wisdom* of *Burford* was charged in judgment, for having 3 Books in *English*, one was the Gospel in *English*, another was the Psalter, the third was the summe of the holy Scripture in *English*.

James Algar of Aiger, Anno 1530.

Dr. Prin, Comptroller to the Bishop of Lincoln.

It was articulated and objected to *James Algar*, first, that he speaking to a certain Dr. of Divinity named *Agilon*, said, that every true Christian man living after the laws of God and observing his commandments, is a Priest as well as he &c.

*Item*, That he said, That he would not have his Executors to deal any penny for his soul after his death; for he would do it with his own hands while he was alive; and that his Confidence gave him, that the soul, so soon as it departed out of the body, goeth straight either to Heaven or Hell.

*Item*, When *Dr. Agilon* foresaid had alleged to him the place of *S. Matthew*, the 16th. *Thou art Peter &c.* he answered him again with that which followeth in the Gospel after, *Get thee after me Satan, &c.*

*Item*, The said *James*, bearing of a certain Church to be rebbed, said openly, it made no great force, for the Church hath enough already.

John French of Longwintan. At Longwintan, Anno 1530.

Against *John French* likewise these three Articles were objected.

1. That he believed on the body of Christ, flesh and bone, to be in the Sacrament.

2. That he was not confessed to any Priest of long time.

3. That Priests had not power to absolve from sins, &c.

For the which he likewise, with the other, was troubled, and at length compelled also with them to kneel down, and to ask his holy Catholic Fathers and Mothers of *Rome* blessing.

But what stand I here numbering the Sand? For if all the Register Books were sought, it would be an infinite thing to recite all them which through all the other Dioceses of the Realm, in these days, before and since, were troubled and purified for these and such like matters. But these I thought for examples like here to specify, that it might appear what Doctrine it is, and how long it hath been in the Church, for the which the Prelates and Clergy of *Rome* have judged men Heretics, and do wrongfully have molested poor simple Christians.

Now, passing from the abjurations of those poor men, we will touching speak (God willing) of the life and doings of the contrary party, who were their persecutors, and chief rulers then of the Church, to the intent that by those rules it may better be discerned and judged, what manner of Church that was, which then so persecuted the true Doctrine of Christ, and Members of his Church.

[KING] HENRY.

Simon Wisdom.

James Algar.

John French.

[KING] HENRY.

A brief Discourse concerning the Story of Thomas Wolsey, late Cardinal of York, by way of digression; wherein is to be seen and noted the express Image of the proud, vain-glorious Church of Rome, how far it differeth from the true Church of Christ Jesus.

[KING] HENRY.

ALTHOUGH it be not greatly pertinent unto this History, nor greatly requisite, in these weighty matters entangling of Christ's holy Martyrs, to discourses much of *Thomas Wolsey* Cardinal of York: Nevertheless forasmuch as there be many, which being carried away with a wrong opinion, and estimation of that false glittering Church of *Rome*, do think that Holiness to be in it, which indeed is not: To the intent therefore, that the vain pomp and pride of that ambitious Church, so far differing from all pure Christianity and godliness, more notoriously may appear to all men, and partly also to refresh the Reader with some variety of matter, I thought commodiously to express the ridiculous and pompous qualities, and demeanour of the forsaid *Thomas Wolsey*, Cardinal and Legat of *Rome*, in whom alone the image and life of all other such like followers and professors of the false Church, may be seen and observed. For like as the *Lacedaemonians* in times past were accustomed to show and debase drunken men unto their children, to behold and look upon, that through the foolishness of that Vice, they might enflame them the more to the study and desire of Sobriety; even so it shall not be hurtful sometimes to set forth the examples which are not honest, that others might thereby gather the instructions of better and more upright dealing.

Wherefore thus shall note here (good Reader) in this History, with all judgment, the great difference of life and conversation between this Church and the other true humble Martyrs and Servants of God, whom they have and do yet persecute. And first to begin with the first meeting and coming in of this Cardinal, and his fellow Cardinal Campaign into England: It was about the time when Pope Leo, intending to make War against the Turks, sent three Legates together from *Rome*, wherof one went into *Germany*, another into *France*: *Laurentius Campaign* was appointed to come into *England*. When he was come to *Calis*, and that the Cardinal of York had understanding thereof, he sent certain Bishops and Doctors, with as much speed as he could, to meet the Legat, and to show him, that if he would have his Embassyment effect, he should first in Post to *Rome*, to have the said Cardinal of York made Legat, and to be joynt with him in Commission. Which thing he much affected, misdeceiving let his authority thereby might perhaps be diminished through the coming of the Legat; and therefore required to be joynt with him in the degree of the Embassyment. Campaign being a man light of belief, and suspecting no such matter, gave credit unto his words and sent unto *Rome* with great speed, that within thirty days after the Bull was brought to *Calis*, wherof in they were both equally joynt in Commission: during which time the Cardinal of York first to the Legat at *Calis* red Cloth to cloath his Servants which, at their coming to *Calis* were but meanly apparelled.

When all things were ready, Campaign passed the Seas and landed at *Dover*, and to kept forth his journey toward *London*. At every good Town as they passed, he was received with Procession, accompanied with all the Lords and Gentlemen of *Kent*. And when he came to *Blackheath*, there met him the Duke of *Norfolk*, with a great number of Prelates, Knights and Gentlemen, all richly apparelled, and in the way he was brought into a rich Tent of Cloth of Gold, where he shifted himself into a Cardinals Robe furled with Ermines, and so took his Mule, riding toward *London*. Now mark the great luxury in this Church of the Pope, and compare the same with the other Church of the Martyrs, and see which of them is more Gospel-like.

This Campaign had eight Mules of his own, laden with diverse Farthels and other preparations. The Cause of *Thomas Wolsey*, thinking them not content for his estate, the night before he came to *London*, sent him twelve Mules more, with empty Coffers covered with red to furnish his carriage withal. The next day these twenty Mules were led through the City, as though they had been laden with treasure, apparel and other necessities, to the great admiration of all men, that they should receive a Legat as it were a God, with such and so great treasure and riches. For so the common people do always judge and esteem the majesty of the Clergy, by no other thing than by their outward shew and pomp; but in the midst of this great admiration there happened a ridiculous spectacle, to the great defilement of their pride and ambition. For as the Mules passed through *Chapelsteeple*, and the people were pressing about them to behold and gaze (as the manner is) it happened that one of the Mules breaking his Collar that he was led in, ran upon the other Mules, whereby it happened, that they so running together, and their Girths being loosed, overthrow divers of their burthens, and so there appeared the Cardinals gay treasure, not without great laughter and scorn of many, specially of Boys and Girls, wherof some gathered up pieces of Meate, other some pieces of Bread and rolled Eggs, some found Horse-shoes and old Boots, with such other Baggage, crying out, *Behold here is my Lord Cardinals treasure*. The Multitude being therewithal greatly allured, meddled together their treasure again as well as they could, and went forward.

About three of the Clock at afternoon, the 29th day of July, the Cardinal himself was brought through the City, with great pomp and solemnity, unto *Paul's* Church, where when he had blessed all men with the Bishops blessing (as the manner is) he was guided forth unto the Cardinal of York's House: where he was received by the said Cardinal, and by him on the next day, being *Sunday*, was conducted unto the King, to fulfil his Embassyment against the Turk, which might have destroyed all *Hungary*, in the mean time where they were this day doing with solemnity to furnish out their Embassyment.

When the Cardinal of York was thus a Legat, he set up a Court, and called it the Court of the Legat, and proved Testaments, and heard causes, to the great hindrance of all the Bishops of the Realm. He visited Bishops, and all the Clergy, exempt, and not exempt; and under colour of Reformation, he got much treasure, and nothing was reformed, but came to more mischief: for by example of his pride, Priests and all spiritual persons waxed so proud, that they wore Velvet and Silk, both in Gowns, Jackets, Doublets and Shoes, kept open lechery, and so highly bare themselves, by reason of his authorities and faculties, that no man durst once reprove any thing in them, for fear to be called Heretic, and then they would make him scold, or beat a Fagot. And the Cardinal himself was so elated, that he thought himself equal with the Kings; and when he had said Mass, he made Duties and Earls to serve him with Wine with Affay, and to hold the Basin at the Lavatories.

Furthermore, As he was Embassyment sent to the Emperor at *Brussels*, he had over with him the Great Seal of *England*, and was served with his Servants kneeling on their Knees, and many Noblemen of *England* waiting upon him, to the great admiration of all the Germans that beheld it: such was his monstrous pomp and pride. *Ex Partibus Ab. de Paulis, de Ulp.*

This glorious Cardinal in his tragical doings did exceed the thing to far all measure of a good Subject, that he became more of a Cardinal than a Prince than a Priest: for although the King bore the sword, yet he bare the fiddle, making (in a manner) the whole Realm to bend at his beck, and to dance after his Pipe. Such practices and fancies he had, that when he had well stored his own Coffers, first he fetched the greatest part of the Kings treasure out of the Realm, in twelve great Barrels full of Gold and Silver, to serve the Popes Wars; and as his voracious mind was never satisfied with getting, so his selfish head was to bulge, nothing in publick matters, that he never called before he had felt both *England, France, Flanders, Spain and Italy* together by the ears.



The



A signifies the Cardinals of the Kings, and the French Kings side. B signifies the Cardinals of the Emperor's side. But there is never a C to signify any Cardinals on Christ's side.

they cannot fail to fly themselves to find and perceive, that to conduce their purpose there is only the Lord Legate of *Tork*. And in this case it is verily to be thought, that very reason is left, and their own conscience shall lead them like virtuous Fathers, to have their principal respect hereto; and (particular affections apart) to accord and agree without difficulty to that which manifestly is known to be the thing, above all other expedient. Nevertheless, because great humane fragility forgets not all things to be pondered, trutime, and weighed in full balance, but that (as we are men) errors may run, unless then remedy be provided: it is perswain in matter of so high importance, to the comfort and relief of all Christians, to favour the infirmity that may chance, not for corruption, or to any perverse, unlawful, or evil intent, but rather to help to the lacks and defaults, which by fragility might else take place; and therefore expedient it shall be that the said Orators, to so notable a purpose where they shall perceive the consideration and respect, whereunto reason leads, to be in any part to be added or supplied, do the same with solicitations of promotions, spiritual offices, dignities, rewards of money, or other things, such as to them shall seem meet to the purpose, inculcating into the minds of such persons as shall be requisite, first what things the said Lord Legate of *Tork* shall leave, if it should be advanced to the said dignity, which be such as the establishment of his fate considered, be far more to his commodity (if he should regard his private weal) than to enter into this dangerous, thorn, and troublesome; whereunto (his said private weal apart) he is totally devoted and dedicate, to the expiation of his blood, blood, and life, and ready with the faculties thereof to do service to God, his Church, his Faith and Religion; which by said promotions, the Kings Highness riding cause, given unto him by the gratitude and conformity of his friends, will not fail to follow to their benefit, besides large rewards, to have this so virtuous an act brought to perfection. For solicitation whereunto the Kings said Embassadors be furnished at this time with ample commission, as by the same they shall perceive: The effect whereof they shall execute without exception, as by their widom shall be thought convenient: so always as it be done with such circumspection, as that there may be appearance of good fruit to ensue. And (embellishably they be furnished with Letters, as well to the College of Cardinals in general, as to them all that be like to be present in particular: which they shall now deliver to the best furtherance and advancement of their purpose, not (pausing to declare unto them the liberality of the said Lord Legate of *Tork*, the substance that he is of the assured affiance that he shall have of these Princes and their Condescendances, whereby he shall be able above any other that they can devise, to reward, promote, advance, and recompense his friends to the uttermost; affiance, as then that these two Princes will not fail all highly, and in the best sort to consider their gratitude, with any thing that they may excoitate to their profits and promotions, or any of their friends. So that by this mean, and with such good solicitations, grounded upon a love, and faith, honest and just cause (and not upon any corrupt or undue intent, to conduce things to sinister purpose) the Kings said Orators by their good policies shall attain the perfect and free good will of a great many of them, and by that way shall have a continuance to this good purpose, shall by little and little allure and bring other unto them, so as the residue perceiving to great a towardsness, and fearing a sufficient number to accrue without them, and thereby the Election to pass again

in their wills, shall persevere be the more pure and ready to come unto this party: whereunto nothing should of reason former move them, than the very respect to the infinite goodness, that thereby to themselves in particular, and the universal Church and Religion in general, is apparent to ensue. Nevertheless, if having the direct way they will be abused with any other incantations, or for private ambition perfert in contending for themselves, then is it evident, they search nothing more than the ruin of the Republick, in which case other ways be to be devised, and their undue denunciation to be remedied and redressed. For this cause, and to be sure in all events, the Kings said Orators shall by their widom find the means to have some said and sure persons in the Conclave, such as may not only pacifice and set forth things there to the purpose, but also by such knowledge outward, as the Kings said Orators may thereby the better know how to order their proceedings. And amongst other it is thought that Monsieur de *Vaulx*, one of the French Embassadors (whom the French King hath commanded expressly to further this Election by all the means he can procure) should be one to enter the said Conclave, not as an Embassador, but as the Minister of some Cardinal, friend of the French King. And embellish Sir Gregory de *Gallia*, who for his widom, conduct, language, acquaintance, and other good qualities, may do excellent good in that behalf.

And in this matter it is to be considered, that since this Election, in the person of the said Lord Legate of *Tork*, by one way or other furtherer no negative, albeit the Kings Highness trusteth that the same shall have his course directly, yet if for lack of grace or intermeddling, there should be any disaffection thereof, other ways be to be provided. And for that cause to these said Orators formerly, there is a protestation passed by the Cardinals being in *England* and in *France*, according to a Copy which the said Orators shall receive herewith, which is and shall be kept secret, and then by the said Orators being used in the Election, the same shall need to be published. So that the Kings said Orators, now advertised thereof, shall note for a special ground, that if it shall appear that the Election cannot be had in the person of the said Lord Legate of *Tork*, the band and number unite and knit together to the Kings devotion, in finding none other remedy, must be instructed beforehand in that case to persist in their determination, and when time shall be, by reason of such default, to protest, grounding the same their protestation upon such respects, as cannot lack to be introduced for the avoiding of the extreme dangers by the pertinacity and wilfulness of the adverse Cardinals, eminent to the ruin of the Church, and of all Christendom. Which protestation may before hand be caused and devised by the said Master *Stephen Gardiner*, and by the policy of the said Monsieur de *Vaulx*, and Sir Gregory, may be set forth in time convenient: and thereupon the Cardinals of the Kings, and the French Kings adherents to depart the Conclave: whereby repairing to some other free place, they with the residue of the Cardinals absent, may proceed to such an Election as may be to Gods pleasure, the weal of his Church and Faith, and of all Christendom, any Election that thus by pertinacity may ensue at Rome notwithstanding.

And to the intent the Cardinals may be the better animated to this purpose, the Kings said Orators shall, as a preface of two or three thousand men to be in the City of *Rome* for the time of the said Election: which if they will accept, the said Orators shall be furnished, with King money by exchange and otherwise, for their entertainment, as shall be requisite. Which money, or any other that they shall take for conducting this the Kings purpose, shall be truly repaid, with (\**imposse*), and all requisites that they shall assign. And embellish, let them be terrified or dread of the Imperials in *Naples* should induce the Cardinals to any errors, the French King hath caused, that *Seigneur Keston* shall lie in a garrade between the Army of *Naples*, and the City of *Rome*. Like as the Viscount of *Turino* is also commanded to lie on the wall side, and embellish the *Venetians*. So that by those means not only they shall be out of all fear of the Imperials,

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but also in the more devotion of these two Princes: which the Cardinals favouring, the desire of the two Princes, both to persist in their deliberation, and also in time of extreme default to protest and depart, as is above said.

And because nothing should withdraw the minds of the Cardinals from this purpose, who persevere might think that the said Lord Legate of *Tork* being elected, would not repair to the Court of *Rome*, but demure in *Avignon*, or some other place out of *Italy*, the Kings said Embassadors shall remove all such suppositions by two evident arguments, reasons. One is, That the said Cardinal of *Tork*, advanced to that dignity, must needs by leave all other his promotions, and consequently should be dispossessed of any habitation, place, or convenient living, if remaining in another strange Country, he should desire to come unto *Rome*, where should be the place of his See and entire living. Wherefore if it were far from reason to think, that he, which hitherto for his late had lived in such abundance, should be so polluted in his promotion, to bring himself into condeign penury and poverty, or to live in place of the hindrance of his honour, profit, or reputation. Secondly, the thing principally moving him to be contented, at these Princes requests, to change his state present, is the fervent zeal he hath to expose his Study, Travels, Labour, Sobriety, Wife, Body, Blood, and Life, in the quarrel of Gods Church, Faith, and of Christendom, which is so high an exception, and a ground to be taken to remain and lie in a corner or private place: but that rather than he would suffer so high an exception to be found in him, he would expose all that he might do, who having the assistance of these two Princes, should not fail (God willing) to pass directly to his See, with honour and comfort unto *Italy* and the discouragement of the party that would be adverse thereto. And therefore the Cardinals should not need to fear any such thing, but might be well assured to have his presence there to their content, in all secrecy and diligence possible.

Furthermore, to the intent the Kings said Ambassadors may have all the friends that may be to this purpose, expedient it shall be, that they, with the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and other whom they shall think good to win unto their party, use the ways that may best conduce thereto. And amongst other, so far as they shall depend upon the Cardinal of *Medice* shall doubt in this case to be rejected, the Kings said Orators shall incall unto them the singular devotion and special favour that the said Lord Legate of *Tork* hath always born unto their family: assuring them that he will take them in no further distance of entire love, than they were with Pope *Leo*, *Clement*, or any other. And embellish, they shall put the *Florentines* in comfort of the exclusion of the governance of the said Family of *Medice* in *Florence*, and of their enjoying of their liberty. Likewise putting the Cardinals in perfect hope of recovery of the Patrimonies of the Church: to contain the *Venetians* in good trust of a reasonable way to be taken for *Servizio* and *Restorno*, to their contentment; and also to the Duke of *Ferrara*, how the said Lord Legate was the mean of the conjunction of him in league with the French King, with assured promise of his continuance in as much love and favour as he may be permitted in his cause to desire.

And thus, having these folks to their friends, whole Orators shall have the uttermost custody of the Conclave, and the Kings Ambassadors and the French Ambassadors being in the interior parts thereof, they being so amply instructed and furnished, shall not fail (God willing) by one or other of the said two ways, and finally by the direct election at *Rome*, if it be possible, or at the least, by the way of the said protestation and departure of the Cardinals, to conduce the Kings purpose in the said election to the desired end. In the doing whereof, albeit there is no doubt but that the French Orators will join with them sincerely, to the perfection of the premises in come execution, it shall be well done, that the Kings said Orators have a substantial and politic regard to the proceedings of the same French Orators, lest that if perchance they should find any defect in the election to

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(living Reader) to note and learn, how man purloineth one thing and how God disposeth another. For the Kings purpose was to have the Cardinal and Legat of *Tork* placed in the See *Papal*, thinking by that means, if this Cardinal had been Pope, the cause of his divorce might not be contested, which otherwise he more easily might be contested. But God Omnipotent, which only is director of all affairs, brought it otherwise to pass, not as the King desired, but after his own wisdom; so that both the Divorcement was concluded, and yet neither Cardinal *Wolsey* made Pope, nor yet Pope *Clement* was dead. Yet, to be ruled the matter, Pope *Clement* was alive, yet both the Divorce proceeded, and also the Popes authority was thereby utterly extinct and abolished out of this Realm of *England*, to the singular admiration of Gods wondrous works, and perpetual praise of his merciful goodness. Of which Divorcement, and suppressing of the Popes authority, we have likewile made declaration. But first, as we have begun with the Cardinal of *Tork*, we will make an end of him. That done, we will (God willing) address our selves to other matters of more importance.

As the Ambassadors were thus traveling in *Rome* to promote the Cardinal to be Pope, although the Pope was not yet dead, in the mean time the Cardinal played the popish persecutor here at home. For first, he sitting in his Pontificalibus in the Cathedral Church of *Pavia*, under his Cloth of estate of rich cloath of Gold, caused *Fries Barnes*, an *Anglican* Friar, to bear Faggs, for certain points which he called Heresie. Also he caused the same time two Merchants of the *Stripther* likewise to bear Faggs for eating flesh on a *Friday*. At the which time, the Bishop of *Rocheſter* made a Sermon in reproof of *Martin Luther*, who had before written against the power of the Bishop of *Rome*. This Bishop in his Sermon spake so much of the honour of the Pope and his Cardinals, and of their dignity and preeminence, that he forgot to speak of the Gospel which he took in hand to declare; which was about the year of our Lord 1526.

After this, the said Cardinal likewise, *Ann* 1528, and in the month of *November*, sitting at *Wolſingham*, as Legat, called before him the whole Clergy, and there promised that all abuses of the Church should be amended: but there nothing else was done, save only he caused to be abjured, *Arthur Bile*, *Geffrey Lane*, and *Gierret*, for speaking against the Popes authority, and his piousness pride. Of whom more shall be said (the Lord assisting us) hereafter. And this was *Ann* 1528.

The year next following, which was *Ann* 1529, began the question of the Kings Marriage to be revived. Whereupon Cardinal *Campanus* was sent against *England* from *Rome*, for the hearing and debating of the matter. Who then with Cardinal *Wolsey*, consulting with the King, although at first he feared with his fellow Cardinal to incline unto the Kings disposition, yet afterward perceiving the sequel of the Cause, whether it tended, so far, as peradventure might be the occasion of a blot to the Court of *Rome*, and might shaketh perhaps the Chair of the Popes omnipotent authority, as well in other Cases like, if this Cause were thoroughly decided by learning and truth of Gods Word. He therefore flipping his neck out of the Collar, castily thrust himself out of the Realm, before the day came appointed for determination, leaving his subtil fellow behind him, to weigh with the King the mean time, while the matter might be brought up to the Court of *Rome*. The King thus seeing himself disappointed, fueled with false promises, and craftily doubled withal by the Cardinals, and at last, after consultation for many days and long expectation, nothing to be concluded, was fore aggrieved in his mind with them, but especially with Cardinal *Wolsey*, whom he had before so highly exalted, and promoted to so many great dignities, as to the Archbishopric of *Tork*, the Bishopric of *Windsor*, of *Durſham*, the Abby of *Albani*, besides the Chancellorship of *England*, and many other high rooms and preeminences in the Realm; which caused him clearly to cast him out of his favour, so that after that time he never came more to the Kings presence. *Ex Histo.*

Then followed first a Council of the Nobles, called the first of *October*. During the which Council all the Lords and other the Kings Council, agreeing together, they caused *Windsor* to the King, and desired him to be the King, that all things which he had done, almost by his power Legatine, were in the Case of *Preeminence*, and provision: and that the Cardinal had forfeited all his Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels to the King: wherefore the King willing to order him, according to the order of his Laws, caused his Attorney, *Christopher Hales*, to sue out a writ of *Preeminence* against him, in which he licenced him to make an Attorney.

And further the seventeenth day of *November*, he sent the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, to his Palace of *Wolſingham*, to fetch away the Great Seal of *England*: which he was loth to deliver, if there had been any remedy; but in conclusion, he delivered it to the two Dukes, which delivered the same to Doctor *Tailor*, Master of the Rolls, to carry it to the King; which he found the next day.

Before this, the King sent Sir *William Fitzwilliams*, Knight of the Garter, and Treasurer of his House, and Doctor *Stephen Gardiner*, newly made Secretary, to see that no Goods should be embarked out of his house: and further ordained, that the Cardinal should remove to *Ather* beside *Kensington*, there to tarry the Kings pleasure, and to have all things delivered unto him, which were necessary for him, but not after his old pompous and superfluous fashion: for all his goods were seized to the Kings use. When the Seal was thus taken from the Cardinal, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, with many Bishops, and Barons, came unto the *Star-Chamber* the nineteenth day of *October*: where the Duke of *Norfolk* declared, that the Kings Highness for diverse and sundry offences had taken from him his Great Seal and deposed him of all Offices: and left him might complain for lack of justice, he had appointed him and the Duke of *Suffolk*, with the assent of the other Lords he fit in the *Star-Chamber*, to hear and determine causes indifferently; and that of all things the Kings pleasure and commandment was, that they should keep their hands cleave from any rewards taking, or maintenance: and so that week they fate in the *Star-Chamber*, and determined causes.

A few days after, in the same month, the Cardinal removed out of his House called *Tork* place, with one *Croſſe* saying, That he would he had never born more, mourning that by his Croſſe which he bear as Legat, which degree taking was his confusion, as went for openly: and so he took his Barge, and went to *Puſney* by Water, and there took his Horse and rode to *Ather*, where he remained till *Lent* after.

During which time, he being called on for an answer in the Kings Bench to the *Preeminence*, for giving Benefices by prevention, in disturbance of mens inheritance, and divers other open causes in the *Preeminence*, according to the Kings Licence, continued *John Seale* and *Edmond Jonnes*, Apprentices of the Law, his Attorneys, which by his own Warrant signed with his own hand, confessed all things concerning the false law, for they were too open to be cloaked or hidden; and so judgment was given, that he should forfeit all his Lands, Tenements, Goods, and Chattels and should be out of the Kings protection: but for all that, the King sent him a patent protection, and of his grantees left to him the Bishopric of *Tork* and *Windsor*, and gave to him plate and full convention for his degree; and the Bishopric of *Durſham* he gave to Doctor *Tonſill* Bishop of *London*, and the Abby of *St. Albans* he gave to the Prior of *Norwich*; and to *London* he promoted *D. John Stokesley*, the Embassador to the Universities, for the Marriage, as you heard before. For all this kindness shewed to the Cardinal, yet still he maligned against the King, as you shall hereafter perceive. But first we will proceed in the course of these matters, as they passed in order.

The next year following, which was *Ann* 1530, a Parliament, to be holden at *Wolſingham*. In the which year, about the three and twentieth day of *October*, the King came into his Manor of *Greenwich*, and three much consulted with his Council, for a meet

man to be his Chancellor, so that in no wise he were a man of the spirituality: and so after long debate, the King resolved himself upon Sir *Thomas More* Knights, Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lincolneſhire*, a man well learned in the Tongues, and also in the Common Law: whose wit was true, and full of imagination; by whose wisdom he was a little too much given to mocking, more than behaviour: the person of *Maſter More*. And then on the Sunday, the four and twentieth day of the same month, the King made him his Chancellor, and delivered him the great Seal: which Lord Chancellor the next morning after was led into the Chancery by the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and there sworn, and then the Mace was fore him.

Of this fall of the Cardinal, and of the placing of Sir *Thomas More* in the Chancellorship *Erasmus* in an Epistle to *John Vorger* thus writeth: The Cardinal of *Tork* hath so offended the Kings mind, that he being turned out of his goods and all his dignities, is committed not to Prison, but to a certain Lordship of his, with 30 servants or keepers to give attendance upon him. Many and sundry complaints are commenced against him, but that he is not like to cleave with his life. Such is the dalliance of fortune, of a Schoolmaster to be made a King, For he to Reigned more like a King than the King himself. He was dreaded of all men, he was loved but of a few, almost of none. A little before he was apprehended, he caused *Richard Peto* to be called unto the *Towers*. Also he threatened my Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* *Salomon* faith, *That before the fall of man his spirit shall be elevated*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was called or referred to be chosen Lord Chancellor, which is the chiefest office in all that Realm; but he excused himself by his age, as being not able to wield such a function. Wherefore the said Office was bestowed upon *Thomas More*, no less to the rejoicing of many, than that the other was displaced from it. These news my Servant brought me out of *England*, &c. *Ex Epist. Erasmus & Joan. Vorger.*

You heard before, how a Council of the Nobles was appointed by the King in the month of *October*, to assemble in the *Star-Chamber* about the Cardinals matter: and also how a Parliament was summoned to begin in the month of *November*, in the year following, *Ann* 1530. At the beginning of which Parliament, after that *M. More* the new Chancellor had finished his Oration, the Commons were commanded to chuse them a Speaker, who was *Thomas Audley* Esquire, and Attorney to the Duchy of *Lincolneſhire*. Thus the Parliament being begun the sixth day of the first month of *November*, at *Wolſingham*, where the King with all his Lords were in the Parliament Chamber, the Commons, after they had presented their Speaker, assembled in the nether House, began to Cummune of their griefs, wherewith the Spirituality had before time grievously oppressed them, contrary both to all right, and to the Law of the Realm, and specially were moved with these six great causes.

### Grievances against the Clergy of England.

1. The first. For the excessive fines which the Ordinaries took for Probates of Testaments, inasmuch that Sir *Henry Guildford*, Knight of the Garter, and Controller of the Kings House, declared in the open Parliament, of his fidelity, that he and other being Executors to his *William* the Cardinal, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a thousand Marks sterling. After this declaration were shewed so many extortions done by Ordinaries for Probates of Wills, that it was too much to re-tell.

2. The second cause was, the great polling and exaction which the spiritual men used, in taking of Corps, Prebends, or Mortuaries: for the Children of the dead should all dye for hunger and go begging, rather than they would of charity give to them the filly Cows which the dead man ought, if he had but only one, such was the charity of them.

3. The third cause was, that Priests being Surveyors, Stewards, and Officers to Bishops, Abbots, and other spiritual Heads, had and occupied Farms, Granges, and

Grafting in every Cause, so that the poor Husbandmen could have nothing but of them, and yet for that they should pay dearly.

4. The fourth cause was, that Abbots, Priors, and spiritual men kept Tan-houses and bought and sold Wool, Cloth, and all manner of Merchandise, as other temporal Merchants did.

5. The fifth cause was, because the spiritual persons promoted to great benefices, and having their livings full of their flock, were lying in the Court in Lords houses, and took all of their Parishes, and nothing paid on them at all: so that for lack of residence both the poor of the parish lacked refreshing, and universally all the Parishes lacked preaching and true instructions of Gods Word, to the great peril of their souls.

6. The sixth cause was, because one Priest, being little learned, had on a time Benefices, and was resident on his goods, and many well learned Scholars in the University, which were able to preach and teach, had neither Benefice nor exhibition.

These things before this time might in no wise be touched, nor yet touched by any man, except he be made an Heretic, or lole all that he had: for the Bishops were Chancellors, and had all the rule about the King, so that no man durst open pretence to attempt any thing contrary to their profit or commodity.

But now when God had illuminated the eyes of the Commons, and the time to served, that men more boldly durst express with voice such grudges as they had long conceived in their heart against the Clergy, the Burgeſſes of the Parliament appointed certain of the Common houses, men learned in the Law, to draw one Bill of the Probates of Testaments, another for Mortuaries, and the third for Non-residence, Pluralities, and taking Farms by spiritual men.

And first to the Bill of Mortuaries being drawn, and the being also pulled the Common house, and sent up to the High Court, the Spiritual Lords shewed a fair law, saying that assuredly Priests and Curates took more than they should, and therefore it were well done to take some reasonable order. Thus they spake, because it touched them but little.

After this, within two days, was sent up the second Bill, concerning Probates of Testaments: which Bill, because it touched their profit somewhat near, both the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and all other Bishops in general began to frown and grunt: inasmuch as Doctor *John Fisher*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, standing up in the Parliament Chamber, openly protested, that such Bills were first sent up from the Common house, tending to no other thing, but to the destruction of the Church: which Church being down, the glory then of the whole Kingdom (said he) must needs fall defining therefore the Lords, for Gods sake, to take law, to draw one Bill of *Boltonia*. For as it was then with the people there, so now what say the Commons here, but Down with the Church? And all this (said he) seemeth to be only for lack of Faith. When these words were reported to the Commons of the lower House, the Bishops laid, in answer to all their doings to be for lack of Faith, they took the matter grievously, so to be esteemed of the Bishop for no better than Heretics; understanding moreover, how that they for their slanderous words went about to perſwade the Lords Temporal against them, and so to overthrow the two Bills: which when they perceived before, as you have heard, whereupon, after long debate, it was at length agreed by the said Commons; that *Thomas Audley* their Speaker, with thirty of the chief of that House, should be sent to the King; being then in his Palace at *Wolſingham*, before called *Tork* place: where they eloquently declared, what a dishonour to the King and the Realm it was, to say that they which were elected for the wisest Men of all the Shires, Cities, and Boroughs within the Realm of *England* should be declared in open and open presence to lack Faith, which was equivalent to say that they were Infidels, and no Christians, as *Il se Thier* or *Saracens*: for what pain or misery do they ever they took for the Commonwealth, or what laws or laws (never they made or published, should be taken as laws made by Painims and Heathen people, and not worthy to be kept by Christian men: wherefore they most humbly

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by brought the Kings Highness to call the said Bishop before him, and to cause him to speak more directly of such a number as was in the Common house.

The King not being well contented with the saying of the Bishop, yet gently answered the Speaker, and sent them away. Who immediately sent for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and six other Bishops, and Rochester also, signifying unto them the grudge of the Commons. The Bishop of Rochester, excusing himself, answered, that he, in so saying, meant only the doings of the *Bohemians*, to be for lack of Faith, and not the doing of them that were in the Common house. Which saying was contemptuous. And so by that only saying the King accepted his excuse, and therefore sent word to the Commons by Sir William Fitzwilliams Knight, Treasurer of his household. Which blind excuse pleased the Commons nothing at all.

After this, divers Assemblies were kept between certain of the Lords, and certain of the Commons, for the Bills of the Probates of Testaments, and Mortuaries. The Temporal lay to the Spiritually their own Laws and Constitutions: And the Spiritually defended them by predication.

Unto whom it was thus answered by a Gentleman of *Gray Inn*: The Sheriff hath even been of Thieves, to rob on *Sloote-hill*: *Ergo*, is it lawful? With this answer the spiritual men were so offended, because their doings were called Robberies: but the Temporal men stood still by their sayings, inasmuch that the said Gentleman said to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that both the exaction of Probates of Testaments, and the taking of Mortuaries, as they were used, were open Robbery and Theft. After long dispute, the Temporal Lords began to lean to the Commons: but for all that the Bills remained uncondemned for a time.

It followeth shortly after in the Parliament, that a Bill was offered to by the Lords of the Higher house, and sent down to the Commons in the Lower house, and by them also with much labour agreed unto, of whom the most part were the Kings Servants in the which Bill it was required and concluded, that the King should be released of all such Loan of money which he had borrowed of his Subjects in the Fifteenth year of his Reign. The piffing of which Bill went fore against the stomach of the poor Commons: For many relied upon it, counting and puffing it over, one to another for good debt, as it had benevolently money in their purses. Wherefore the King, to gratify them again, granted to them a general pardon of all offences, only certain great offences and debts excepted. Also he added them for the redress of their griefs against the spirituality, and caused two new Bills to be made indifferently, both for the Probates of the Testaments, and Mortuaries: which Bills were so reasonable, that the Spiritual Lords assented to them all, though they were fore against their minds, and in especial the Probate of Testaments fore displeased the Bishops, and the Mortuaries fore displeased the Parsons and Vicars.

After these Acts thus agreed, the Commons made another Act for pluralities of Benefices, nonresidence, buying and selling, and taking of Farms by Spiritual persons. Which Act so displeased the Spirituality, that the Priests, railed on the Commons of the Lower house, and called them Heretics and Schismatics: for the which divers Priests were punished.

This Act was fore debated above in the Parliament Chamber, and the Lords Spiritual would in no wise consent. Wherefore the King perceiving the grudge of the Commons, caused eight Lord and eight of his Commons to meet in the *Star-Chamber* at an afternoon, and there was fore debating of the Cause, in so much that the Temporal Lords of the upper House which were there took part with the Commons against the Spiritual Lords, and by force of reason, caused them to assent to the Bill, with a little quailing: Which Bill the next day was wholly agreed in to the Lords house, to the great rejoicing of the Lay people, and to great displeasure of the Spiritual persons.

And thus much concerning their Bills against the Clergy by the way: Now to return to the Cardinal again. During the time of the said Parliament, there

was brought down to the Commons the Book of Articles which the Lords had put up to the King against the Cardinal. The chief Articles were these.

#### Articles objected against Cardinal Wolsey.

1. First, That he without the Kings assent had procured himself to be a Legat, by reason whereof he took away the right of all Bishops and spiritual persons.

2. In all writings that he wrote to *Rome*, or to another Prince, he wrote *Ego & Rex meus*, I and my Kings, as who would say, that the King were his servant.

3. That he slandered the Church of *England* to the Court of *Rome*: For his suggestion to be Legat, was to reform the Church of *England*, which (as he wrote) was *Fausta in reprobum junum*.

4. He without the Kings assent carried the Kings great seal with him into *Flanders*, when he was sent Ambassador to the Emperor.

5. Without the Kings consent he sent Communion to Sir *Gregory de Casalis*, Knight, to conclude a league between the King and the Duke of *Ferrary*.

6. That he, having the *Finch Pax*, presumed to come and breath on the King.

7. That he caused the Cardinals Hat to be put on the Kings Cown.

8. That he had sent innumerable falsitudes to *Rome*, for the obtaining of his Dignities, to the great impoverishment of the Realm. With many other things which are touched more at large in *Chronicles*.

These Articles, with many more, being read in the Common house, were consented by the Cardinal, and signed with his hand. And with this shewed another writing sealed with his Seal, by which he gave to the King all his moveables and immoveables.

You have heard hitherto declared, how the Cardinal was attainted in the *Premunire*, and how he was put out of the Office of the Chancellor, and lay at *Aber*: which was in the year of our Lord, 1530. The next year after in the *Low season*, the King, by the advice of his Council, licensed him to go into his Diocese of *Tork*, and gave him commandment to keep him within his Diocese, and not to return Southward, without the Kings special Licence in writing.

So he made great provision to go Northward, and apparelled his Servants newly, and bought many costly things for his household. But divers of his Servants at this time departed from him to the Kings service, and especially *Thomas Cromwell*, one of his chief Council, and chief doer for him in the suppression of Abbeyes. After that all things necessary for his journey were prepared, he took his journey Northward, till he came to *Southwell*, which was in his Diocese, and there he continued that year, ever grudging at his fall, as you shall hereafter see: but the Lands which he had given to his College in *Oxford* and *Windsor* were now come to the Kings hands, by his attainting in the *Premunire*: and yet the King, by his gentleness, and for favour that he bear to good learning, erected again the College in *Oxford*, and where it was named the Cardinals College, he called it the Kings College, and indued it with fair possessions, and ordained new Statutes and Ordinances: and became the College of *Windsor* was thought to be nothing profitable, therefore he left that dissolved.

Notwithstanding that the Cardinal of *Tork* was thus attainted in the *Premunire*, (as is above mentioned) yet the King being good unto him, had granted him the Bishoprics of *Tork* and *Windsor*, with great plenty of fulminations, and had licensed him to lie in his Diocese of *Tork*, where he continued the space of a year. But in the year following, which was 1531, he being in his Diocese, wrote to the Court of *Rome*, and to divers other Princes, Letters in reproach of the King, and

as much as in him lay, he stirred them to revenge his cause against the King and his Realm: inasmuch that divers open enemies against the King were spoken to *Duchess Edward Korne*, the Kings Orator at *Rome*. And it was said to him, That for the Cardinals sake the King should have the world spent in the fire of his Matrimony.

The Cardinal also would speak fair to the people, to win their hearts, and declared ever that he was unjustly and untruly ordered. Which his speaking won many men believe that he said true. And to Gentlemen he gave great gifts to allure them unto him; and to be had in more reputation among the people, he determined to be entertained or entertained at *Tork* with all the pompe that might be, and caused a Theatre to be erected in the Cathedral Church, in such a height and fashion, as was never seen, and sent to all the Lords, Abbots, Priors, Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen of his Diocese, to be at his Manner of *Canowd* the sixth day of *November*, and so to bring him to *Tork* with all manner of pompe and solemnity.

The King, which knew his doings and privy conveyance, all this year defempered the matter, to see what he would do at length, till that he feeling his proud heart to highly exalted, that he would be so triumphantly installed, without making the King privy, yes, and in a manner in disdain of the King, thought it met not meet nor convenient to suffer him any longer to continue in his malicious and proud purposes and attempts. Wherefore he directed his Letters to the Earl of *Northumberland*, willing him with all diligence to arrest the Cardinal, and to deliver him to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, great Steward of the Kings household. When the Earl had seen the Letters, he with a convenient number came to the Manner of *Canowd* the fourth day of *November*: and when he was brought to the Cardinal in his Chamber, he said to him, My Lord, I pray you take patience, for here I Arrest you. Arrested, said the Cardinal? Yes, said the Earl, I have a commandment to do so. You have no such power, said the Cardinal, for I am both a Cardinal, and a Legat *De Latere*, and a member of the College of *Rome*, and ought not to be Arrested by any temporal power: for I am not subject to that power: wherefore if you Arrest me I will withstand it. Well, said the Earl, here is the Kings Commission (which he showed him) and therefore I charge you to obey. The Cardinal somewhat remembered himself, and said: Well My Lord, I am content to obey: but although that I by negligence fell into the punishment of the *Premunire*, and lost by the Law all my Lands and goods, yet my Person was in the Kings protection, and I was pardoned that offence: wherefore I moved why I now should be Arrested, and especially considering that I am a member of the See Apostolic, whom no temporal man ought to lay violent hands. Well, I fear the King lacketh good Council. Well, said the Earl, when I was (from Warden of the Marches, you your self told me, I might with my Staff Arrest all within the degree of a King, and now I am stronger, for I have a Commission to do so, which you have seen. The Cardinal at length obeyed, and was kept in a privy Chamber, and his goods seized, and his Officers discharged: And his Physician called Doctor *Ascham* was likewise Arrested, and brought to the Tower by Sir *Walter* which one of the Kings Chamberlains. The sixth day of *November* he was conveyed from *Canowd* to *Sheffield* Castle, and there delivered to the Earl of *Shrewsbury* keeping till the Kings pleasure were known. Of this Arrestment was much commotion among the Common people: wherefore many were glad, for they were not in the favour of the Commonalty.

When the Cardinal was thus Arrested, the King sent Sir *William Kingston* Knight, Captain of the Guard, and Constable of the Tower of *London*, with certain Yeomen of the Guard to *Sheffield*, to fetch the Cardinal to the Tower. When the Cardinal saw the Captain of the Guard he was fore astonished, and shortly became sick: for then he perceived some great trouble toward him, and for that cause men said, that he willingly took much quantity of a thowpurgaria, that his nature was not able to bear it. Also the matter that came from him was so black, that the staining thereof could not be gotten out of his Blankets by any means. But Sir

*William Kingston* comforted him, and by easy journeys he brought him to the Abbey of *Lycester* the seven and twentieth day of *November*: where for very feebleness of nature, caused by purgation and vomits, that he died the second night following, and in the same abbey lieth buried.

It is testified by one, yet being alive, in whose arms the said Cardinal died, that his body being dead was black as pitch, also was so heavy, that six could scarce bear it. Furthermore, it did so stink above the ground, that they were constrained to hinder the Burial therein in the night fairs, before it was day. At the which Burial, such a tempest with such a flinch there arose, that all the Teachers went out, and so he was thrown into the Tomb, and there was laid.

By the ambitious pride and excessive worldly wealth of this one Cardinal, all men may easily understand and judge what the state and condition of all the rest of the same Order (whom we call spiritual men) was in those days, as well in all other places of *Christendom*, as especially here in *England*, where the princely possessions, and great pride of the Clergy did not only far pass and exceed the common measure and order of Subjects, but also furnished over Kings and Princes, and all other estates, as may well appear by his doings and order of his story, above described.

Amongst other acts of the foresaid Cardinal, this is not to be forgotten, that he founded a new College in *Oxford*, for the furniture whereof he had gathered together all the best learned he could receive amongst which numbers were these *Clark, Tindal, Sommers, Pryth, and Taverner*, with other more: Which holding in assembly together in the College, were accounted to be Heretics (as they called them) and thereupon were cast into a Prison of the College, where Sir John lay, through the which wherein the most part of them were infected, and the said *Clark* being a tender young man, and the most finger in learning amongst them all, died in the same Prison, and other in other places in the Town also, of the same infectious disease.

And thus having tended the Reader enough, or rather too much, with this vain-glorious Cardinal, now we will reduce our story again to other more fruitful matter, and, as the order of time requires, we will first begin with *Matter Humphry Mummth*, a virtuous and good Alderman of *London*, who in the time of the said Cardinal was troubled, as in the story here followeth.

#### The trouble of Humphry Mummth Alderman of London.

*Humphry Mummth*, was a right godly and a honest Alderman of *London*, who in the days of *Henry* Cardinal *Wolsey* was troubled and put in the Tower, for the Gospel of *Christ*, and for maintaining them that favoured the same.

*Steeley*, then Bishop of *London*, ministered Articles unto him, to the number of four and twenty: as *capitall* for adhering to *Luther* and his opinions: for having and reading heretical Books and Treatises: for giving exhibition to *William Tindal*, *Rex*, and such other, for helping them over the Sea to *Luther*: for ministering privy help to translate, as well the Testament, as other Books into English: for eating flesh in *Leam*: for affirming Faith only to justify: for derogating from many constitutions for not praying to Saints, not allowing Pilgrimage, Auricular confession, the Popes Pardons: briefly, for being an advocate of all *Martin Luthers* opinions, &c.

He being of these Articles examined and cast into the Tower, at last was compelled to make his full confession, writing to the foresaid Cardinal, then Lord Chancellor, and the whole Council, out of the Tower. In the contents whereof he answered to the criminous accusation of them which charged him with certain Books received out of beyond the Sea sent for his acquaintance with *Matter Mummth*, *Tindal*. Whereupon he said, that he denied not, but to have sent those four years past he had heard the said *Tindal* preach two or three Sermons at *Saint Dunstons* in the *West*, and afterward meeting with the said *Tindal*, had

certain communication with him concerning his living: who then told him that he had none at all, but trusted to be in the Bishop of London his service; for then he laboured to be his Chaplain. But being refused of the Bishop, he came again to the said Mummuth this examination, and besought him to help him. Who the same time took him into his house for half a year: where the said Tindal lived (as he said) like a good Priest, studying both night and day. He would eat but fiddlen meat by his good will, nor drink but small fingle beer. He was never seen in that house to wear known dress, all the space of his being there. Whereupon the said Mummuth had the better liking of him, so that he promised him ten pound (as he then said) for his Father and Mothers Souls, and all Christian Souls; which money afterward he lent him over to *Hambrore* according to his promise. And yet not to him alone he gave this exhibition, but to divers other more likewise which were no Heretics; as to Doctor *Roffe*, the Bishop of *London* Chaplain, he exhibited forty or fifty pounds: to Doctor *Wodall*, Provincial of the Friar *Anglicans*, as much or more, to Doctor *Wajson* the Kings Chaplain, also to other Scholars, and divers Priests; besides other charges bestowed upon religious Houses, as upon the Nunnery of *Denney*, above fifty pounds Sterling bestowed, &c.

And as touching his Books, as *Enchiridion*, the *Pater noster*, *De liberata Christiana*, an English Testament, of which, some *William Tindal* left with him, some he lent unto him, some were brought into his house, by whom he could not tell; these Books, he said, did he open in his house, the space of two years together, he suspecting no harm to be in them. And moreover the same Books being desired of sundry persons, as of the Abbot of *Denney*, a Friar of *Greenwich*, the Father Confessor of *Sion*, he let them have them, and yet never heard Friar, Priest, or Lay-man find any fault with the said Books. Likewise to Doctor *Wajson*, to Doctor *Strockholme*, Master *Martin*, Parson of *Tvingberke*, he committed the perusing of the Books of *Pater noster*, and *De liberata Christiana*, which found no great fault in them, but only in the Book *De liberata Christiana*, they said there were things somewhat bad, except the Reader were wile.

Thus he excusing himself and moreover complaining of the loss of his credit by his imprisonment in the Tower, and of the detriments of his occupying, who was wont yearly to ship over five hundred Cloths to strangers, and set many Clothiers awork in *Suffolk*, and in other places, of whom he bought all their Cloths, which were now almost all undone; by this reason at length he was set at liberty being forced to abjure, and after was made Knight by the King, and Sheriff of *London*.

Of this *Humphrey Mummuth* we read of a notable example of Christian patience, in the Sermons of *M. Latimer*, which the said *Latimer* heard in *Cambridge* of Master *George Stifford*, Reader of the Divine Lecture in that University. Who expounding the place of *Saint Paul* to the *Romans*, that we shall overcome our enemy with well doing and to heap hot Coles upon his head, &c. brought in an example, saying, that he knew in *London* a great rich Merchant (meaning this *Humphrey Mummuth*) which had a very poor neighbour: yet for all his poverty he loved him very well, and lent him money at his need, and let

him come to his Table whenever he would: It was even at that time when Doctor *Collet* was in trouble, and should have been burnt, if God had not turned the Kings heart to the contrary. Now the rich man began to be a Scripture man, he began to smell the Gospel. The poor man was a Papist still.

It chanced on a time, when the rich man talked of the Gospel, sitting at his Table, where he remproved Popery and such kind of things; the poor man being there presently took a great dislike against the rich man, inasmuch that he would come no more to his house; he would borrow no more money of him as he was wont to do before times, yea, and conceived such hatred and malice against him, that he went and scolded him before the Bishops. Now the rich man, not knowing of any such displeasures, offered many times to talk with him, and to let him at quiet. It would not be. The poor man had such a stomach, that he would not vouchsafe to speak with him. If he met the rich man in the Street, he would go out of his way. One time it happened that he met him in a narrow street, that he could not avoid, but come near him; yet for all this, the poor man (1 say) had such a stomach against the rich man, that he was minded to go forward and not to speak with him. The rich man perceiving that, caught him by the hand, and asked him, saying; Neighbour, what is come into your heart to take such displeasure with me? What have I done against you? Tell me, and I will be ready at all times to make you amends.

Finally, he spake so gently, so charitably, so lovingly, and friendly, that it wrought fo in the poor mans heart; that by and by he fell down upon his knees, and asked him forgiveness. The rich man forgave him, and so took him again to his favour, and they loved as well as ever they did afote.

### The History of Thomas Hitten.

Persecutors.

Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

Thomas Hitten, at Maidstone, Ann. 1530.

T OUCHING the memorial of *Thomas Hitten* remaineth nothing in writings, but only his name, saveth *William Tindal* in his Apology against *More*, and also in another Book intitled, The practice of Prelates, doth once or twice make mention of him by way of digression. He was (saith he) a Preacher at *Maidstone*, whom the Bishop of *Canterbury* *William Warham*, and Fisher Bishop of *Rechefer*, after they had long kept and tormented him in Prison with sundry tormentments, and that notwithstanding he continued constant; at last they burned him at *Maidstone*, for the constant and manifest testimony of Jesus Christ, and of his free Grace and Salvation. In the year of our Lord God, 1530.

Will. Warham Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

The Hitten Martyr.

KING 1. Hen. 8.



Persecutors.

Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

Thomas Bilney, at Norwich, Anno 1531.

Cardinal Wolsey.

Nix, Bishop of Norwich.

Friers of Ipswich.

Frier Bird.

Frier Hodgkins.

Doctor Stoken.

Sir Thomas More.

Frier Brufford.

Frier John Higges, Provincial of the Dominicans.

IN the story above posited of Cardinal *Wolsey*, mention was made of certain whom the said Cardinal caused to Abjure; as *Bilney*, *Jeffrey Lome*, *Garrus*, *Barns*, and such others, of whom we have now (the Lord directing us) specially to entreat. This *Thomas Bilney* was brought up in the University of *Cambridge*, even from a Child, profiting in all kind of Liberal Sciences, even unto the perfection of both Laws. But at the last having gotten a better School-Master, even the Holy Spirit of Christ, who subdued his heart by privy inspiration with the knowledge of better and more wholom things, he came at the last unto this point, That, forsaking the knowledge of Mans Laws, he converted his Study, to those things which tended more unto godliness than gainfulnes.

Finally, As himself was greatly inflamed with the love of True Religion and Godliness, even fo again was in his heart an incredible desire to allure many unto the same, desiring nothing more, than that he might stir up and encourage any to the love of Christ, and sincere Religion. Neither were his labours vain; for he converted many of his followers to the knowledge of the Gospel, amongst which number was *Thomas Arbut*, and Master *Hugh Latimer*, which *Latimer* at that time was Cook-keeper at *Cambridge*, bringing it forth upon Proclamations. At the last, *Bilney* forsaking the University went into many places, teaching and preaching, being associate with *Arbut*, which accom-

Persecutors.

Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

Frier Jeffrey Julet.

Frier Jug.

M. William Jeket, Gentleman.

William Nelfon.

Thomas Williams.

William de.

William de.

William de.

William de.

William de.

William de.

William de.

William de.

William de.

William de.

panied him from the University. The Authority of *Thomas Wolsey* Cardinal of *York*, of whom ye have heard before, at that time was great in *England*, but his Pomp and Pride much greater, which did evidently declare unto all wile Men the manifest vanity, not only of his life, but also of all the Bishops and Clergy. Whereupon *Bilney*, with other good Men, marveling at the incredible insolence of the Clergy, which they could now no longer suffer or abide, began to shake and reprove this excessive Pomp of the Clergy, and also to pluck at the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*.

Then it was time for the Cardinal to awake, and speedily to look about his business. Neither lacked he in this point any craft or subtilty of a Serpent; for he understood well enough upon how slender a foundation their ambitious Diginity was grounded, neither was he ignorant that their Lucracious and proud Kingdom could not long continue against the manifest Word of God; especially at the sight of the Gospel should once open the eyes of Men. For otherwise he did not greatly fear the power and displeasure of Kings and Princes. Only this he feared, the Voice of Christ in his Gospel, lest it should disclose and detect their hypocrite and decets, and force them to come into an order of godly discipline: wherefore he thought good speedily in time to withdraw these beginnings. Whereupon he caused the said *Bilney* and *Arbut* to be apprehended and cast into Prison, as before you have heard.

After this, the seven and twentieth day of November, in the year of our Lord 1531, the said Cardinal accompanied with a great number of Bishops, as the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Cuthbert of London*, *John of Rochester*, *Nicholas of Ely*, *John of Exeter*, *John of Lincoln*, *John of Bath and Wells*, *Henry of St. Asaph*, with many other, both Divines and Lawmen, came into the Chapter-House of *Westminster*, where the said Master *Thomas Bilney*, and *Thomas Arbut* were brought before them, and the said Cardinal there inquired of Master *Bil-*

Cardinal Wolsey with his Bishops, the said Arbut and Arbut.





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why so? Because he representeth the Angel of the Church of Philadelphia: unto whom Saint *John* writeth *chap. 3.* *This, faith he, which is holy and true, which hath the key of David, which openeth and no man shutteth, seth and no man openeth. Behold, faith he, spe*

As touching that pertaineth to the preaching of the Gospel, I would to God you would give me leave privately to talk with you, that I might speak freely that which I have learned in the holy Scriptures for the consolation of

of the Law  
of God  
Priests  
noted.

But how should they teach the Law of God, which they have not once read in the Book, much less learned at the

But here, whether Christ have been a long time heard, I know not, for that I have not heard all the Preachers of England, and if I had heard them, yet till it was within this year or two, I could not sufficiently judge of them. But this I dare be bold to affirm, that as many as I have heard of late Preach (I speak even of the most famous) they have preached such Repentance, that if I had heard such Preachers of Repentance in times past, I should utterly have been in despair. And to speak of some of those famous men, uttering his Name after he had thereby investigated Anti Vice (wherein he pleased every godly man, forasmuch as it could not be sufficiently cried out upon) he concluded, *Behold, faith he, thou hast lien rotten in thine own lusts, by the face of thee fifty years, even as a Beast in his own dung, and with this perfume in one year to go forward toward Heaven, and that in thine age, as much as thou wast backward from Heaven toward Hell in fifty years? Is not this think you a goodly argument? Is this the preaching of Repentance in the Name of Jesus? or rather to tread down Christ with his own dung, and with this perfume to make thee speak in effect, that that Christ died in vain for thee? Will he not be thy Jesus or Saviour, thou must make satisfaction for thy self, or else thou shalt perish eternally. Then doth Saint John say, which faith he, *Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the World.* And in another place, *His blood hath cleansed us from all our sin.* And again, *He is the propitiation for the sin of the whole World.* Besides an infinite number of other places. What other thing is this, than that which was spoken by the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of Peter saying, *There shall be false Teachers that shall deny the Lord Jesus, which hath redeemed them?* And what followeth upon such Doctrine of Devils speaking lies through Hypocrite? A Conscience defaming and without all hope, and so given over unto all wicked lusts, according to the saying of Saint Paul, *After that they became to know, that they were now wretched, they give themselves over unto wantonness, to commit all kind of filthiness, even with greedy desire.* For seeing that it is impossible for them to make satisfaction to God, either they murmur against God, or else they do no more than to be so cruel as they do preach and declare him to be. The want of Paper will not suffer me to write any more, and I had rather to speak it in private talk unto your self. Whereunto if you would admit me, I trust you shall not repent you thereof: and unto me (Christ I take to my witness) it would be a great comfort, in whom I wish you, with all your Flock, heartily well to fare.*

Your Prisoner and humble Readerman, unto God for you, Tho. Bilney.

Thus have you the Letters, the Abjuration, and Articles of Thomas Bilney. After which Abjuration made, about the year of Lord, 1529, the said Bilney took such repentance and sorrow, that he was near the point of utter despair: as by the words of Master Latimer is credibly testified: whose words, for my better discharge, I thought here to annex, written in his seventh Sermon preached by King Edward, which he wrote, I knew a man my self, Bilney, little Bilney, that bluffed Masters of God, who while time he had been his father, and was come again to Cambridge, had such conflicts within himself (beholding this Image of death) that his Friends were afraid to let him be alone. They were fain to be with him day and night, and comfort him as they could, but no Comfort would serve. And as for the comfortable Places of Scriptures, to bring them unto him, it was as though a man should run through the heart with a Sword. Yet for all this he was revived, and took his death patiently, and died well against the tyrannical Sea of Rome. *Hæc Latimer.*

Again, the said Master Latimer, speaking of Bilney in another of his Sermons preached in Lincolnshire, hath these words following, *That same Master Bilney, which was burnt here in England for Gods Word sake, was induced and persuaded by his Friends to bear a fagot at the time when the Cardinal was alive, and bear the swings. Now when the same Bilney came to Cambridge*

*again, a whole year after, he was in such an anguish and agony, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other Communication of Gods Word; for he thought that all the whole Scriptures were against him, and furnished to his Condemnation. So that I many a time commended with him, (for I was familiarly acquainted with him) but all things whatsoever any man could allege to his comfort seemed to him to be against him. Yet for all that afterward he came again: God induced him with such strength and perfectness of Faith, that he not only confessed his Faith in the Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but also suffered his Body to be burned for that same Gospel; faith which we now preach in England, &c.* *Hæc the Sec. 8. fol. 132.*

Furthermore, in the first Sermon of the said Mr. Latimer before the Duches of Suffolk, fol. 5, he says (speaking more of Bilney, in terms of knowledge, Here I have (said he) occasion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge, Master Bilney, or rather Saint Bilney, that suffered death for Gods Word; faith, the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge. For I would he might think him, next to God, for that knowledge that he gave in the Word of God: For I was as obstinate a Papist as any was in England; inasmuch that when I should be made Bachelor of Divinity, my whole Oration went against Philip Melancthon, and against his Opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge, and came to me afterward in my study, and desired me for Gods sake to hear his Confession. I said to him: *And for thy trust by his Confession I learned more than thou art in many years.* So from that time forward I began to smell the Word of God, and forsoke the School-Divinity and such follies, &c. And much more he hath of the same matter, which ye may see hereafter in the life of Master Latimer.

By this it appeareth how vehemently this good man was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his Abjuration, the false almost of two years that is, from the year 1529, to the year 1531. It followed then this, by Gods Grace and good Conscience, he sought to get such quiet confidence, being fully resolved to give over his life for the confession of that Truth which before he had renounced. And thus being fully determined in his mind, and setting his time, he took his leave in Trinity-Hall, at Ten of the Clock at night, of certain of his Friends, and said, *That he would go to Hierusalem, allying belike to the words and example of Christ in the Gospel, going up to Hierusalem, what time he was appointed to suffer his Passion.* And so Bilney, meaning to give over his life for the Testimony of Christs Gospel, told his Friends that he would go up to Hierusalem, and so would fee them no more: and immediately departed to Norfolk, and there preached first privily in Houholds, to confirm the Brethren and Sisters, and also to comfort the *Anabaptists* whom he had converted to Christ. Then preached he openly in the Fields, conferring his Faith, and so the very truth, and willed all men to beware by him, and never to turn to their fleshly Friends in causes of Religion. And so, setting forward in his Journey toward the Celestial Hierusalem, he departed from thence to the *Anabaptists* in Norwich, and there gave her a new Testament of Trinitie Translation, and the obedience of a Christian man; whereupon he was apprehended and carried to Prison, there to remain till the bill Bishop Nix gave for a Writ to burn him.

In the mean season, the Friars and religious men, with the relictude of their Doctors Civil and Canon referred to him, busily labouring to persuade him, not to die in those Opinions, saying, *He should be damned Body and Soul if he continued.* Among whom, first were sent to him of the Bilney, Doctor Call, Minister (as they call him) or Provincial of the Gray-Friars: and Doctor Stokes an Anglican-Friar, who lay with him in prison in Disputation, till the Writ came that he should be burned, Doctor Call by the Word of God, through the means of Bilneys Doctrine and good Letters, where he had good experience, was somewhat reclaimed to the Gospels side. Doctor Stokes remained obdurate, and doth yet to this day, whose heart all the word (if it be his will) reform, and

and open the eyes of his old age, that he may forsake the former blindness of his youth. Another great Doer against him was one Friar Bird with one eye, Provincial of the White-Friars. This Bird was a Suffragan in Coventry, and after Bishop of Chester, and was that brought Apples to Rome mentioned in the story of *Haddock*. Another was a Black-Friar, called *Hodgekins*, who after being under the Archbishop of Canterbury, married, and afterward in Queen Maries time put away his Wife. These four Orders of Friars were sent (as is said) to bite Bilney: who notwithstanding as he had planted himself upon the firm Rock of Gods Word, was at a point, and so continued unto the end.

But here now cometh in Sir Thomas More trumping in our way, with his painted Card, and would needs take up this Thomas Bilney, from him, and make him a Convert after his Sect. Thus these coated-Cards, though they could not but plain Scriptures convince him being alive: yet now after his death, by false play they will make him theirs whether he will or no. This Sir Thomas More, in his railing Preface before his Book against Bilney, doth charge Bilney to his Catholic Church, and faith, That not only at the fire, but many days before, both in words and writing, he revoked, and honored, and detested his Heresies before hidden. And how is this proved? By three or four mighty arguments, as big as Mills-pots, let out of *Euphuia*, from whence, thou must know Reader, can come no Fictions, but all true Poetry.

First he faith, That certain *Norwich-men* writing to London, and denying that Bilney did recant: afterward being thereupon examined, were compelled to grant, that he at his Examination read a Bill, but what it was they could not tell: for they stood not so near to hear him. And albeit they stood not so near, yet some of them perceived certain things there spoken, whereby they thought that he did revoke. Some again added to those things spoken, certain additions of their own, to excite him further to recantation.

First, To answer hereunto, and to try out this matter somewhat roundly with Master More, let us fee with what conveyance he proceedeth in his Narrative. At his last Examination (faith he) he waxed fain in his Opinions, but yet God was so good a Lord unto him, that he was fully converted to the true Catholic Faith, &c. And when might this goodly Conversion begin? Many days (quoth he) before his burning. Here is no certain day assigned, but many days left at large, that he might have the larger room to walk invariable. Well then, but how many days there could he I would fain learn of Master More, when he was not many days in their hands, no longer than they could tend up to London for a Writ to burn him. Belike then shortly after his apprehension, at the first coming of the Friars unto him by and by he revolved. A strange matter, that he which two years before had lain in such a burning hell of despair for his self Abjuration, and could find no other comfort but only in returning to the false Doctrine again which before he had denied, utterly refigning himself over to death, and taking his leave of his Friends, and setting his face with Christ purposely to go to Hierusalem, voluntarily there to fall into the hands of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* for that Doctrine false, should now so soon, even at the first burnt, give over to the contrary Doctrine again. It is not like God was so good a Lord unto him, as Master More. That God was a good Lord unto him, very true it is. But that God did to turn him indeed, to be a Member of that *Romish* Church, that hath not Bilney yet sufficiently proved. To affirm without proof or demonstration in matters of history, it is not sufficient. But what hath been done indeed, that must be proved by good evidence and special demonstration of Witnesses, that we may certainly know it to be.

It followed moreover in Master More, And there lacked not some (faith he) that were sorry for it. No doubt, but if our Bilney had so relented, some would have been sorry therefore. But what one man in all this sum, in all Norwich, was sorry: that Master More must suffice unto us before we believe him: for we were acquainted with his Poetical Fictions. But how else

should this Narration of Master More seem to run with probability, if it were not watered with such additions? He addeth moreover, and faith, *And some wrote out* Norwich to London, that he had not revoked his Heresies at all, but still did stand firm. This is a story that should come more near to a truth. And here is a lack of *Simons* Art, to enlarge a Tale of untruth with some parcel of truth now and then again, that some things being found true may win credit to the rest which is utterly false. And why then be not the Letters of these *Norwich-men* believed, for the not recanting of Bilney? Because, faith he, afterward they being called to examination, it was there proved plainly to their faces, that Bilney revoked. By whom was it proved? By those, faith he, which at his execution stood by, and heard him read his Revocation himself, &c. What men were these? or what were their names? or what was any one mans name in all the City of Norwich, that heard Bilney recant? There Master More will give us leave to seek them out if we can, for he can name us none. Well, and why should we seek the other part, hear Bilney read his Revocation as well as these? Because, faith More, he read so softly, that they could not hear him.

Well all this admitted, that Bilney read his Revocation so softly, that some could hear, some could not hear him, then this would be known, what was the cause why Bilney read his Revocation so softly? which much needs be either for lack of good will to read, or good voice to utter. If good will were absent in reading that Revocation, then it appeareth that he recanted again to his own mind and conscience. If it were by imbecillity of voice and utterance, then how followeth it Master More, in this your Narration, where you say, *That the said persons, which could not hear him recant the Bill, yet notwithstanding could not hear him revoke: certain other things spoken by him the same time at the fire, whereby they could not but perceive what, that he revoked his Errors, &c.* Ah Master More, for all your words and experience, do ye think to cast such a mill before mens eyes, that we cannot see how you juggle with truth, and take you tardy in your own Narration? unless peradventure you will excuse your self, per licentiam Poeticam, under the Privilege of Poets and Painters: for you know the old liberty of these two.

*Pictoribus atque Poetis, Quælibet audendi, semper fuit æqua potestas.*

Now in this vein of yours, which I extremely rail and faine against the poor Martyrs and Servants of Christ, be so copious, that you date late in hand any false matter to prove, and to make men believe that Bilney did a Papist, yet the manner of handling hereof would have required some more artificial Conveyance: *Adhuc decem enim (ut sit) memora esse oportet:* that men, although they fee the matter to be false, yet might commend the workmanship of the handle, which (to say the truth) neither hangeth with it self, nor beareth any semblance of any truth. But because Master More is gone and dead, I will cease any further to insult upon him, lest I may seem to imitate the same vice in his *morando morantur*. Yet furthermore as his Books be not yet dead, but remain alive to the hurt of many, having therefore to do, not with him, but with his Book-Disciples, this would I know, how hangeth this gear together? Bilney was heard, and yet not heard, he spake softly, and yet not softly? Some said he did recant, some said he did not recant? Over and besides, how will this be answered, that forasmuch as the said Bilney (as he faith) revoked many days before his burning, and the fame was known to him at London, then how changed the fame could be as well known to them of Norwich? who (as his own story affirmeth) knew nothing thereof before the day of his execution, then seeing a certain Bill in his hand, which some said was a Bill of his Revocation, some other heard it not. All this would be made plain, especially in such a matter as this is, which he knew himself peradventure to be false at all, he knew would be doubted, suspected and contrariet of a great multitude.



*The second reason of Mr. More.*  
I pass now to his second reason, where he reporteth, That the said Bilney, forthwith upon his judgment and degradation, knelt down in the presence of all the people, and asked of the Chancellor absolution from the sentence of Excommunication, holding him well content with his death, which he confessed himself to have deserved, &c.

As touching the Patient receiving of his death, I do well assent, although I do not think, that he had deserved any such for his Doctrine. And as for his kneeling down in the presence of the people, upon his judgment and degradation, as I do not deny that he might do so, I suppose again the cause of his kneeling not to be unto the Chancellor to ask absolution from his Excommunication. And if he were absolved from his Excommunication, yet doth it not thereupon follow that he recanted, no more than before, when he came to Master More's judgment, in his study, humbly to be confessed and absolved from his sins, as the blindness of that time then led him. But whether he knelt down and was absolved or no, neither was I there to see him, nor yet Master More himself: and therefore with the like subtlety as he afterwards, I may deny the same, unless he brought better demonstration for his assertion than he doth, having no more for himself, but only his own, \* *deus pro te*. And yet nevertheless, admit he did so, being a man of a timorous Conscience, of an humble Spirit, and not fully resolved touching that matter of the Church, yet it followeth not thereby (as is said) that he revoked his other Articles and Doctrine by him before professed.

The like answer may also be flung to his third reason, where he saith, That certain days after his Judgment, he made great labour, to be mightily received, the blessed Body of Christ in form of Bread, which the Chancellor, after a great sticking at words, at length did grant, perceiving his devotion thereto, &c. Whereunto I answer as before, that it is not unpollable, but that Bilney might both hear Mass, and desire to receive the Sacrament. But that matter it may be that he was not relieved otherwise, than common custom did let both him any many other. Neither do I find in all the Articles objected against Bilney, that ever he was charged with any such opinion, concerning either the Mass or the Sacrament: which maketh me think, that he was yet ignorant, and also devout as other then were.

And fourthly, he is admitted, as Master More saith, That in receiving of the Sacrament, he holding up his hands should say the Collect, Domine Jezu Christe: and coming to these words, Ecclesie tue pacem &c. concussit, he knelt down on his breast, divers times repeating the same words, &c. all this being granted to Master More, yet it argueth no necessary alteration of his former Doctrine, which he preached and taught before. And yet if I lifted here to stand dallying with Master More in the flate insinuation, and deny that he affirmeth, how will he make good that which he saith? He saith, That Bilney, kneeling before the Chancellor, desired absolution. Then, coming to Mass full devoutly, required to receive the Body of Christ in form of Bread, repeating divers times the words of the Collect Domine Jezu Christe, &c. By what argument proveth he all this to be so? Master More in his Preface before the Book against Titus doth to faith: Ergo it is certain. If Master More had never made Fictions in his Writings beside, or had never broken the head of verities in so rough pieces as his Book, as I could then him, then might this argument go for somewhat. But here I ask, Was this Master More present at the Judgment of Bilney? No. Or else, what Registers had he for his direction? None. Or else, by what Witnesses will he avouch this to be certain? Go by after Confession was hounded, and lastly asked mercy for contemning of the Church, as Master More doth bear us in hand (to fee now how this Tale hangeth together) why then did the Chancellor flick to greatly to give him the Sacrament of the Altar, whom he himself had absolved, and received to the Sacrament of Penance before; which is plain against the Canon-Law? Again, the said Thomas Bilney, if he were now received to the Mother-Church by the Sacraments of Penance and of the Altar: why then was he afterwards degraded, and cut from the Church, with the Canon

What absolving is this, to be first forgiven, and then to be punished after? Again, if he were (as they farrnie) converted to fully to the Catholic Faith, and also absolved, why then did the Chancellor flick to greatly for a while, to hound him with the Body of Christ in form of Bread? I am sure that if Christ had been here Himself in form of his own Flesh, he would nothing have flock to receive him, being he converted at the first.

To be short, if Bilney was so graciously reduced to the holy Mother the Catholic Church, representing the Father, and detesting his Heresies, and now being in no Purgatory, but being a very Saint in Heaven, as ye say he is: why then did you burn him whom ye knew your selves should be a Saint? Thus if ye burn both Gods Enemies, and Gods Saints too, what Law are you? But here you will alledge perhaps, your Law of Heresy, by the which the first fall is pardonable, but the second fall into Heresy is in no case pardonable: for so flandeth your Law, I grant. But how this Law flandeth with the true Church of Christ, and with his Word, now let us reason. For this being a Law not of politics or civil Government (where such Laws be expedient for public necessity) but only being a Law meer Ecclesiastica, what a cruel Mother-Church is this, which will not and cannot forgive her Children, rising and repenting the second fall or error committed, but needs must burn them, that their Souls may be saved from the painful punishment of Purgatory, whom nevertheless they know forthwith shall be blessed in Heaven? If God do save them, why do ye burn them? If God do pardon them, why do you condemn them? And if this be the Law of your Church, according to your Doctrine, to burn them at the second fall, though they be amended: how then doth this Church agree with the Word of Christ, and nature of his true Spouse, which only seeking repentance and amendment of Sinners? which once being had, the gladly open their bosom, and motherly receive them whosoever they return.

Wherefore, if Bilney did return to your Church (as ye say he did) then was your Church a cruel Mother, and unnatural, which would not open her bosom unto him, but thrust him into the fire when he had repented. Furthermore, how will you defend this Law by the Word of God, when in express words teaching all Bishops and Pastors, by the example of Christ the great Bishop of our Souls (being compasse of with temptations, that he might have the more compassion of them which be infirm) exhorteth all other Spiritual Persons by the like example, saying, (Hebrews the fifth) For every Bishop Hebr. 5, which is taken from among men is ordained for men, in things pertaining to God, to offer Gifts and Sacrifices for Sins, that He may be merciful to the ignorant, and to such as he, forasmuch as he himself is compassed about with infirmity, &c. Besides which Scripture, and also that some Doctors of the Common Law, if they be well scanned, will not deny, but that they which be fallen in by the lapses, whether it be severe, or fild, yet if they earnestly return from their errors before the Sentence be given, they may be sent to perpetual prison. Some Monasteries, &c. say therefore, if Bilney did so earnestly retract and detest his former Opinions, so many days (as Master More saith) before his suffering, then needed not he to suffer that death as he did, but might have been sent to perpetual prison.

Thus, although I need not to stand longer upon this matter, being so plain, and having said enough; yet (briefly to repeat that which before hath been said) this I say again: first if Thomas Bilney was absolved from Excommunication, and after that heard his Mass devoutly, and at the end of the Mass was confessed, and afterwards by after Confession was hounded, and lastly asked mercy for contemning of the Church, as Master More doth bear us in hand (to see now how this Tale hangeth together) why then did the Chancellor flick to greatly to give him the Sacrament of the Altar, whom he himself had absolved, and received to the Sacrament of Penance before; which is plain against the Canon-Law? Again, the said Thomas Bilney, if he were now received to the Mother-Church by the Sacraments of Penance and of the Altar: why then was he afterwards degraded, and cut from the Church, with the Canon

permetteth no degradation, but to them only which be incorrigible. Furthermore the said Bilney, if he being converted to many days before (as More pretendeth) to the Catholic Faith, was now as Heretic, how then did the Sentence pronounce him so an Heretic? Or finally, how could they, or why would they burn him being a Catholic, especially when the Canon-Law would bear with him, to be judged rather to perpetual prison, in some Monastery as is afore touched, if they had pleased?

Wherefore in three words to answer to Mr. More: First, all this Tale of his may be doubted, because of the contraries and hangings together. Secondly, it may also well be denied, for the insufficiency of probation and testimony.

Thirdly, if all this were granted, yet neither hath Mr. More any great advantage against Mr. Bilney, to prove him to have recanted: nor yet Mr. Cope against me, which by the authority of Mr. More seeketh to bear me down, and disprove my former story.

For be it granted that Bilney at his death did hold with the Mass, with Confession, and with the authority of the Romish-Church, being avowed by him, and yet so further brought; yet all this notwithstanding proveth not that he recanted. Forasmuch as he never held nor taught any thing before against the premises, therefore he could not recant that which he never did hold. For the better demonstration whereto I will recite out of the Registers some part of his teaching and preaching, as was objected against him by one Rich. Nole Priest: who, amongst other Witnesses, deposed against him for preaching in the Town of Wiseldon, these words following:

That away your golden gods, your silver gods, your many gods, and leave your Offerings, and lift up your Hearts to the Sacrament of the Altar. All the said Mr. Bilney said in his Sermon, I know certain things have been offered in such places, which have been afterward given to Whores of the Streets; and I call them Whores of the Streets, because they have sold their bodies for filthy lucre.

By another Witness named William Cade it was deposed against him, that he thus preached, That Jews and Saracens would have become Christian men long ago, had not Idolatry of Christian men been, by offering of Candelaries for Money to the Stocks and Stones of Images, for standing in the Churches, &c.

Item, by the said Deponent against Bilney, That the Priests take away the Offerings, and hang them about their Whores Neckes: and after that they take them again from the Whores if they please them, and hang them upon the Images: And is not this a great Relapse, when it is hang'd there again?

Item, by the said Deponent it was testified against Bilney, That going on Pilgrimage is naught, and that no man should use it, for ye were better not, and rather to tarry at home, and give somewhat in Alms, and offer your Hearts, Will, and Attende, to the Sacrament, and leave your Idolatry to Saints.

Item, by William Nelms of Wiseldon, that Bilney should preach, That they gild their gods, and bear them about, and men say they do speak, and if they speak, it is as Devils that speak in them, and not God.

Item, by Thomas Daly of Wiseldon, that Bilney thus preached, You come hither on Pilgrimage to Stocks and Stones. You do naught, keep you at home, and Worship the Sacrament at home, &c.

Item, by Price J. Higgin, that Bilney thus preached at Ipswich, The coming of our Saviour Christ was declared by, and by divers and many Prophets prophesied, that he should come. But John the Baptist, more then a Prophet, did not only Prophesie, but with his finger heaved, Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the World. Therefore if this were the very Lamb, which John did demonstrate and shew, which taketh away the sins of the World, whose injury is this Bull of the Bishop of Rome to our Saviour Jesus Christ? To be buried in clothe of Saints Francis hand to you remit four parts of the Penance? What is this, to our Saviour Jesus Christ, which taketh away the sins of the World? This will I judge to be a great blasphemy against the blood of Christ, &c.

Item, by another Felix Tules, that Bilney thus preached, I trust there shall and will come other Jesu like me, which shall shew and preach to you the same Faith and manner of living that I do, which is the very true Gospel of our Saviour, whereto you shall be brought from your Errors; whereto you have been brought from long before this time: have been many that have slandered you and the Gospel of our Saviour Christ. Of whom beaketh our Saviour Christ, Mat. 18. Qui scandalizaverit unum de pusillis illis qui credunt, &c.

Add moreover to this the testimony of Richard Seybourn, that Bilney in Spanish should preach these words, Bilney saith, our Saviour Christ is our Mediator between us and the Father: what then should we need to seek for remedy to any Saint inferior to Christ? Wherefore to make such petition to any, but to our Saviour Christ, trusting thereby to have recanted, doth great injury to the Blood of Christ, and defame our Saviour: like as if a man should take and strike off the head, and let it under the foot, and so to let the foot above.

Thus much, being partly touched before, I thought here to insinuate again out of the registers, touching the Opinions of Thomas Bilney. Whereby may appear the whole aim of his Preaching and Doctrine to proceed chiefly against Idolatry, Invocation of Saints, vain worship of Images, false trust to men merits, and such other gross Points of Religion, as seemed prejudicial and derogatory to the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. As touching the Mass, and Sacrament of the Altar, as he saith here never varied neither more nor less from himself, so like here never differed therein from the most gross Catholics and heretics. And as concerning his opinion of the Church of Rome, how blind it was at that time may sufficiently appear by his own hand in Latin, which I have to shew, as followeth: Credo plerisque leges Pontificis utiles esse, necessarias, &c. ad pietatem quoque plurimum promovere, nec facere Scripturis repugnantes, imo ab omnibus plurimum afferendas, &c. De omnibus non possum pronuntiare, verget non legi, &c. quae legi, nunquam in hoc legi, ut reprehenderem, sed ut differem intelligere, ac pro virili facere, &c. De multiplici legum quibus est suo tempore S. Augustinus, & item Cassianus, qui miratur quomodo non populus lapsus inter nos lapsus committeret, nisi esset populus, quam primum Sacramentum adhibere puri, & ante lapsum, unicum praeceptum non observantes, &c.

Moreover, concerning the authority of the Keys thus he writeth, answering to his twelfth Article, Soli Sacramenti, derivati vice per Pontifices, habent clavem, quorum ecclesiae ligant & solvant (dixit non errant) quod &c. facere eos non audiam, quamvis sint peccatores. Nam &c. Sacramentorum efficaciam non nisi modum tollit misericordia, quoniam indignitas, quamvis ab Ecclesia testatur, &c.

By these words of Bilney written by him in Latin, although it may be thought how ignorant and gross he was after the rudeness of those days, yet by the same notwithstanding it may appear how filially he is noted and flattered by Master More, and Cope my Friend, to have recanted the Articles, which he had never hold or maintained otherwise in all his life. And therefore (as I said) though it be granted to Master More, or in his absence to my Friend Cope, that Bilney was absolved, was confessed, and hounded before his burning, yet all this argueth not, that he recanted.

Now that I have sufficiently (I trust) put off the reasons of Master More and of others, whereby they pretended filially to face us out, that Bilney the second time again recanted at his death: it remaineth on the other part, that I likewise do infer my Probations, whereby I have to argue and convince, that Bilney did not recant the second time recant, as he is usually slandered. And first I will begin even with the words and testimonies of Master More own mouth, who being Lord Chancellor, when Messias was sent to him for a Wit of Discharge to burn Bilney, spake in this wise to the Messengers that came, Go your ways, faith he, and burn him first, and then afterward come to me for a Bill of my hand. Which words may give us evidence enough, that Bilney was not thought then to have recanted, for then the Lord Chancellor would not have been so greedy and



hally no doubt, to have him dispatched. And how fustidiously this with *Matter More*, who was much heavier, than he was in hand that he recanted many days before his burning?

The like evidence we may also take by the Verdict of the Bishop himself that burned him, whose words were these. After he had burnt *More*, and then heard tell of Doctor *Shaw*, who was *Christy Alder*, said he, (that was his Oath) *I fear I have burnt Abel, and let Cain go &c.* As who would say, I had thought before that I had punished *Cain*, and let *Abel* go: but now I fear I have burnt *Abel*, and let *Cain* escape. Whereby it is plain to understand what was the Bishops judgment of *Bilney*, before his burning; that is, that he was a *Cain*, and the other an *Abel*. But after the burning of *Bilney*, the Bishop hearing now of *Shawton*, turneth his judgment, and correcteth himself, (fearing now the contrary); that is, left he had burnt *Abel*, and let *Cain* go.

Furthermore, where the Bishop feared, in burning *Bilney*, that he had burnt *Abel*; what doth this fear of the Bishop import, but a doubting of his mind uncertain? For who feareth that whereof he is sure? Wherefore the case is plain, that *Bilney* at his burning did not recant, as *More* reportedly. For then the Bishop knowing *Bilney* to die a Catholic Convert, and a true Member of the Church, would not have feared, nor doubted, but would have confidently affirmed *Bilney* to have died a true *Abel* indeed. And to conclude this matter, if *Bilney* died an *Abel*, then the Bishop by his own confession must needs prove himself to be a *Cain*, which flow him. What more clear probation could we bring, if there were a thousand? Or what need we any other, having this alone?

Now for testimony and witness of this matter to be produced, for so much as *Matter More* alledgeth none to prove that *Bilney* at his death did recant; I will assay what testimonies I have on the contrary side, to avouch and prove that *Bilney* did not recant.

And forasmuch as *Bilney* was a Cambridge man, and the first Framer of that University in the knowledge of Christ, and was buried at *St. Andrews*, being not very far distant from Cambridge; there is no doubt, but amongst many Friends as he had in that University, some went thither to hear and see him. Of whom one was *Thomas Allen*, Fellow of *Pembroke-Hall*, who, returning the same time from *Bilney*'s burning, declared to Doctor *Turner* Dean of *Wells*, being yet alive, (a man whose authority neither is to be neglected, nor credit to be diminished) that the said *Bilney* took his death most patiently, and suffered most constantly, without any recantation for the Doctrine which he before had professed.

In the City of *Norwich*, *Nefton* and many other he now departed, which were then present at the burning of *Bilney*: nevertheless some be yet alive, whose witness if I need were I could fetch with a little labour, and will (if God willing) as time fall require: in the mean time, at the writing hereof, there was one *Thomas Ruffe*, a right honest Occupier, and a Citizen of *Norwich*, who likewise being there present on horseback at the execution of this godly man, beholding all things that were done, did neither hear him recant any word nor yet heard of his Recantation.

I could also add hereto the testimony of another, being Brother to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, named *Matter Baker*, a man yet alive, who being the same time present at the Examination of *Bilney*, both heard him and saw him, when as a certain Friar called him *Heretic*. Whereunto *Bilney* replying again, made answer by these words, whereby he may easily be judged to be far from the mind of any Recantation; according as by the said Gentleman it is also testified, that after that he never heard of any Recantation that *Bilney* either made or made.

If I should recite all that here might be brought, I might for sooner lack room in my Book to contain them, than names enough to fill up a grand Jury. But what need I to spend time about Witneses, when one *Matter Latimer*

may stand for a thousand, one Martyr to bear witness to a multitude? And though my friend *Coke*, pressing me with the authority of *Matter More*, faith, *That he will believe him before me*; yet I trust he will not refuse to credit this so ancient a Seignior, Father *Latimer*, being both in *Bilney*'s time, and also by *Bilney* converted, and familiarly with him acquainted; who being the same time at *Cambridge*, I suppose would inquire as much, and could know more of this matter than *Matter More*.

Touching the testimonial of which *Latimer* I have noted before, how he in three sundry places of his Sermons hath testified of good *Bilney*, of that blessed Bilney of *St. Andrews*, how he died patiently, against the tyrannical Use of Rome, &c. And in another Sermon also, how the said *Bilney* suffered his body to be burned for the Gospel sake, &c. Item, in another place, How the said *Bilney* suffered death for Gods Word sake. Vide *First Page*.

I may be thought perhaps of fame to have stayed too long about the discourse of this matter. But the cause that moved, and half constrained me thereto, was Sir *Thomas More*, sometimes Lord Chancellor of *England*, and now a great Archpriest of all our *English* Papists, a man otherwise of a pregnant wit, full of pleasant conceits; also for his learning above the common sort of his estate, esteemed no less industrious in his Studies, than well exercised in his Pen. Who if he had kept himself in his own shop, and applied the faculty, being a Lay-man, whereunto he was called, and had not over-reached himself to prove Madriest in such matters wherein he had little skill, less experience, and which pertained not to his Profession, he had deserved not only much more commendation, but also longer life.

But forasmuch as he, not contented with his own Vocation, hath with *Osea* reached out his unmet hand to meddle with Gods Ark-matters, wherein he had little cunning, and while he thinketh to help Religion, delecteth Religion, and is an utter Enemy to Christ, and to the Spiritual Doctrine, and to the poor afflicted Church: To the intent therefore that he, being taken for a special Ring-leader and a chief stay in the Popes Church, might the better be known what he is, and that the ignorant and simple may see what little credit is to be given unto him, as well in his other false facing out of matters, as namely in this present History of *Bilney*'s Recantation: I have diligently searched out and procured the true Certificate of M. *Bilney* burning, with all the circumstances and points thereto belonging, testified not by some-fays and hear-fays (as *Matter More* ufeth) but truly witnessed, and faithfully recorded by one, who was in a place and degree he firmitiously the estate of *Matter More* (though he were Lord Chancellor) to be also both a spiritual prelate, and three present the same time coming for the same purpose the day before to see his burning, was a present beholder of things there done, derives to people of his Martyrdom, whose credit I am sure will counterpoise with the credit of *Matter More*. The Order of which Martyrdom was this as followeth.

*Thomas Bilney*, after his Examination and Condemnation before Doctor *Pulse*, Doctor of Law, and Chancellor, first was degraded by *Suffragan Underwood*, according to the custom of this Bishop's manner, by the assistance of all the Friars and Doctors of the same Suit. Which done, he was immediately committed to the Lay-power, and to the two Sheriffs of the City, of whom *Thomas Nefton* was one. This *Thomas Nefton* was *Bilney*'s special good Friend, and for to accept him to such execution as followed. But such was the tyranny of that time, and dread of the Chancellor and Friars, that he could no otherwise do, but needs must receive him. Who notwithstanding, as he could not bear in his Conscience himself to be present at his death, so, for the times he was in his custody, he caused him to be more liberally looked unto, and more willingly kept concerning his diet, than he was before.

THE KING'S  
MAYESTY

The testimony  
of the  
Bishop  
concerning  
Bilney.

Doct. Ruffe  
Arch-bishop of  
Canterbury  
his present  
witness at  
the burning  
of Bilney.

Thomas  
Nefton  
his  
witness

After

Thomas Bilney, proving the fire with his finger. The Burning of the Godly and constant martyr Thomas Bilney.



After this, the Friday following at night, which was being the day of his execution, being Saint *Agnes*'s day, and Saturday, the said *Bilney* had divers of his Friends resorting unto him in the *Guildhall*, where he was kept. Amongst whom, one of the said Friends finding him eating of an Ale-brew with such a cheerful heart, and quiet mind as he did, said, *That he was glad to see him at that time, so shortly before his heavy and painful departure, so heartily to refresh himself.* Whereunto he answered, O, said he, I follow the example of the *Humblemen* of the Country, who having a ruinous house to dwell in, yet before they set it on fire, as they were to build it up, said, *So do I now with this ruinous house of my body, and with Gods Creatures, in thanks to him, refresh the same as ye see.* Then sitting with his said Friends in godly talk to their Edification, some put him in mind, that though the first, which he should suffer the next day, should be of great hurt unto his body, yet the comfort of Gods Spirit should cool it to his everlasting refreshing. At this the said *Thomas Bilney* putting his hand toward the flame of the Candle burning before them (as also he did divers times betwixt) and telling, the best thereof, O (said he) I feel by experience, and have known it long by Philosophy, that fire by Gods Ordinance is naturally hot, but yet I am persuaded by Gods holy Word, and by the experience of some spoken of in the same, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the fire they felt no consumption: and I confidently believe, hereafter that the flesh of this my Body shall be washed by it, yet my Soul and Spirit shall be purged thereby, a pain for the time, whereupon notwithstanding followeth joy unfeignable. And here he much extolled of this place of Scripture, *Noli timere, quia redemi te, & vocavit te nomine tuo, more est tu. Cum transieris per ignem, tecum ero, & flamma non comburent te. Cum ambulaveris in igne, non comburentur, & flamma non ardebit te, quia ego Dominus Deus tuus. Sanctus Israel, salvator tuus.* That is, *Fear not, thou art redeemed, thou art called by thy Name, thou art mine own, When thou shalt go through the water, I will be with thee, and the strong floods shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burn thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee, for I am the Lord thy God, the holy One of Israel.* Which he did much comfortably extol, as well in respect of himself, as applying it to the particular use of his Friends there present. Of whom some took such sweet fruit there, that they caused the whole said Sentence to be

fair written in Tables, and some in their Books. The comfort whereof (in divers of them) was never taken from them to this day.

The Saturday next following, when the Officers of execution (as the manner is) with their Cleave and Halberds were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the place of execution without the City Gate, called *Bilbys* gate, in a low Valley, commonly called *The Lollards pit*, under Saint *Leonards* hill, environed about with great hills, (which place was chosen for the peoples quiet, thinking to see the execution) as the coming forth of the said *Thomas Bilney* out of the prison-door one of his Friends came to him, and with few words, as he durst, spake to him, and prayed him in Gods behalf to be constant, and to take his death as a patiently as he could. Whereunto the said *Bilney* answered, with a quiet and mild countenance, *To see when the *Admirer* entered his Ship to fall on the ruinous Sea, how he for a while is tossed on the billows of the same, but yet in hope, that he shall once come to the quiet haven, he bemoans in better comfort the perils which he feeleth: So am I now toward this falling, and whatsoever storm I shall feel, yet shortly after shall my Ship be in the haven, as I doubt not thereof by the Grace of God, desiring you to help me with your prayers to the same effect.*

And so he going forth in the streets, giving much Arms by the way by the hands of one of his Friends, and accompanied with one Doctor *Warner*, Doctor of Divinity, and Patron of *Winterton*, whom he did choose as his old Acquaintance, to be with him for his ghastly comfort: he came at the last to the place of execution, and descended down from the hill to the stake, approached in his arms out, his hair being pitifully mangled at his degradation (a little single body in pelfin, but always of a good upright countenance) and drew near to the Stake prepared, and somewhat tarrying the preparation of the fire, he desired that he might speak some words to the people, and there standing, thus he said:

Good people, I am come hither to die, and born I was the words to live under that condition, naturally to die again, and sleep as that ye might testify that I depart out of this present life, as a true Christian man, in a right belief towards Almighty God, I will release mine you in a full Faith the Articles of my Creed: and then began to rehearse them in order, as they be in the common Creed, with oft elevating his eyes and hands to Almighty God, and at the Article

Article

Article of Christ's Incarnation, having a little meditation in himself, and coming to the word *Crucified*, he marvelled himself and made great reverence, and then proceeded in the Articles, and coming to these words: *I believe the Catholic Church*, there he paused, and spake these words, *Good people I must have confesse to have offended the Church, in protesting me against the prohibition of the same, at a poor Cure belonging to Tintin-hall in Cambridge, where I was Fellow, earnestly interceding by the Curate and other good people of the Parish, shewing, that they had no Sermon there of long time before: and so in my Conscience moved, I did make a poor Cure, and thereby ran into the disedification*

Mother Mary gave a certain authority in the Church, by whom I was promoted; I bowled I trust at the general day, Charity that moved me to this all bear me out at the Judgment Seat of God; and he proceeded on, without intercession of words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him to his death.

This once done, he put off his Gown, and went to the Stalls, and kneeling upon a little ledge coming out of the Stalls, whereon he should afterward stand to be judged, he made his private prayer with such earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to Heaven, and in good quiet behaviour, that he seemed not much to consider the terror of his death, and ended at the last his private prayers with the 143. Psalm, beginning, *Domine, exaudi orationem meam* &c. *Domine, exaudi orationem meam* &c. That is, *Hear my prayer, O Lord, consider my desire*: and the next verse, he repeated in deep meditation thrice, *Et ne intres in iudicium cum servo tuo Domine*: That is, *And enter not into judgment with thy Servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified*: And to finishing that Psalm he ended his private prayers.

After that, he turned himself to the Officers, asking them if they were ready, and they answered, *Yes*. Whereupon he put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went unto the Stalls, standing upon that ledge, and the church was all about him, and standing thereon, the said Doctor *Warner* came to him to bid him farewell, who spake but few words for weeping.

Upon whom the said Thomas Bilney did most gently smile, and enquired his word to speak to him a few words of thanks, and the last were these, *O Master Doctor, Pax progre tuum, Pax progre tuum, ut cum veneris Domine, inveniat te faciem tuam*. That is, *Feed your Flock, feed your Flock, that when the Lord cometh, he may find you doing good, and farewell good Master Doctor, and pray for me*; and so he departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping. And while he stood upon that ledge at the Stalls, certain Priests, Doctors, and Priors of their Houses being there present (as they were uncharitably and maliciously present at his Examination and Degradation, &c.) came to him and said *O Master Bilney the people be persuaded that we be the Crafters of your death, and that we have procured the same, and thereupon it is like that they will withdraw their charitable Alms from us all, except you declare your Charity towards us, and discharge us of the matter*. Whereupon the said Thomas Bilney spake with a loud voice to the people and said, *I pray you good people be never the worse to these men for my sake, as though they should be the Authors of my death; it was not they*: and he ended.

Then the Officers put red ragots about his body, and let rise on the rest which made a very great flame, which fastened and deformed the visage of his face, he holding up his hands, and knocking upon his breast, crying sometimes *Jesu*, sometimes *Credo*. Which flame was blown away from him by the violence of the Wind, which was that day and two or three days before notable great, in which it was said, That the fields were marvelously ploughed by the loss of Corn; and so for a little while he stood without flame, the flame departing and recounting there the wood took flame to be the tharper to consume, and then he gave up the ghost, and his body being withered bowed downward upon the chains. Then one of the Officers with his Halbert smote out the staple in the Stake behind him, and suffered his body to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood on it, and so he was consumed.

Thus have ye (good Readers) the true History, and Martyrdom of this good man; that is, of blessed Saint Bilney (as Master Latimer doth call him) without any recantation, testified and ratified by the authority above said, by the which authority and party being there present and yet alive, it is furthermore constantly affirmed, that Bilney not only did never recant; but also that he never had any such Bill, or Scap, or Scord in his hand to read, either forthly or apertly, as Master More, *Pro licentiam Petitionem*, Mr. More, More dead in this, to you may trust him in the recitall of his other Tales, if ye will.

#### Master Stafford of Cambridge.

AS the death of this godly Bilney did much good in Norfolk where he was burned; so his diligent travel, in teaching and exhorting other, and example of his life, correspondent to his Doctrine, let no small fruit behind him in Cambridge, being a great means of forming that University, and drawing divers unto Christ. By reason of whom, and partly also of another called Master Stafford, the Word of God began there most luckily to spread, and many toward woe to flourish. In the company of whom was Master Latimer, Doctor Barnes, Doctor Thibell of Pembroke-Hall, Master Fole of Bene College, and Master Swade of the same College. Doctor Warner above-mentioned, with divers other more.

This Master Stafford was then the public Reader of the Divinity Lecture in that University. Who, as he was an earnest Professor of Christ's Gospel, for he was a diligent Follower of that which he professed, as by this example here following may appear.

For as the Plague was then fure in Cambridge, and amongst others a certain Priest called Sir Henry Conquer, lay sore sick of the said Plague, Master Stafford hearing thereof, and seeing the horrible danger that his Soul was in, was so moved in Conscience to help the dangerous state of the Priest, that he neglecting his own bodily duty, to recover the other from eternal damnation, came unto him, exhorted, and laboured him, that he would not leave him before he had converted him, and saw his conjuring Books burned before his face. Which being done, Mr. Stafford went home, and immediately fished, and shortly after most Christianly deceased. *Ex fidelis testimonio D. Beldet, et Edmundi Episcopi. Lond.*

Concerning which Master Stafford this moreover is to be noted, how that Master Latimer, being yet a fervent and a zealous Papist, flandering in the Schools when Master Stafford read, had the Scholars not to hear him; and also preaching against him, exhorted the people not to believe him; and yet to God, that he asked him forgiveness before he departed.

And thus much by the way of good Master Stafford, who, for his constant and godly adventure in such a cause, may seem not unworthy to go with blessed Bilney in the Fellowship of holy and blessed Martyrs.

#### The Story of Mr. Simon Fife.

BEFORE the time of Master Bilney, and fall of the Cardinal, I should have placed the story of Simon Fife, with the Book called *The Supplication of Beggars*, describing how and by what means it came to the Kings hand, and what effect thereof followed after, in the reformation of many things, especially of the Clergy. But the milking of a few years in this matter breaketh no great figure in our story, though it be now entered here, which should have come in six years before. The manner and circumstance of the matter is this:

After that the light of the Gospel, working mightily in Germany, began to spread his beams here also in England, great stir and alteration followed in the hearts of many: so that coloured Hypocrite, and false Doctrine, and painted Holiness began to be despised more and more by the reading of Gods Word. The Authority of the Bishop of Rome, and the glory of his Cardinals was not so high, but such as had fresh wits, sparkled with Gods Grace, began to espy Christ from Antichrist's that is, true Sincerity from counterfeit Religion. In the number

#### The Supplication of Beggars, declaring the corruption of the Clergy.

of whom was the said Mr. Simon Fife, a Gentleman of Great Inn, it happened that this Gentleman came to London to dwell, which was about the year of our Lord 1523, that there was a certain Play or Interlude made by one Mr. Roo of the same Inn, Gentleman, in which Play partly was matter against the Cardinal Wolsey. And where none durst take upon them to play that part which touched the said Cardinal, this said Mr. Fife took upon him to do it. Whereupon great displeasure ensued against him upon the Cardinals part, inasmuch as he being pursued by the said Cardinal, the same night that this Tagedy was played, was compelled of force to void his own house, and so fled over Sea to Tundal. Upon occasion whereof, the next year following this Book was made (being about the year 1527) and not long after, in the year (as I suppose) 1528, was sent over to the Lady Ann Bullen, who then lay at a place not far from the Court. Which Book her Brother being in her hand, took it and read it, and gave it to her again, willing her earnestly to give it to the King, which thing she did.

This was (as I gather) about the year of our Lord 1528. The King after he had received the Book, demanded of her who made it. Whereunto she answered and said, *A certain Subject of his, one Fife, who was fled out of the Realm for fear of the Cardinal*. After the King had kept the Book in his bosom three or four days, as is credibly reported, such knowledge was given by the Kings servants to the Wife of the said Simon Fife, that he might boldly find for her Husband without all peril or danger. Whereupon she, thereby being encouraged, came forth and made suit to the King for the late return of her Husband. Who, understanding whole Wife life, was shewed a marvellous gentle and cheerful countenance towards her, asking where her Husband was. She answered, *If I like your Grace not far off. Then, faith he, Fetch him, and he shall come and go safe without peril, and no man shall do him harm*. Saying moreover, that he had much wrong that he was from her so long, who had been absent from the face of two years and a half. In which mean time the Cardinal was deposed, as is afore-shewed, and Mr. More fell in his place of the Chancellorship.

This Fife's Wife, being imboldened by the Kings words, went immediately to her Husband, being lately come over, and lying privately within a Mile of the Court, and brought him to the King; which appeared to be about the year of our Lord 1530. When the King saw him, and understood he was the Author of the Book, he came and embraced him with loving countenance. Who there long talk for the space of three or four hours, as they were riding together on hunting, at length dismissed him, and bid him take home his Wife, for he had taken great pains for him. Who answered the King again and said, he durst not do so, for fear of Sir Thomas More then Chancellor, and Stokely then Bishop of London. This seemeth to be about the year of our Lord 1530.

The King, taking the Signet off his Finger, willed him to have him recommended to the Lord Chancellor, charging him not to be so hardy to work him any harm. Master Fife, receiving the Kings Signet, went and delivered his Message to the Lord Chancellor, who took it as sufficient for his own discharge, but he asked him if he had any thing for the discharge of his Wife; for a little before he had by chance displeased the Priests, for not suffering them to say their Gospels in Latine in her house, as they did in others, unless they would say it in English. Whereupon the Lord Chancellor, though he had discharged the Man, yet not leaving his grudge towards the Wife, the next morning sent his man for her to appear before him; who, had it not been for her young Daughter, which then lay sick of the Plague, which they would say it in English. Trouble of the which Plague her Husband, the said Master Fife, deceasing within half a year, the afterward married to one Master James Bannham. Sir Alexander Bannham's Son, a worshipful Knight of Gloucestershire. The which foretold Mr. James Bannham, not long after was burned, as is incidentally after in the proceeds of this story that appear.

And thus much concerning Simon Fife the Author of the Book of Beggars, who also translated a Book called *The Iovenn of the Scriptures*, out of the Dutch.

Now cometh another note of *Edmund Mollard*, the Kings Footman, touching the same matter. This Master Mollard being with the King in talk of Religion, and of the new books that were come from beyond the Seas, said, *If it might please his Grace to pass down him, and look on his new living to his Grace, he should see such a Book as was marvellous to hear of*. The King demanded what they were, which he said, *Two of your Merchants, George Elyas, and George Robinfon*. The King pointed a time to speak with them. When they came before his presence in a ratty Cloak, he demanded what they had to say, or to show him. One of them said, *That there was a Book come to their hands, which they had there to show his Grace*. When he saw it, he demanded if any of them could read it. *Yea*, said George Elyas, *if it please your Grace to hear it*. *I thought so*, said the King, *for I need were, thou canst say it without book*.

The whole Book being read out, the King made a long pause, and then said, *If a man should pull down all the Laurels from Wales, and begin at the lower part, the upper part would be much more to fast upon his head*. And then he took the Book and put it into his Desk, and commanded them upon their Allegiance, that they should not tell to any man that he had seen the Book, &c. The Copy of the foretold Book, intituled of the Beggars here ensue.

A certain Libel, or Book, intituled, *The Supplication of Beggars, thrown and scattered at the Procession in Westminster, on Candlemas day, before King Henry the Eighth, for him to read and peruse, made and compiled by Master Fife.*

To the King our Sovereign Lord,

MR. I humbly complaineth their woful misery, unto your Highness, your grace and benignity, that wretched hideous Monitors, on whom fiercely for Leprosy any eye dare look, the foul unhappy sort of Lepers, and other folk people, needy, impotent, blind, lame and sick, that live only by Alms; how that their number is daily so far exceeded, that all the Alms of all the well disposed people of this your Realm is not half enough for to sustain them, but that for very contrait they die for hunger. And this most pitiful mischief is come upon your fair poor Beadmen, by the reason that there is, in the times of your Noble Predecessors passed, easily crept into this your Realm, another sort, not of impotent, but of proud arrogant and counterfeit holy and idle Beggars and Vagabonds, which take the time of their first entry, by all the craft and wiliness of Satan, are now increased under your fight, not only in great number, but also into Kingdoms.

These are not the Herds, but the ravenous Wolves, going in Herds choiced, devouring the Flock, Bishops, Abbots, Priests, Deacons, Archdeacons, Suffragans, Prelates, Monks, Canons, Friars, Pardons and Sumners. And many who to number this idle ravenous sort, which (setting all labour aside) have begun to be importunately that they have gotten into their hands, more than the third part of all your Realm? The goodlie Lordships, Manors, Lands and Territories are besides this, they have the tenth part of all the Corn, Meadow, Pasture, Grains, Wood-Cuts, Cattle, Hens, Pigs, Geese and Chickens. Over and besides, the tenth part of every servants Wages, the tenth part of Wool, Milk, Honey, Wax, Cheese and Butter; yea, and they look so narrowly upon their profits that the poor Wives must be countable to them for every tenth Egg, or else the getteth not her right at the Mill, and shall be taken as in Heresy. Hereby have they their four oftentimes. What many pull they in by Probates of Testaments, privy Tithes, and by menso-offers to their Pilgrimages, and at their first Mafes? every Man and Child that is buried must pay somewhat for Mafes and Diggers, to be sung for him, or else they must get their friends and Executors of Heretic. What many get they by Mortuaries, by hearing of Confessions (and yet they keep thereof no count) by hallooing of Churches,



Here may your Grace well perceive, that except you suffer their licence to be dilidged, all is like to run into their hands; and as long as it is covered, so long shall it seem to every man to be a great impiety; not to give them. For this I am sure, your Grace thinketh (as the truth is) I am as good a man as my Father; why may I not as well give them as much as my Father did? And of this mind, I am sure are all the Lords, Knights, Squires, Gentlemen, and Yeomen in England; yea, and until it be decided, all your people will think that your Statute of *Mortmain* was never made with any good confidence, seeing that it taketh away the liberty of your people, in that they may not as lawfully buy their souls out of Purgatory by giving to the Spirituality, as their Predecessors did in times past.

Wherefore if ye will efface the ruin of your Crown and Dignity, let their hypocrisy be uttered, and then shall be more speedful in this matter, than all the laws that may be made, be they never so strong; for to make a Law to punish any offender, except it were more to give other men an example to beware how they commit such like offence, what should it avail? Did not *David* most presumptuously now in your time, against his Allegiance, all that ever he could, topple from you the knowledge of such Pless as belong unto your High Courts, unto another Court, in derogation of your Crown and Dignity? Did not also *Dorset* *Harley* and his Complices most heinously murder in your time, against his Allegiance, that noble Merchant *Richard Hun*, for that he had your Writ of *Hæmorrhage* against a Priest that wrongfully held him in Pless in a Spiritual Court, for a matter whereof the knowledge belongeth unto your high Courts? And would punishment was there done that any man may take example of, to beware of like offence? Truly none, but that the one paid five hundred Pounds (as it is said) to the building of your Chamber; and when that payment was once paid, the Captains of his Kingdom, because he fought to manfully against your Crown and Dignity, were heaped to him Benefice upon Benefice.

Benefice, to that it is rewarded Ten times as much. Theoretically (as it is said) paid six hundred pound for him and his Complices; which, because that he had likewise fought so manfully against your Crown and Dignity, was immediately, as he had obtained your most gracious Pardon, promoted by the Captains of the Kingdom, with Benefice upon Benefice, to the value of a times as much. Who can take example of punishment to beware of such like offence? Who is he of their Kingdom that will not rather take courage to commit like offence, seeing the promotions that are tolled to these men for their offending? To speak and blame is your sword to strike at one of the offenders of this crooked and perverse generation.

And this is by reason that the chief instrument of your Law, ye the chief of your Council, and he which hath your Sword in his hand, to whom also all the other instruments are obedient, is always a spiritual man, which hath ever such an inordinate love unto his own Kingdom, that he will maintain that, though all the temporal Kingdoms and Commonwealths of the World should therefore utterly be undone. Here leave we out the greatest matter of all, let that be desired, such an honest care of evil against the Ministers of Iniquity, should seem to declare the one only fault, or rather the ignorance of our best beloved Minister of righteousness, which is to be hid till he may be learned by these small enormities that we have spoken above; know it plainly himself. But what remedy to relieve us your poor, sick, lame, blind men and fore Beadmen? To make many Hospitals for the relief of the poor people? Nay truly. The more the worse; for ever the list of the whole foundation hangeth on the Priests Beards. And of your noble Predecessors, Kings of this Realm, have given Lands to Monasteries, to give a certain sum of money yearly to the poor people, whereas for the ancestry of the time they give never one penny. They have likewise given to them, to have a certain of Masses said daily for them, whereas they

never one. If the Abbot of *Wimborne* should sing every day as many Masses for his Founders, as he is bound to do by his foundation, thousand Monks were too few. Wherefore if your Grace will build a free Hospital that never shall fail, to relieve us all your poor Beadmen, then take from them all their things. Set these sturdy Loobies abroad in the World to get them Wives of their own, to get their living with their labour in the sweat of their faces, according to the Commandment of God, *Genesis* the sixth, to give other idle people, by their example occasion to go to labour.

Thy these holy idle Thieves to the Carts, to be whipped naked about every Market Town, till they fall to labour, that they by their importunate begging, take not away the Alms that the good Christian people would give unto us, for impotent, miserable people, your Beadmen. Then shall as well the number of our forefathers monstrous sort, as of the Bawds, Whores, Thieves, and idle people decrease. Then shall their great variety Exactions cease. Then shall not your Sword, Powers, Crown, Dignity, and Obedience of your People be translated from you. Then shall you have full obedience of your people. Then shall the idle people be increased. Then shall your Commons increase in riches. Then shall the Gospel be preached. Then shall none beg Alms from us. Then shall we have enough, and more than shall suffice us; which shall be the best Hospital that ever was founded for us. Then shall we daily pray to God for your most noble estate long to endure.

Against this Book of the *Beggars*, above prefixed, being written in the time of the Cardinal, another certain Book or Supplication was devised and written forth upon the same, by one Sir *Thomas More* Knight, Chancellor of the Duchy of *Leicester*, under the Name and Title of, *The poor filly souls praying out of Purgatory*. In the which Book, after that the said *Master More*, Writer thereof, had first divided the whole World into four parts, that is, into Heaven, Hell, Middle Earth, and Purgatory; then he marked the most miserable souls, by a Rhetorical *Trope*, to speak out of Purgatory pin-fold, sometimes lamentably complaining, sometimes playfully dallying and scoffing at the Author of the *Beggars* Book; sometimes scolding and railing at him, calling him Fool, Witless, Frantick, an Ass, a Goose, a mad Dog, an Heretic, and all that naght in. And no marvel, if these filly souls of Purgatory seem to foemish and telly; for heat (ye know) is telly, and soon inflameth choler. But yet these Purgatory souls must take good heed how they call a man Fool and Heretic, so often as for the sentence of the Gospel do pronounce them guilty of Hell Fire, which say, *Matthew* 5.

Forasmuch as I do not, nor cannot think that those departed souls either would or for oversight themselves if they were in Purgatory; or that there is any such fourth place of Purgatory at all (unless it be in *Master More's* *Utopia*) as *Master More's* *Utopia*, that Poetical Vein doth imagine, I cease therefore to burden the souls departed, and lay all the wit on *Master More*, the Author and Contriver of this Poetical Book, for not keeping *Decorum* *propre*, as a perfect Poet should have done. They that give precepts of Art do note this in all Poetical Fictions, as a special observation, to foresee and express what is convenient for every person, according to his degree and condition to please and utter. Wherefore if it be true that *Master More* saith in the sequel of his Book, that grace and charity increaseth in them that lie in the pains of Purgatory, then is it not agreeable, that such souls lying so long in Purgatory, should for love forget their charity, and fall a railing in their Supplication to familiarity, both against this man with

with such opprobrious and unifying terms, and also against *John Badly*, *Richard Howland*, *John Goffe*, *Lord Cobham*, and other Martyrs of the Land burned for his Word; also against *Lancelus*, *William Toller*, *Richard Hun*, and other more, fully believing the Doctrine by them taught and defended; which is not like that such charitable souls of Purgatory would ever do, neither were it convenient for them in that case which indeed, though their Doctrine were false, should redound to the more increase of their pain. Again, where the Bishop of  *Rochester* deneth the Angels to be Ministers to Purgatory souls, some will think peradventure *Master More* to have mislaid some part of his *Decorum*, in making the evil Spirit of the Author, and the Devil to be teacher, between *Earth* and Purgatory; in bringing tidings to the pained souls, both of the Boole, and of the name of the maker.

Now, as touching the manner how this Devil came into Purgatory, laughing, grinning, and gnawing his teeth, in sooth it moves me to laugh, to see the merry Articles of *Master More*. Belike then this was some *nerve* Devil, or else had eaten with his teeth some *Naphthum* before; which coming into Purgatory, to shew the name of this man, could not tell his tale without laughing. But this was (saith he) so serious and so merry one laughing, joined with grinning and gnawing of teeth. And immediately upon the same, was contrived this scoffing and railing Supplication of the pewing souls of Purgatory, as he himself doth term them. So then, he was envious, envying, laughing, grinning, gnawing of teeth, pewing, scoffing, railing and begging, and all together to make a very black *Sandus* in Purgatory. Indeed we read in Scripture, that there shall be weeping and gnawing of teeth in Hell, where the souls and bodies of men shall be tormented. But who would ever have thought before, that the evil Angel of this man that made the Book of *Beggars*, being a spiritual and no corporal substance, had teeth to gnaw, and a mouth to grin? But where then flood *Master More*, I marvel all this mean while, to see the Devil laugh with his mouth so wide, that the souls of Purgatory might see all his teeth? Belike, this was in *Utopia*, where *Master More's* Purgatory is founded; but because *Mr. More* is hence departed, I leave him with his merry Articles. And as touching his Books of Purgatory, which he hath left behind, because *John Frisib* hath learefully and effectually overthrowen the same, I will therefore refer the Reader to him, while I repair again (the Lord willing) to the History.

After that the Clergy of *England*, and especially the Cardinal, understood these Books of the *Beggars* Supplication aforesaid, to be drawn abroad in the Streets of *London*, and also before the King, the said Cardinal caused not only his servants diligently to attend to gather them up, that they should not come into the Kings hands, but also when he understood, that the King had received one or two of them, he came unto the King Majesty, saying, If it shall please your Grace, here are divers sedition persons which have scattered abroad Books containing manifest Errors and Heresies, defaming his Grace to beware of them. Whereupon the King, putting his hand in his bosom, took out one of the Books, and delivered it unto the Cardinal. Then the Cardinal, together with his Bishops, consulted how they might provide a speedy remedy for this mischief. And thereupon determined to give out a Commission to forbid the reading of all English Books, and namely, this Book of *Beggars*, and the New Testament of *Isidore's* Translation, which was done out of hand by *Cuthbert* Bishop of *London*, who sent out his Prohibition unto his Archdeacons with all speed, for the forbidding of that Book and divers other more; the tenor of which Prohibition here followeth.

A Prohibition sent out by Cuthbert Torntill, Bishop of London, to the Archdeacons of his Dioceses, for the calling in of the New Testaments translated into English, with divers other Books; the Catalogue whereof hereafter inieeth.

CUTHBERT by the permission of God, Bishop of *London*, unto our wellbeloved in Christ, the Archdeacons of *London*, or to his Official, Health, Grace and Benediction. By the duty of our Pastoral office, we are bound diligently with all our power to foresee, provide for, root out, and put away all those things, which seem to tend to the peril and danger of our Subjects, and specially the destruction of their souls. Wherefore we having understanding, by the report of divers credible persons, and also by the evident appearance of the matter, that many children of iniquity, maintainers of *Luther's* Sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering from the way of truth, and the Catholic Faith, craftily have translated the New Testament into our English Tongue, intermeddling therein with many Heretical Articles, and erroneous Opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing the simple people, attempting by their wicked and perverse interpretations, to prophane the Majesty of the Scripture, which hitherto hath remained undefiled, and carefully to abide the most holy Word of God, and the true sense of the same, of the which Translation there are many Books imprinted, some with glosses, and some without, containing in the English Tongue that perilous and most pernicious poison dispersed throughout all our Dioceses of *London* in great number; which truly, without it be foreseen, without doubt will contaminate and infect the Book committed unto us, with most deadly poisons and Heresies, to the grievous peril and danger of the souls committed to our charge, and the offence of Gods Divine Majesty. Wherefore we *Cuthberts*, the Bishop aforesaid, grievously forswearing for the premises, willing to withstand the craft and lobby of the ancient enemy and his ministers, which seek the destruction of my flock, and with a diligent care to take heed unto the Book committed to my charge, desiring to provide speedy remedies for the premises, do charge you jointly and severally, and by virtue of your obedience strictly injoin and command you, that by your authority you warn, or cause to be warned all and singular, as well exempt as not exempt, dwelling within, in your Archdeacons, that within thirty days space, whereof ten days shall be for the first, ten for the second, and ten for the third and preceptory term, under pain of Excommunication, and incurring the fulmination of Heresies, they do bring in, and really deliver unto our Vicar general, all and singular false Books as contain the Translation of the New Testament in the English Tongue; and that you do certify us, or our said Commissary, within two Months after the day of the date of these Presents, daily, personally, or by your Letters, together with their premises, unto your seals, what you have done in the premises, under pain of contempt.

Given under our Seal, the three  
'and twentieth of October,  
'the fifth year of our Consecration,  
Anno 1526.

The like Commission in like manner and form was sent to the other three Archdeacons of *Middlesex*, *Essex* and *Colchester*, for the execution of the same matter, under the Bishops Seal.





Shipped, might come to the Bishops hands to be burned, and thence to the aforesaid Sir Thomas More, Chancellor, the Shipman came that had them, and the marks of the Fardels, by which the Books afterward were taken and burned. Besides this, he is reported also to have divided divers of his Companions, of whom some were shivered after, some had adjudged before, as *Richard Nelson*, who was committed to *Neargate* upon the same, and is thought there to have died in prison, or else had not escaped their hands, but should have suffered burning, if the report of Master More be to be credited. More in his Preface against *Tindal*.

George Cavendish, a trouble of former Bishop of Exeter, which after in Queen Maries time was burned. But of *Confession* enough.

Mention was made in the leaf before, how the Bishops had procured of the King a Proclamation to be set forth in the year of our Lord 1529, for the abolishing of diverse Books aforementioned, and also for the withdrawing of all such as taught or preached any thing against the dignity and ordinances of the Church of *Rome*. Upon this Proclamation infused great persecution and trouble against the poor innocent flock of Christ, as here following you may see with the said Proclamation also prebared before the same, the tenor whereof is this.

*A Proclamation for resisting and withstanding of most damnable Heresies, frow within this Realm by the Disciples of Luther, and other Hereticks, perverters of Christs Religion.*

THE King our Sovereign Lord, of his most virtuous and gracious disposition, considering that the noble Realm of England hath of long time continued in the true Catholick Faith of Christs Religion, and that his noble Progenitors, Kings of this his said Realm, have before this time made and Enacted many devout and pure Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, for the maintenance and defence of the said Faith against the malicious and wicked Sects of Hereticks and *Lollards*, by pervertion of Holy Scripture do induce Errorous opinions, how feditious amongst Christian people, and finally disturb the peace and tranquillity of Christian Realms, as lately happened in some parts of *Germany*, where by the procurement and sedition of *Martin Luther*, and other Hereticks, were slain an infinite number of Christian people; considering also, that as well by the corruption and malice of Indifferent Preachers, factors of the said Errorous Sects, as by certain Heretical and blasphemous Books lately made, and privily sent into this Realm, by the Disciples, factors and adherents of the said *Martin Luther*, and other Hereticks the Kings Subjects, are like to be corrupted, unless his Highness (as the Defender of the Faith) do put to his most gracious help and Authority Royal, to the due and speedy reformation thereof: his Highness therefore like a most gracious Prince, of his blessed and virtuous disposition, for the incomparable zeal which he hath to Christs Religion and Faith, and for the singular love and affection that he beareth to all his good Subjects of this Realm, and especially to the salvation of their souls, according to his office and duty in that behalf, will eth and intendeth to provide with all convenient expedition, that this his noble Realm may be preserved from the said pestiferous, cruel, and seditious errors. And furthermore as his Highness is credibly informed, that some of the said Errors be already sown and spread within this his Realm, partly by the corruption of Indifferent Preachers, partly by Errorous Books, compiled, printed and written, as well in the *English* Tongue, as in *Latin* and other Languages, repeat with most venereal Heresies, blasphemies, and slanders, intolerable to the clean ears of

any good Christian man: his Highness therefore like a most Gracious and Christian Prince, only intending the safeguard of this Realm, the preservation of his Subjects, and salvation of their souls, willenow to put in execution, with all diligence possible, all good Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, concerning the prerogatives of this time provided, made, and ordained by his most noble Progenitors, Kings of England for that purpose and intent. Which Laws and Statutes by our Sovereign Lord, and his most Honourable Council, by long and deliberate advice for the extirpation, suppressing and withdrawing of the said Heresies, have been often, examined, and by them in every part thought good and necessary to be put in execution.

Wherefore his Highness chargeth and straitly commandeth all and every his Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Judges, Justices of Peace, Sheriffs, Mayors, Bayliffs, Constables, and all other his Officers, Ministers, and all his true and loving Subjects, that all favour, affection, and partiality laid apart, they effectually, with all diligence and study endeavour themselves substantially for the executing of all and every of the Articles herebefore ensuing, without dissimulation, intermission, or excuse, as they will avoid his high indignation and displeasure.

First, That no man within the Kings Realm, or other his Dominions subject to his Highness, hereafter presume to preach, teach, or inform any thing openly or privily, or compile and write any Book, or hold, exercise, or keep any Assemblies or Schools, in any manner of wise, contrary to the Catholick Faith, or determination of Holy Church: nor that any person within this his said Realm and Dominions do presume to preach openly or secretly, without they have first obtained license of the Bishop of the Diocese where they intend to preach: Cates in their Privileges, perous privileged, and other by the Law of the Church only except.

Also that no man wittingly hereafter, favour, support, or maintain any person, which preacheth in form aforesaid, or maketh any book or like Convocations and Assemblies, holdeth or exerciseth any School, meeting, or publisheth any such Book, teacheth, informeth, or stirreth the people, or any of them, in any manner of form to the said errors. Moreover, that all and every person and persons, having any Books or writings of any such errors, errorous Doctrine, and opinions, do deliver or cause to be delivered, effectually and actually, all and every such Books and writings, to the Bishop of the Diocese, or to the Ordinary of the place, within fifteen days after this Proclamation pronounced. And in case any person or persons, of what estate, condition, or degree he or they be, do attempt any thing contrary to this Act and Proclamation, or do not deliver, or cause to be delivered such Books, within the time aforesaid, that every Bishop in his Diocese, or Ordinary, shall cause that person or persons, and every of them in that behalf defamed or evidently suspected, to be arrested, and detain and keep them under safe custody in their Prisons, until such time that the said persons, and every of them either have purged themselves of the said errors or else do abjure the said Errorous Sects, Preachings, Doctrines, or opinions, as the Law of Holy Church does require.

Furthermore, if any person by the Law of Holy Church be convicted before the Bishop of the Diocese, or his Commissary, in any case above expressed, that the said Bishop may keep in prison the said person or persons if convicted, as it shall seem best to his discretion, after the grievousness or quality of the crime. And further, may set a fine to be paid to the behoof of the King, by the said person or persons, as it shall be thought convenient to the said Bishop, having respect to the grievousness of the offence of the said person or persons: the said fine to be certified by the Bishop into the Kings Exchequer, there to be levied to the Kings use, except in such cases in which by the Laws of Holy Church, the said persons convicted of Heresies ought totally to be left to the Secular jurisdiction.

Also if any person within this his Realm of England, or other his Dominions, be by sentence judicial convicted of the said Preachings and Doctrines, polluted, Errorous opinions, Schools, and informations, or any of them, and

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before the  
Bishop or  
Commissary

shall to  
be present  
at the  
execution

inquisition  
in addition

reality

and before the Bishop or his Commissary do abjure, according to the form of the Laws of Holy Church, the fore-said errorous Sects, Doctrines, Schools, or informations, or else be pronounced by the Bishops or their Commissaries after their Abjuration by them before made, to be re-lapsed, so that after the Laws of Holy Church, they ought to be relinquished to the jurisdiction secular, (wherein faith is to be given to the Bishop or his Commissaries in that behalf) then the Sheriff of the County, Mayor, Sheriffs, or Mayor and Bailiffs of the same City, Town, or Borough, next unto the said Bishop or Commissaries, shall be personally present at the sentence given, by the said Bishop or Commissaries thereunto required, and after the said sentence given, shall receive the said persons, and every of them, and put them to further execution, according to the Laws of this Realm.

Also the Chancellor, Treasurer of England, the Justice of the one Bench and the other, Justices of Peace, Sheriffs, Mayors, and Bailiffs of Cities and Towns, and other Officers having governance of the people which now be, or at any time hereafter shall be, shall make Oath in taking their charge and ministeration, to give their whole power and diligence, to put away, and to make utterly to cease, and destroy all manner of Heresies and errors, commonly called *Lollardies*, within the precincts of their offices and administrations, from time to time with all their power.

Also they shall assist the Bishops and their Commissaries, and them that favour and maintain as offenders as that to do they or any of them shall be required by the said Bishops or their Commissaries: so that the Bishops or their Commissaries shall bear and pay the reasonable Costs of the said Officers and Ministers, when, and as often as they shall travel or ride to arrest Hereticks and *Lollards*, or to assist the said Bishops or Commissaries, by virtue of the Kings Laws and Statutes.

Moreover, The Justices of the Kings Bench, Justices of Peace, and Justices of Assize, shall enquire at their Sessions and fittings, of all those that hold any Errors or Heresies, and who be their maintainers, acceptors, favourers, and supporters, common writers of Books, as of Convocations, Schools, Convocations, Congregations, and Conferences.

Furthermore, if any person be indicted of any of the points above said, the Justices of the Peace have power to arrest against them a *Capias*, and the Sheriffs be bound to arrest such persons so indicted, so soon as they may be found by themselves, or by their Officers. And furthermore as copulgence of Heresies, Errors and *Lollardies*, appertaineth to the Judge of Holy Church, and not to the Judge secular, the persons so indicted to be delivered to the Bishops of the places, or their Commissaries, by Indenture between them to be made within ten days after their arrest, or sooner, if it can be done, thereof to be acquit or convicted by the Laws of Holy Church, in case that those persons be not indicted of other things, whereof the knowledge appertaineth to the Judges and Officers secular. In which case, of those things pertaining to the Judge secular, that they be conveyed in safe guard to Ordinaries or their Commissaries, and to them to be delivered by Indentures (as is above said) there to be acquit or convicted of the said Heresies, Errors, and *Lollardies* (as above said) after the Laws of Holy Church: provided that the Indictments be not taken in evidence, but for an information afore the Judges Spiritual, against such Indict, but that the Ordinaries commence their process against those Indict, in the same manner as no Indictment had been, having no regard to such Indictments.

Moreover, That no manner of person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition he or they be, do from henceforth presume to bring into this Realm, or do sell, receive, take, or detain any Book or Work, printed or written, which is made, or hereafter shall be made against the Faith Catholick, or against the holy Decrees, Laws, and Ordinances of Holy Church, or in reproach, rebuke, or slander of the King, his honourable Council, or his Lords Spiritual or Temporal. And in case they have any such Book or Work, they shall incontinent, upon the having of them, bring the said Book or Work to the Bishop of the Diocese, without concealment or fraud: or if they

know any person having any of the said Books, they shall detect them to the said Bishop, all favour or affection laid apart, and that they fail not thus to do, as they will avoid the Kings high indignation and displeasure.

The Books which in this Proclamation generally are restrained and forbidden, be afterward in the Register more especially named by the Bishops. Whereof the most part were in *Latin*, as are above recited, and some were in *English*, as these and other, partly also above expressed.

*A Diffinition between the Father and the Son.*

*A Book of the old God and new.*

*Godly Prayers.*

*The Christian state of Martin Luther.*

*The burying of the Magd.*

*The loss of the Scriptures.*

*Martin Luther and Eusebius, vii Psalms, and other Heavily Psalms, with the Commutations, in English.*

*An Exposition upon the seventh Chap. of the first Epistle to the Corinth.*

*The Chapters of Moles, called Genesis.*

*The Chapters of Moles, called Deuteronomos.*

*The Martryng of Tyndal.*

*Davids Psalter in English.*

*The Praeface of Prelate.*

*Hor lotus animae in English.*

*A. B. C. against the Clergy.*

*The Examination of William Thorpe, &c.*

Although these Books with all other of their like sort by the virtue of this Proclamation were inhibited to all Englishmen to use or to read: yet License was granted before to Sir Thomas More, by *Thomas Bishop of London*, Anno 1527, that he notwithstanding might have and peruse them, with a Letter also sent him from the said Bishop, or rather by the advice of other Bishops, defining him, that he would show his cunning, and play the pretty man, like a *Donslow*, in expounding the Doctrine of these Books and opinions: who albeit he was no great Divine, yet because he saw some towardsness in him by his Book of *Utopia*, and other fine Poetry of his, therefore he thought him a meet man for their purpose, to withstand the proceedings of the Gospel, either in making free allowance of reason against it; or at least to out-face it, and dash it out of countenance. Wherein there lacked on his part neither good will nor labour to serve the Bishops turn, so far forth as all his rhetoric could teach filling up with innuents of wit, and cooling terms, where true knowledge and judgment of Scripture did fail; as by his works and writings against *Tyndal*, *Tynde*, *Ersk*, *Fife*, *Barn*, *Luther*, &c. may more be discerned, if the reasons, and manner of his handling be well weighed, and rightly examined with the touchstone of the Scriptures: But now to fall into our story again.

Upon this fierce and terrible Proclamation aforesaid, thus devised and let out in the Kings name, Anno 1529, the Bishops which were the procurers hereof, had that now which they would have: neither did there lack on their part any study unplied, any flane unremoved, any corner unsearched for the diligent execution of the same. Whereupon ensued a grievous persecution, and slaughter of the faithful. Of whom the first that went to wrack was *Thomas Bilney*, of whom sufficiently afore hath been said; and the next was *Richard Bayfield*, as in the story here follows.

*Richard Bayfield, Martyr.*

Following the order of years and of times, as the course of our History requireth, next after the confirmation of *Thomas Bilney*, we have to intreat of the Martrydom of *Richard Bayfield*, which in the month of November, the same year, which was the year of our Lord, 1529, was burned in *Smiffild*.

This

Richard Bayfield  
Martyr  
burned in  
Smiffild



Martin  
and Sundry  
Lutherans.

Richard  
Bayfield,  
Munk and  
Chancellor  
of the Abbey  
of Bury.

R. Bayfield  
whipped  
and prisoned  
all amongst  
the Friers.

R. Bayfield  
maintain  
ed the  
Frier and  
Frier.

Paulin  
was  
died  
in  
Lancaster  
Tower.

The cruel  
hauing  
of  
R. Bayfield  
to the Col  
house.

Articles  
against  
Richard  
Bayfield.

This Richard Bayfield, sometime a Monk of Bury, was converted by Doctor Barnes, and two golly men of London, Brickmakers, Master Maxwell, and Master Stacy, Wardens of their Company. Who were gratified in the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, and through their golly conversation of life, converted many men and women, both in London and the County: and once a year of their own cost, went about to visit the Brethren and Sisters scattered abroad. Doctor Barnes at that time, much rejoiced to the Abbey of Bury, where Bayfield was, to one Doctor Ruffam, who had been at Leuene together Students. At that time it happened that this Bayfield the Monk was Chamberlain of the house to provide lodging for the strangers, and to see them well entertained: who delighted much in Doctor Barnes talk, and in the other laymen's talk, after rehearsal: and at the last, Doctor Barnes gave him a New Testament in Latin, and the other gave him *Tyndale's Testament* in English, with a Book called, *The wicked Mammon*, and the obedience of a Christian man: where in he propounded mightily in two years space, that he was called into the prison of his house, there whipper, with a Gage in his mouth, and in continued in the same torment three quarters of a year before Doctor Barnes could get him out: which he brought to pass, by the means of Doctor Ruffam abroad, and so he was committed to Doctor Barnes to go to Cambridge with him. By that time he had been there a good while, he talked so well of good Letters, that he never returned home again to his Abbey, but went to London to Maxwell and Stacy, and they kept him secretly a while, and so conveyed him beyond the Sea: Doctor Barnes being then in the Fleet for Gods Word. This Bayfield mightily prospered in the knowledge of God, and so continued *Tyndale*, and Master *Prisk*: for he brought subsistence with him, and was their own hand, and fold all their works, and the Germans works, both in France and in England: and at the last coming to London, to Mr. Smiths house in Bucklers-Bury, there he bewynned, and dugged from that house to his Bookbinders in *Stark-Lane*, and three ticks, and carried to *Lollards Tower*, and from thence to the Coalhouse, by reason that one *Parson Patmore*, *Parson of Muchbaddam* in *Essex*, then lying in *Lollards Towers*, was in the Doctrine and in the Kingdom of Christ there confirmed by him. This *Parson Patmore*, after long trouble was abjured and condemned by the Bishops to perpetual prison, and delivered afterward by the Kings pardon, as more appeareth in the sequel of his story among abjurors. He was taken, because he married his Priests in those days. He had always Corn plenty, and when the Markets were very dear, he would find plenty of his Corn thither to pluck down the prices thereof.

This Richard Bayfield being in the Colhouse, was work handled than he was before in the *Lollards Tower*: for there he was tyed both by the neck, middle, and legs, standing upright by the walls, divers times manacled, to accuse other that had bought his Books: but he accused none, but stood to his Religion and Confession of his Faith, even unto the very end, and was in the Confessory of *Pauls* thrice put to his trial, whether he would abjure or no? He said he would dispute for his Faith, and to die to his great shame: *Stokesley* then being his Judge, with the assistance of *Wincheiter*, and other Bishops, whereof here followeth now the circumstance in order to be seen.

The Articles laid to Richard Bayfield, by the forestall Bishops, were these, Anno 1531. November 10.

### Articles laid to Richard Bayfield.

1. That he had been many years a Monk, professed of the Order of Saint Bennet, of Saint Edmundsbury in the Diocese of Norwich.

2. That he was a Priest, and had ministered and continued in the same order the space of nine or ten years.

3. That since the Reas of Easter last, he being beyond the Sea, bought and procured to serve divers and many Books and Treatises of January first, as well of Martin

Luthers own Works, as of divers other of his damnable *KING'S* *SECT*, and of Occolampadius the great Heretic, and divers other Heretics, both in Latin and English: the names of which Books were contained in a little Bill written with his own hand.

4. That in the year of our Lord 1528, he was detected and accused to Cuthbert then Bishop of London, for affirming and holding certain Articles contrary to the Holy Church, and especially that all laud and praise should be given to God alone, and not to Saints or Creatures.

5. That every Priest might preach the Word of God and by the authority of the Gospel, and not to run to the Pope or Cardinals for license, as it appeared (said they) by his confession before the said Bishop.

6. That he judicially affirmed the said Articles before the said Bishop, and did renounce and forswear them and all other Articles contrary to the determination of Holy Church, promising that from thenceforth he would not fall into any of them, nor any other errors.

7. That he made a solemn Oath upon a Book, and the Holy Evangelists, to fulfill such penance as he was enjoined him by the said Bishop.

8. After his Abjuration it was enjoined to him for penance, that he should go before the Cross in procession, in the Parish-Church of Saint Dunstons at Billingsgate, and to bear a Fagot of wood upon his shoulder.

9. It was enjoined him in penance, that he should provide an habit requisite and meet for his Order and profession, as shortly as he might, and that he should come or go no where without such an habit: the which he had not fulfilled.

10. That it was likewise enjoined him in penance, that he should (sometimes before the Feast of the Ascension, then next ensuing his Abjuration, go home unto the Monastery of Bury, and there remain according to the vow of his profession: which he had not fulfilled.

11. That he was appointed by the said Bishop of London to appear before the said Bishop five and twentieth day of April next, after his Abjuration, to receive the residue of his penance, and after his Abjuration, he fled beyond the Sea, and appeared not.

12. That the twentieth day of June next following his Abjuration, he did appear before the said Bishop Torrel, in the Chapel of the Bishop of Norwichs Palace, where there it was newly enjoined him in part of penance, that he should provide him an habit convenient for his Order and profession, within eight days then next following: which he had not done.

13. That it was there again enjoined him, that he should depart from the City, Diocese, and Jurisdiction of London, and no more to come within it, without the special license of the Bishop of London, or his successor for the times being: which he had not fulfilled.

### The Answer of Richard Bayfield to the Articles prefixed.

To the first Article he confessed, that he was professed of the Order of Saint Bennet, of Saint Edmundsbury in the year last past, Anno 1514.

To the second Article he answered, that he was a Priest and took Orders, Anno 1518.

To the third Article he confessed the Bill and Schedule to be written with his hand, which is annexed therunto, and that he brought over the said Books and wrote a year and a half past, and a great number of every sort. Being further demanded for what intent he brought them into the Realm; he answered, To the intent that the Gospel of Christ might be set forward, and God the more glorified in this Realm amongst Christian people: and that he had sold and dispersed many of those Books before named, to sundry persons within this Realm, and to divers of the Dioceses of London. Being further demanded, whether *Martin Luther* was condemned as an Heretic by the Pope? he answered, That he heard say that *Martin* with all his Sect and adherents, were, and are condemned as Heretics by the Pope. And being demanded, whether *Zuinglius* was of *Luthers* Sect? he answered, that he never spake with him. Being asked whether *Zuinglius* was a Catholic? he answered, that he could not tell. Being

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inquired whether the Books contained in the Schedules did contain any errors in them? he said, he could not tell, neither could he judge. Also he confessed, That the common fame hath been within these two or three years, that *Occolampadius* and *Zuinglius* be Heretics: also that such as lean to *Martin Luther* be Heretics. Also he confessed, That being beyond the Sea, he heard say before he brought into this Realm the Books contained in the said Bills, that the King had, by Proclamation prohibited, That no man should bring into this Realm any of *Martin Luthers* Books, or of his Sect.

Which Confession thus ended, the Bishop appointed him to appear the next day.

Saturday being the eleventh of November, Richard Bayfield appeared, and acknowledged the answers that he had made in the Session the day before. Which thing done, the Official objected the fourth Article unto him. Whereunto he answered, that he could not tell whether there be any Heretics in them; for he had read no Heretics in them. And being demanded whether he had read any of those Books; he answered, that he had read the greater part of them here and there, but not throughout.

He was demanded, whether he believed the forenamed Books to be good, and of the true Faith. He answered, that he judged they were good, and of the true Faith. Being inquired what Books he read in the Realm: he said, that he had read the New Testament in Latin, and other Books mentioned in the Bills, but he said, that he read none translated: notwithstanding he confessed that he had read a Book called *Thorp*, in the preface and audience of others, and also a Book of *John Frisbie* Purgatory, which he had read to himself alone, as he said; and also had read to himself a Book called, *The practise of Prelates*: and also said, that he had read a Book called, *The Parable of the wicked Mammon*, but in the preface and hearing of others which he knew not.

Also he confessed that he had read the *Obedience of a Christian man*, and the *Sum of Scripture* among company, and also the Dialogue between the *Plowman* and the *Gentleman* among other company: and also he said he had read a piece of the answer of *Tindal* made to *Sir Thomas More*: likewise he had read the Dialogue of *Frisbie* to himself: he had read also the Prologues of the five Books of *Moses*, contained in the long Schedule, and in company as he thought.

All which Books he had read under manner aforesaid within these two years last past. And as for the New Testament in English, he read it before he had read these Books specified in the Schedule before rehearsed.

To the third Article as touching *Zuinglius* and others, he supposed that they held the same Doctrine that *Luther* did: but that he thought them to vary in some points.

The sixteenth day of November, Richard Bayfield appeared again before the Bishop, who inquired of him of what he said *Zuinglius* was. He said, he thought that he held with *Luther* in some points, &c.

Also he confessed, that first he brought Books of the facts above named into this Realm, about *Midsummer* was twelve month, and landed them at *Colchester*, and afterward brought part of them to this City, and some he dispersed and sold in this City. The second time that he brought Books was about *All-Hallowtide* was twelve month, and landed them at *St. Catharines*: the which Books the Lord Chancellor took from him. Also that at *Easter* last was the third time that he brought over the Books now named unto him, and contained in these two Bills, and landed with them in *Norfolk*, and from thence brought them to the City of London in a Male.

To the fifth, sixth, and seventh Articles, he answered and confessed them to be true.

To the eighth he answered, that it was enjoined him as is contained in the Article: the which injunction he fulfilled.

To the ninth he answered, that he did not remember it.

To the tenth he answered, that it was enjoined him that he should go to the Abbey of Bury, and there continue: the which he said he did three times: but he did not wear his Monks Cowl, as he was enjoined.

The eleventh Article he confessed.

For the twelfth article, that he did not wear his Monks

habit according to the Abjuration, he referred himself to the Acts whether he were enjoined or no.

To the thirteenth Article he said, that he did not remember the contents thereof, but referred himself to the Acts. Notwithstanding he confessed that he had no licence of the Bishop of London to come to the City or Diocess of London, nor to make any abode there.

Ex Registro Lond.

### The Sentence given against him in a cafe of Relapse.

IN the Name of God, Amen. Vve *Jahn* by the licence of the Bishop of London, in a cafe of Inquisition of Heretic, and relapse of the same, first begun before Mr. *Rich. Fosford*, Doctor of both Laws, our Official, now depending before us undidated, prefixed to the order and rule of Saint *Benedict*, in the Monastery of Saint *Edmundsbury*, in the Diocess of *Norwich*, and by means of all favour rightly and lawfully proceeding, with all favour possible, the merits and circumstances of the case of this Inquisition heard, weighed, understood, and fully discussed by us the said Bishop, referring unto our selves that which by Law ought to be referred: I have thought good to proceed in this manner to the pronouncing of our definitive sentence.

Forasmuch as by the Acts inacted, inquired, propounded, and alleged, and by thee judicially confessed, we do find that thou hast abjured certain Errors and Heresies, and damnable opinions by thee confessed, as well particularly as generally, before our reverend Father, Prefect to the order Ordinary, according to the form and order of the Church: and that one *Martin Luther*, together with his adherents and complices, receivers and favourers, whatsoever they be, was condemned as an Heretic by the authority of Pope *Leo* the Tenth, of most happy memory, and by the authority of the Apostolick See, and the Books and all writings, Schedules and Sermons of the said *Martin Luther*, his adherents and complices, whether they be found in Latin, or in any other languages imprinted or translated, for the manifold Heresies and Errors, and damnable opinions which are in them, are condemned, reproved, and utterly rejected, and inhibition made by the authority of the said See, to all faithful Christians, under the pain of Excommunication, and other punishments in that behalf to be incurred by the Law, that no man by any means do read, teach, hear, imprint, or publish, or by any do means defend, directly or indirectly, secretly or openly, in their houses, or in any other publick or private places, any such manner of Writings, Books, Errors, or Articles, as are contained more at large in the Apostolick Letters, drawn out in form of a publick Instrument: whereas and to the contents thereof we refer our selves as far as is expedient, and no otherwise. And forasmuch as we do perceive that thou diddest understand the premises, and yet their things notwithstanding after thy Abjuration made (or is ascribed) thou hast brought in divers and sundry times many Books of the said *Martin Luther*, and his adherents and complices, and of other Heretics, the names, Titles and Authors of which Books here follow, and are these, *Martin Luthers*, *Of the abjuration of a wicked persons Heresies*. The Declarations of *Martin Luther* upon the Epistles of *St. Peter*. *Luthers* upon the Epistles of *Saint Paul* and *Jude*. *Luther* upon Moral-Vowes. *Luthers* Commentary upon the Epistle of *Saint Paul* to the *Galatians*. *Johannes Occolampadius*, *Of the Exposition*, and other words, the *est corpus meum*. The Annotations of *Occolampadius* upon the Epistle of *Saint Paul* unto the *Romans*. *Occolampadius* his Commentary upon the three last Prophets, *Aggeus*, *Zachary*, and *Malachy*. The Sermons of *Occolampadius* upon the Apostolick Epistles of *John*. A Book of Annotations upon *Genesie*, gathered by *Heliodorus Zuinglius*. The Commentaries of *Pomeranus*, upon four Chapters of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*. Annotations of *Pomeranus* upon *Dietteronny* and *Samuel*. *Pomeranus* upon the *Psalms*. The

The sentence given  
against him by  
Richard Bayfield.

A Catalogue of the  
Books brought in  
by Richard Bayfield.

The Commentaries of *Francis Lambert* of *Leinion*, upon the Gospel of *Saint Luke*. A Concell of all matters of Divinity by *Francis Lambert*. The Commentaries of *Francis Lambert* upon the Prophet *Isaiah*. The Commentaries of *Francis Lambert* upon the Prophets, *Amos, Amos, Naum, Abacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Amos, Abias, Jonas, and Osee*. A New Gloss of *Philip Melancthon* upon the *Proverbs* of *Solomon*. The Commentaries of *Philip Melancthon* upon the Epistle of *Saint Paul* to the *Colossians*. The Annotations of *Philip Melancthon* upon the Epistle of *Saint Paul* to the *Romans*, and upon the Epistle to the *Colossians*. *Solomon's Sentences*, translated according to the *Hebrew* by *Philip Melancthon*. Most wholesome Annotations upon the Gospel of *Saint Mark*, by *Christopher Hagedorn*. The Commentaries of *John Brensin* upon *Job*. The Commentary of *John Brensin* upon *Ecclesiastes* of *Solomon*. The Annotations of *Andrew Althamer* and *Brensin* upon the Epistle of *Saint James*. The Commentaries of *Bucer* upon *Sophonias*. *Bucer* upon the four Evangelists. The process Constitutorial of the Martyrdom of *John Hus*. A brief Commentary of *Martin Luther*, upon *Otho Brunfelsius*, as touching the life, Doctrine, and Martyrdom of *John Hus*. *Folius* upon the *Psalter*. His Exposition upon *Ezay*. His Expositions upon *Jeremy*. *Capit* upon *Osee*. *Capit* upon *Abacuc*. *Una* *disputationis*. The *Psalter* of *Otho*. The Catalogue of famous men. An answer of *Tindal* unto *Sir Thomas More*. A Disputation of Purgatory, made by *John Frisk* in English. A Prologue to the fifth Book of *Moses* called *Deuteronomy*. The first Book of *Moses* called *Genesis*. A Prologue to the third Book of *Moses* called *Leviticus*. A Prologue to the fourth Book of *Moses* called *Numbers*. A Prologue to the second Book of *Moses* called *Exodus*. The practice of Prelates. The New Testament in English. The *Parable* of the *Wicked Man*. The Obedience of a Christian man. A, B, C, of the Sum of Scripture. The Printer in English. The *Psalter* in English. A Dialogue between the Gentleman and the Plowman.

The Printer and Printer's Thorpe, in English.

If Chills were before your eyes, you would know this good man for this, good Richard.

Of all which kind of Books, both in *Latin* and *English*, translated, set forth, and imprinted, containing not only *Lutheran* Heresies, but also the damnable Heresies of other Heretics condemned; forthwith as thou hast brought over from the parties beyond the Sea, a great number into this Realm of England, and specially to our City and Dioceses of *London*, and hast procured them to be brought and conveyed over, also kept by thee, and studied those Books, and hast published and read them unto divers Christian men, and many of these Books also hast delivered and given unto divers persons dwelling within our City and Dioceses of *London*, and hast conselled and affirmed before our Official, That those Books of *Martin Luther*, and other Heretics his complices and adherents, and all the contents in them are good and agreeable to the true Faith; saying thus, That they are good, and of the true Faith: And by this means and pretence hast commended and praised *Martin Luther*, his adherents and complices, and hast favoured and believed their Errors, Heresies, and opinions. Therefore we *John* the Bishop aforesaid, first calling upon the Name of Christ, and setting God only before our eyes; by the counsel and content of the Divines and Lawyers, with whom in this behalf we have conferred, do declare and decree that the aforesaid *Richard Bayfield*, otherwise called *Somerfame*, for the contempt of thy Abjuration, as a favourer of the aforesaid *Martin Luther*, his adherents, complices, favourers, and other condemned Heretics, and for his favouring and studying, reading, having, retaining, publishing, selling, giving and diffusing the Books and Writings, as well of the said *Martin Luther*, his adherents, and disciples, as of other Heretics before named, and also for crediting and maintaining the Errors, Heresies, and damnable opinions contained in the said Books and Writings, worthy to be and have been an Heretic; and that thou by the pretence of the premises art fallen again most damnable into Heresy; and we pronounce that thou art and hast been a rapt Heretic, and hast incurred and oughtest to incur the pain and punishment of a relapse: and we do decree and declare, and also condemn thee thereto, and that

by the pretence of the premises, thou hast even by the Law incurred the sentence of the greater Excommunication; and so hereby we pronounce and declare thee to have been and to be Excommunicate, and clearly discharge, exonerate, and degrade thee from all privilege and prerogative of the Ecclesiastical Orders, and also deprieve thee of all Ecclesiastical Office and Benefice; also we pronounce and declare thee, by this our sentence or decree, the which we here promulgate and declare in these writings, that thou art actually to be degraded, deplored, and deprived, as follows.

In the Name of God, Amen. We *John* by the permission of God Bishop of *London*, rightfully and lawfully proceeding in this behalf, do dismise thee *Richard Bayfield*, alias *Somerfame*, being pronounced by us a relapse, and degraded by us from all Ecclesiastical privilege out of the Ecclesiastical Court, pronouncing that the secular power here present should receive thee under their jurisdiction; earnestly requiring and desiring in the behalf of *John* Christ, that the execution of this shortly by thee Syn-punishment to be done upon thee, and against thee in this sentence, may be so moderated, that there be neither overmuch cruelty, neither too much favourable gentleness; but that it may be to the health and salvation of thy soul, and to the reformation, fear, terror, and conversion of all other Heretics unto the unity of the Catholic Faith. Thus our final decree by this our sentence definitive we have caused to be published in form aforesaid.

Monday the twentieth of November 1531, in the Quire of the Cathedral Church of *Saint Paul*, before the said *John* Bishop of *London* judicially sitting, being assisted with *John* Abbot of *Westminster*, and *Robert* Abbot of *Waltham*, *Nicholas* Prior of *Christ Church* in *London*, these Honourable Lords being also present, *Henry* Earl of *Essex*, *Richard* Grey, Brother to the Marquis of *Somerset*, *John* Lambert Mayor of *London*, *Richard* Gresham, and *Edward* Alam Sheriffs, (the which Mayor and Sheriffs were required to be there present by the Bishop of *London* Letters heretofore written, and by virtue of a Statute of *King Henry* the Fourth, King of our said Realm of *England*) also in the presence of divers Canons, the Chancellor, Official, and the Archdeacon of *London*, with the Bishops Chaplains, and a great number both of the Clergy and Laity; *Matthew* Greffin the Registrar, being also there present: Matter *Richard Bayfield*, alias *Somerfame*, was brought forth by *Thomas* Turner the Apparitor his Keeper, in whole presence the transcript of the Apostolic Bull of *Pope Leo* the Tenth, upon the condemnation of *Martin Luther* and his adherents, was brought forth and shewed, sealed with the seal of *Thomas* Wolsey late Legate de *Letera*, and subscribed with the sign and name of *Matter Robert Turner*, publick Notary, and also the Decree upon the condemnation of certain Books brought in by him, sealed with the Seals of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and subscribed by three Notaries.

Then the Bishop of *London* repeated in effect before him his Abjuration which he had before made, and other his deniers committed and done beside his Abjuration: And the said *Bayfield* said, That he was not culpable in the Articles that were objected against him, and desired that the Heretics contained in the Books which he brought over might be declared in open audience. Then the Bishop after certain talk had with the said *Bayfield* as touching the defect of his cause, asked him, Whether he could tell any cause why he should not be delivered over unto the secular power, and be pronounced as a relapse, and suffer punishment: as a relapse. The said *Bayfield* declared or propounded no cause, but said that he brought over those Books for lack of money, and not to fow any Heresies. And incontinent the said *Bayfield* with a vestment grey (as it appeared) laid unto the Bishop of *London*. The life of you of the Spirituality is so evil, that ye be Heretics, and ye do not only live evil, but do maintain evil living, and also do let, that what true living is may not be known; and said, that their living is against Christ's Gospel, and that their belief was never taken of Christ's Church. Then the said Bishop, after long deliberation had, for so much as the

The Sentence of Degradation, and the Bishop of London.

And they shall call out of thee Syn-punishment to be done upon thee, and against thee in this sentence.

The Letters of requy, by the Mayor and Sheriffs of London.

Mr. Bayfield said, he brought before the Bishop.

The style of Richard Bayfield to the Bishop of London.

the said *Richard Bayfield*, he said, could tell no cause why he should not be declared as a relapse, read the Decree and sentence against him: by the which amongst other things he was condemned him as an Heretic, and pronounced him to be punished with the punishment due unto such as fall again into Heresy, and by his words did degrade him, and also declared that he should be actually degraded, as is more at large contained in the long sentence.

The secular sentence being so read by the Bishop of *London*, he proceeded immediately to the actual and solemn degrading of the said *Rich. Bayfield*, alias *Somerfame*, and there solemnly and actually degraded him before the people; the which thing being done, he dismissed him by the sentence aforesaid from the Ecclesiastical Court. Whereupon the secular power, being there present, received him into their jurisdiction, without any writ in that behalf obtained, but only by virtue of the Bishop's Letters by the Statute of *King Henry* the Fourth, in that behalf provided and directed unto them under the Bishops Seal. The tenor of which Letters hereafter follow.

The Letters of requy directed to the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of *London*, that they should be present that day, when the sentence should be given, to receive the Heretic (as they called him) that was condemned.

John by the permission of God Bishop of *London*, unto our dearly beloved in Christ, the right honourable Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, and the Sheriffs of the same, Health, Grace, and Benediction. Whereas we have already by our Prior general, proceeded in a certain cause of Heresy, and relaps into the same against one *Richard Bayfield* alias *Somerfame*, and intend upon Monday next being the twentieth day of this present month of November, to give a sentence definitive against the said *Richard Bayfield* alias *Somerfame*, and to leave and deliver him over unto the secular power: We require you the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs aforesaid, the Kings Majesties Vicegerents, even in the bounds of *John* Christ, that according to the form and effect of the Statute of our most Noble and Famous Prince in Christ our Lord, the Lord Henry the Fourth, by the Grace of God late King of *England*, you will be personally present in the Quire of the Cathedral Church of *Saint Paul*, with your favourable aid.

and assistance in this behalf, the day that the sentence shall be given, and to receive the said *Richard Bayfield*, alias *Somerfame*, after his sentence so given, to discharge us and our Officers, and to do justice according to the tenor and effect of the said Statute as far as shall be required of you according to the Canonical traditions, and the laudable custom of the famous Kingdom of *England*, in this behalf accomplished. In witness whereof we have set our Seal unto this present. Dated the nineteenth day of November, Anno 1531, and in the first year of our consecration.

On Monday the 20 day of November in the year aforesaid in the Quire of the Cathedral Church of *Saint Paul*, the Bishop of *London* calling unto him *John* Abbot of *Westminster*, *Robert* Abbot of *Waltham*, *Nicholas* Prior of *Christ Church* of the City of *London*, *Malter* *Coxe* Auditor and Vicar General to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Peter* *Ligheam*, Official of the Court of *Canterbury*, *Thomas* *Bagge*, Chancellor of the Church of *Saint Paul*, *William* *Cleife*, Archdeacon of *London*, *John* *Incent* Canon Residentiary of the same, *William* *Drum*, *Robert* *Hirch*, and *Hugh* *Aspries*, Doctors of both Laws, in the presence of as *Matthew* *Griffin* Registrar, *Anthony* *Hoffis*, *Richard* *Martine*, and *Thomas* *Shutwell* publick Notaries and Scribes appointed in this behalf, briefly rehearsed the answers of the same *Bayfield* in effect, and his abjuration, and other his deniers by him done beside his abjuration. The which religious persons, and other Ecclesiastical men aforesaid thought it good and agreed that the said Bishop should proceed against him in this case of relaps, and should pronounce, and give forth the sentence against him in this case aforesaid; and so he was delivered to the Sheriffs to carry to *Newgate*, being commanded to bring him again upon Monday following into *Pauls* upper to the Quire, there to give attendance upon the Bishop of *London* with the residue till they had done with him; and by and by the Sheriffs were commanded to have him into the *Pebyry*, and then to bring him forth again in *Antichrist* apparel to be degraded before them. When he had degraded him kneeling upon the highest step of the Altar, he took his Crozier staff and smote him on the breast, that he threw him down backwards, and brake his head, that he founded, and when he came to himself again, he thanked God that he was delivered from the malignant Church of *Antichrist*, and that he was come into the true

Rich. Bayfield given the sentence.

Rich. Bayfield degraded. Bayfield sheweth the will of the willful traitor.

The Martyrdom of Richard Bayfield.



future

sincere Church of Jesus Christ militant here in Earth; and I trust anon, fide he to be in Heaven with Jesus Christ, and the Church Triumphant for ever; and so was he led forth through the Quire to *Nyngate*, and there rested about an hour in prayer, and so went to the Fire in his apparel manfully and joyfully, and there, for lack of a speedy Fire, was halt an hour alive. And when the left Arm was on Fire and burned, he rubbed it with his right hand, and it fell from his body, and he continued in prayer to the end without moving.

Sir *Thomas More* after he had brought this good man to his end, caused not to after his death rest in the Abbey to pray and pay out what parts he should find of reproach and contumely, whereby to raise out of good memory of his name and fame. In fetching whereto he hath found out two things to lay against him. The one is, that he faith, he went about to abuse himself of two Wives at once, one in writing about the death of *More*, the second, that after his death, all the while that he was not in utter despair of his Pardon, he was content to forswear his Doctrine, and letted not to disclose his brethren. For the answer whereto of although there were no more to be said, yet this was enough to say, that *Matthæ More* was thus said of him, a man so blinded in the zeal of popery, so deadly to fight against the one side, and so partially affectionate unto the other, that in them whom he favoureth he can feel nothing, but all fair Roles and sweet Verses in the other which he hateth, there is never a thing can please his phantasie, but all as black as pitch, vice, abomination, Heretic and folly, whatsoever they do, or intend to do. But as touching the defence of this *Boyfield*, as also of other more, I will defer the defence of them to a several Apology by it self, hereafter God willing, to be adjudged.

#### John Tewkesbury Leatherfeller of London, Martyr.

*John Tewkesbury* was converted by the reading of *Tindal*, *Tellament*, and the wicked *Mammæ*. He had the Bible in all parts of Religion he openly did dispute in the Bishops Chapel in his Palace. Who in the Doctrine of Justification and all other Articles of the Faith was very expert, and prompt in his answers, in fact fort as *Tindal* and all his learned men were ashamed, that a Leatherfeller should dispute with them, with such power of the Scriptures and heavenly wisdom, that they were not able to resist him. This dispute continued a fortnight. The proceeds of whose Examinations, Articles, and answers, here follows, as they are out of the Bishops Register extracted.

On Wednesday the one and twentieth day of April, in the year of our Lord 1529, *John Tewkesbury* was brought into the Confraternity at London, before *Cuthbert* Bishop of London, and his assistants, *Henry* Bishop of Saint Asaph, and *John Abbot* of Westminster. Unto whom the Bishop of London declared that he had at divers times exhorted him to recant the errors and Heresies which he held and defended, even as he had then again exhorted him, not to trust too much to his own wit and learning, but unto the doctrine of the holy Mother the Church. Who made answer, that in his judgment he did not err from the Doctrine of the holy Mother the Church. And at the last, being examined upon errors, which, they said, were in the said Book called the wicked *Mammæ*, he answered thus: Take ye the Book and read it over, and I think in my Confidence, ye shall find no fault in it. And being asked by the said Bishop, whether he did not give credit to his Book, or to the Gospel, he answered that the Gospel is and ever hath been true. And moreover, being particularly examined what he thought of this Article, That the *Jews* of good intent and zeal follow Christ; He answered, that he thought the *Jews* before and after as it lieth, and ye shall find a better tale in it, than ye make of it; and further thought, that whosoever translated the New Testament, and made the Book, meaning the wicked *Mammæ*, he did it of good zeal, and by the Spirit of God.

Also being further asked, by the said Bishop of London, whether he would stand to the contents of his Book, he answered, Look ye the Book before and after, and I will be content to stand unto it. Then being examined,

whether all that good works must be done without respect of any thing, he answered, that a man should do good works for the love of God only, and for no hope of any reward higher nor lower in Heaven; for if he should, it were presumption. Also being demanded, whether that Christ with all his works did not deserve Heaven, He answered and said, that it was plain enough, which things being done, the Bishop said further to *John Tewkesbury*, thus: I tell thee before God and those which are here present, in examination of my Confidence, that the Articles above named, and many other more contained in the same Book are false, heretic, and condemned by the holy Church: how thinkest thou? And further, the said Bishop of London said unto him again, I tell thee before God and those which are here present, &c. and he asked him again, what he thought of those Articles. And after many exhortations, he commanded him to answer determinately under pain of the Law, saying further unto him, that if he refused to answer, he must declare him an open and obstinate Heretic according to the order of the Law. Which things he doing, the Bishop asked *John Tewkesbury* again, whether the said Book, called the wicked *Mammæ*, were good?

To which Interrogatory he answered, That he thinketh in his Confidence there is nothing in the Book that is true, and so to this Article objected, that is faith Faith only justifieth without works, he answered, that it is well said. Whereunto the Bishop interposed against the Articles before objected, with divers others contained in the Book called the wicked *Mammæ*, were false, erroneous, damnable, and heretical, and reprov'd and condemned by the Church; and before God, and all those that were present for the discharge of his Confidence, he had often and very gently exhorted the said *John Tewkesbury*, that he would revoke and renounce his errors; otherwise if he did intend to persevere in them, he must declare him, Heretic, which he would be very sorry to do. These things thus done, the Bishop oftentimes offered him, that he should chuse what Spiritual or Temporal man he would to be his Confessor, and gave him time as before to declare with himself unto the next fitting.

Also in the same month of April, in the year of our Lord aforesaid, the Bishop of London *Cuthbert Tempal* interposed in the Confraternity, with *Nicholas* of *Ely*, *John Tempal* of *London*, and *John Baris* and *Wells*, &c. This *John Tewkesbury* was brought before them. After certain Articles being repeated unto him, the Bishop of London brought before him a certain Book, called the wicked *Mammæ*, asking him whether the Book was of the same Impression and making, as was his Books that he had sold to others? *John Tewkesbury* answered and said it was the same. Whereupon the Bishop of London asking him again, Whether the Book contained the same error or no? Who answered again, saying, I trust God, that the condemnation of the Gospel, and transgression of the Testament be not to your shame, and that you be not in peril for it: for the condemnation of it and of the other is all one. Further he said, that he had studied the holy Scripture by the space of fifteen years, and as he may feel the force of his heart through the glass, so in reading the New Testament, he kneweth the faults of his soul. Furthermore, he was examined upon certain Points and Articles, extracted out of the said Book of the wicked *Mammæ*; as followeth.

First, That Antichrist is not an outward thing, that is to say, a man that should suddenly appear with wonders, as your Forerunners have done, but Antichrist is a spiritual thing. Whereunto he answered and said, That he minded no fault in it. Again, it was demanded of him touching the Articles, whether Faith only justifieth a man. To this he said, that if he should look to deserve Heaven by his works, he should do wickedly, for works follow Faith, and Christ redeemed us all with the merits of his passion.

That the Devil holdeth our hearts so hard, that it is impossible for us to content unto Gods Law. To this he answered, that he findeth no fault in it.

That the Law of God suffereth no merits, neither may man be justified in the light of God. To that he answered, that it is plain enough, considering what the Law is; and he faith, that he findeth no ill in it.

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That the Law of God requireth of us things impossible. To that he answered, that the Law of God doth command, that thou shalt love God above all things, and thy Neighbour as thy self, which never man could do; and in that he doth find no fault in his Confidence.

That as the good tree bringeth forth fruit, so there is no Law put to that: beleeve and is justified through Faith. To that he answered and said, that he findeth no ill in it.

All good works must be done without respect of any thing, or any profit to be had thereof. To that he answered, it is truth.

Christ with all his works did not deserve Heaven. To that he answered, that the Text is true as it lieth, and he findeth no fault in it.

*Peter*, and *Paul*, and *Saints* that be dead are not our friends, but their friends whom they did help when they were alive. To that he said, he findeth no ill in it.

Plagues, deliver, no reward of God. To that he answered, that the Text of the Book is true.

The Devil is not cast out by merits of Fasting or Prayer. To that he answered, thinking it good enough.

We cannot love God, we see some benediction kindreds. As long as we live under the Law of God only, where we feel but in damnation, and the wrath of God upon us, yet where we were damned afore we were born, we cannot love God, nor cannot but hate him as a Tyrant, uncharitable and unjust, and flee from him, as did *Cain*. To that he answered, and thinketh it good and plain enough.

We are damned by nature, as a Tode is a Tode by nature, and a Serpent a Serpent by nature. To that he answered, it is to be true as it is in the Book.

*Jerem*, As concerning the Article of fasting. To that he answered and said, the Book declareth it self.

Every one man is a Lord of whatsoever another man is. To that he answered and said, that he findeth no fault for that: For it is plainly meant there.

Love in Christ putteth no difference betwixt one and another. To that he answered and said, it is plain enough of it self.

Concerning the preaching of the word of God and watching of Duties, there is no difference as concerning Salvation, and as touching the pleasing of God. To that he answered, saying, it is a plain Text, and as for pleasing God it is all one.

That the *Jews* of old intent and zeal put Christ to death. To that he answered, that it is true, and the Text is plain enough.

The Sects of *Saint Francis*, and *Saint Dominick*, and others be damnable. To that he answered and said *Saint Paul* reproveth against them. Which Articles being objected, and answer made unto them by *John Tewkesbury*, the said Bishop of London asked him whether he would continue in his Heresies and errors above rehearsed, or renounce and forsake them. Who answered thus, I pray you reform your self, and if there be any error in the Book, let it be reformed, I think the Book is good enough.

Further the Bishop exhorted him to recant his errors. To which the said *John Tewkesbury* answered as is above written: to wit, I pray you reform your self, and if there be any error in the Book, let it be reformed, I think it is good enough. Which thing being done, the Bishop appointed him to determine betwixt himself against the morrow, in the presence of *Matthæ More*, *John*, *Vicar* general to the Archbishop of Canterbury, *Matthæ*, *Galfridus Wartun*, *Rowland Philipps*, *William Philow*, and *Robert Ridley*, professors of Divinity.

The thirtieth day of April, in the year of our Lord aforesaid, in the Chapel within the Palace of London, before *Cuthbert* Bishop of London, with his assistants, *Nicholas* Bishop of *Ely*, &c. *John Tewkesbury* again appeared, and was examined upon the Articles drawn out of the Book called the wicked *Mammæ*, as followeth.

First, Christ is thine and all his deeds be thy deeds: Christ is in thee, and thou lovest him inleparably, neither canst thou be damned, except Christ be damned with thee; neither canst thou be saved except Christ be saved with thee. To this he answered, that he found no fault in it.

*Item*, We desire one another to pray for us. That done, we must put our Neighbour in remembrance of his duty, and that we trust not in his Holiness. To this he answered,

Take ye it as ye will, I will take it well enough. *Item*, Now feel thou what *Alma* meant, and wherefore ferveth. That he answered with his *Alma* more than he felt to be merited, to be a Neighbour to fence his Brother's merit, to do his duty to his Brother, to give his Brother that he ought him, the same is blind and leech not Christ's blood. Here he answered, that he minded no fault through out all the Book, but that all the Book is good, and it hath given him great comfort and light to his Confidence.

That ye do nothing to please God but that he is commanded. To that he answered, and thinketh it good by his truth.

*Item*, So God is honoured on all sides, in that we count him righteous in all his Laws and Ordinances. And that we worship him otherwise than so, it is Idolatry. To that he answered, that it pleaseth him well.

The examination of these Articles being finished, the Bishop of London did exhort the said *John Tewkesbury* to recant his errors above said: And after some other communication had by the Bishop with him, the said Bishop did exhort him again to recant his errors, and appointed him to determine with himself against the next Session what he would do.

In the next Session he submitted himself, and shewed his opinions, and was enjoyed Penance, as followeth: which were the weights of *May*.

*Imprimis*, That he should keep well his Abjuration, under pain of relapse.

Secondly, That the next Sunday following, in *Pauls* Church in the open Procession, he should carry a *Fagot*, and stand at *Pauls* Cross with the same.

That the *Wednesday* following he should carry the said *Fagot* about *Newgate-Market* and *Cheapside*.

That on *Friday* after he should take the said *Fagot* as gainst *St. Peters* Church in *Cornhill*, and carry it about the Market of *Leaden-hall*.

That he should have two figs of *Fagots* embroidered on his left sleeve, and the other on his right sleeve; which he should wear all his life time until he were otherwise dispensed withal.

That on *Whituesday* Eve he should enter into the *Mosnary* of *St. Bartholomew* in *Smithfield*, and there abide; and not come out unless he were released by the Bishop of London.

That he should not depart out of the City or Diocese of London, without the special Licence of the Bishop or his successors, Which Penance he entered into the eighth day of *May*, An. 1529.

And thus much concerning his first examination; which was in the year 1529, at what time he was enforced through infirmity, as is before expressed, to retract and avise his Doctrine. Notwithstanding, the same *John Tewkesbury*, afterward confirmed by the grace of God, and moved by the example of *Boyfield* aforesaid, that was burned in *Smithfield*, did return and constantly abide in the testimony of the truth and differed for the same. Who again recovering more grace and better strength at the hand of the Lord, two years after being apprehended again, was brought before Sir *Thomas More*, and the Bishop of London; Where certain Articles were objected of him: The matter wherof we intend briefly to relate, for the Chatter is prolix.

*Imprimis*, That he confessed that he was baptized, and intended to keep the Catholic Faith.

Secondly, That he affirmed, that the abjuration, Oath, and subscription that he made before *Cuthbert*, late Bishop of London, was done by compulsion.

Thirdly, That he had the Books of the obedience of a Christian man, and of the wicked *Mammæ*, in his custody, and hath read them twice his abjuration.

Fourthly, That he affirmed that he suffered the two *Fagots* that were embroidered on his sleeve, to be taken from him, for that he dared not to wear them.

Fifthly, He faith, that Faith only justifieth, which lacketh not charity.

Sixthly, He faith, that Christ is a sufficient Mediator for us, and therefore no prayer is to be made unto Saints. Whereupon they laid unto him this verse of the *Antiphona*: *Salvo Regina advocata nostra*, &c. To which he answered, That he knew none other Advocate but Christ alone.

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7. Seventhly, Whether he knew any person that dyed in the true Faith of Christ, since the Apostles time.

He said, He knew Bayfield, and thought that he dyed in the true Faith of Christ.

8. Eighthly, He was asked what he thought of Purgatory.

He answered, If any such thing had been moved to Saint Paul of Purgatory after this life, he thought Saint Paul would have condemned it for an Heretic. And when he heard Master Cromme preach and say, that he thought there was a Purgatory after this life, he thought in his mind that the said Master Cromme lied, and spoke against his Conscience; and that there were an hundred more, which thought the same as he did; saying moreover, that he had seen the confessions of Master Cromme in Print, God was, a very foolish thing, as he judged.

9. And as concerning Vows, he granted that there were lawful Vows, as Ananias vowed, Acts 5, for it was in his own power, whether he would have sold his possession or not, and therefore he did offend. But Vows of Chastity, and all godliness is given of God by his abundant grace, the which no man of himself can keep, but it must be given him of God. And therefore a Monk, Friar or Nun, that have vowed the vows of Religion, if they think after their vows made, that they cannot keep their promises that they made at Baptism, they may go forth and marry, so that they keep after their marriage, the promise that they made at Baptism, and finally, he concluded, that he thought there were no other vows, but only the vow of Baptism.

10. Ninthly, He was demanded, whether Luther being a Friar, and taking a Nun out of Religion, and afterward marrying her, did well or no, and what he thought therein.

He answered, That he thought nothing. And when they asked him, whether it was lechery or no. He made answer, he could not say so.

As concerning the Sacrament of Amelings, being wiled to say his mind.

He answered and said, It was but a ceremony, neither did he see what a man should be the better for such annoying and annoying. The best was, that some good prayer he say to be said thereat.

Likewise, touching the Sacrament of Baptism, his words were these.

That as many as repent, and do on them Christ, shall be saved: that is, as many as dye concerning sin, shall live by Faith with Christ. Therefore it is not we that live after that, but Christ in us. And if whether we live or dye, we are Gods: by adoption, and not by the water only, but by water and faith: That is, by keeping the promise made. For ye are kept by Grace and Faith, faith Saint Paul, and not of your selves, for it is the gift of God.

He was asked moreover of Matrimony, whether it was a Sacrament or not, and whether it conferred Grace, being commanded in the old Law, and not yet taken away.

His answer was, That Matrimony is an ordinance of Law, that the Church of Christ hath made and ordained, by the which men may take to them women and not sin.

Lastly, For his Books of Scripture, and for his judgement of Tindal, because he was used to counsell the truth, he said, That he had the New Testament translated into the English tongue by Tindal within this month, and thought he offended no God in using and keeping the same, notwithstanding that he knew the Kings Proclamation to the contrary, and that it was prohibited in the name of the Church at Pauls Cross. But for all that he thought the Word of God had not forbid it: confounding moreover, that he had in his keeping within this month these Books: The wicked Mammon, The Obedience of a Christian man, The Preface of Prelates, The Answer of Tindal to Thomas More's Dialogues, The Book of Faith against Purgatory, The Epistle of George Geale, George Clerk: adding furthermore, that in all these Books be

never saw any errors. And if there were any such [in] them, then if they were corrected, it were good that the people had the said Books. And as concerning the new Testament in English, he thought it worthy good, and that the people should have it as it is. Neither did he ever know (said he) that Tindal was a naughty fellow. And to these answers he subscribed his name. This examination (as is said) was the fifteenth day of December.

The next day following, which was the sixteenth day of December, the said James Bainham appeared again before the Bishop of London, in the forefield place of St Thomas More at Chelsey, where, after the guile and form of their proceedings, read his former Articles with his Answers were again repeated, and his hand brought forth. Which done, they asked him whether he would profit in that which he had said, or else would persist in the Catholic Church, from whence he was fallen, and to the which he might be yet received, as they said: adding moreover many fair enticing and alluring words, that he would reconcile himself, saying, the time was yet that he might be received; the bosom of his Mother was open for him. Otherwise, if he would continue stubborn, there was no remedy.

Now was the time either to save, or else utterly to cast himself away. Which of these ways he would take, the case present now required a present answer, for else the sentence definitive was ready there to be read, &c.

To conclude long matter in few words: Bainham was brought to a doubtful perplexity, between life on the one hand, and death on the other, at length giving over to the Adversaries, gave answer unto them that he was contented to submit himself in those things wherein he had offended, excusing that he was deceived by ignorance. The Bishop then the Bishop requiring him to say his mind plainly of his answers above declared, demanded what he thought thereof, whether they were true or no.

To this Bainham said, that it was too high for him to judge. And then being asked of the Bishop whether there was any Purgatory? He answered and said, he could not believe that there was any Purgatory after this life.

Upon other Articles being examined and demanded, he granted as followeth: that he could not judge whether Bayfield dyed in the true Faith of Christ or no. That a man making a vow, cannot break it without deadly sin. That a Priest promising to live chaste, may not marry a Wife. That he thinketh the Apostles to be in Heaven. That Luther did naught in taking a Nun. That a child is the better for confirmation. That it is an offence to God, if any man keep Books prohibited by the Church, the Pope, the Bishop, or the King: and said, That he pondered those points more now than he did before, &c.

Upon these answers, the Bishop thinking to keep him in safe custody, to further Tryal, committed him to one of the Counters.

The time thus passing on, which bringeth all things to their end, in the month of February next following, in the year of our Lord, 1532, the said James Bainham called for again to the Bishops Confistory: before his Vicar General and other his assistants.

To whom Richard the Bishops Chancellor received his Articles and Answers above mentioned: protesting, That he intended not to receive him to the unity of the holy Mother Church, unless he knew the said Bainham to be returned again purely and unfeignedly to the Catholic Faith, and to submit himself penitently to the judgment of the Church. To whom Bainham spoke to this effect, saying, That he hath, and doth believe the holy Church, and holdeth the Faith of the holy Mother the Catholic Church.

Wherefore the Chancellor offering to him a Bill of his abjuration, after the form of the Popes Church conceived, required him to read it. Which was contented; and read to the clause of the abjuration, containing these words: I voluntarily, as a true penitent person returned from my Heresies, utterly abjure, &c. And there he stayed and would read no further, saying,

that he knew not the Articles contained in his Abjuration to be Heretic, therefore he could not for why he should refuse them. Which done, the Chancellor proceeded to the reading of the sentence definitive, coming to this place of the sentence: The Doctrine and determination of the Church, &c. and there paused, saying, He would referre the matter till he saw his time. Whom then Bainham desired to be good unto him, affirming that he did acknowledge that there was a Purgatory: that the Souls of the Apostles were in Heaven, &c. Then Began he again to read the sentence: but Bainham again desired him to be good to him. Whereupon he ceased the sentence, and said that he would accept this confession for that time as sufficient.

So Bainham for that present was returned to his Prison again. Who then the fifth day after, which was the eighth day of February, appeared, as before, in the Confistory. Whom the foresaid Chancellor repeating again his Articles and Answers, asked if he would abjure and submit himself. Who answered, That he would submit himself as a good Christian man should. Again, the Chancellor the second time asked if he would abjure. I will (said he) forsake all my Articles, and will meddle no more with them; and to be being commanded to lay

his hand upon the Book, read his Abjuration openly. After the reading whereof, he bent out into these words, saying, That because there were many words in the said Abjuration, which he thought obscure and difficult, he protested that by his Oath he intended not to go from such defence, which he might have had before his Oath. Which done, the Chancellor asked him why he made that protestation. Bainham said, For fear, but any Man of ill will do accuse me hereafter. Then the Chancellor taking the definitive sentence in his hand, disposing himself (as appeared) to read the same: Well Master Bainham, said he, take your Oath, and kiss the Book, or else I will do mine office against you: and so immediately he took the Book in his hand and kissed it, and subscribed the same with his hand.

Which done, the Chancellor receiving the Abjuration at his hand put it in his Fine: first to pay twenty pounds to the King. After that, he imposed him Penance, to go before the Cross in Procession at Pauls, and to stand before the Preacher during the Sermon at Pauls Cross, with a Ragot upon his Shoulder, the next Sunday, and to go to return with the Sumner to the Prison again, there to abide the Bishops determination: and so the fourteenth day of February he was released and dismissed home. Where

James Bainham enjoyed penance.



he had grace a month continued, but he bewailed his Fate and Abjuration, and was never quiet in his Mind and Conscience until the time he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the World forgiveness before the Congregation in those days, in a War-bout in Bow-lane: and immediately the next Sunday after he came to St. Dunstons, with the New Testament in his hand in English, and the Obedience of a Christian man in his bosom, and stood up there before the people in his Pew, there declaring openly with weeping tears, that he had denied God, and prayed all the people to forgive him, and to beware of his weakness, and not to do as he did: for (said he) if I should not return again unto the Truth (having the New Testament in his hand) this Word of God would damn me both Body and Soul on the Day of Judgment. And there he prayed every body rather to die by and by, than to do as he did: for he would not feel such an Hell again as he did feel, for all the Worlds good. Besides this, he wrote also certain Letters to the Bishop, to his Brother, and to others: for that flourish after he was apprehended, and so committed to the Tower of London.

### The Process against James Bainham in case of relapse.

THE nineteenth day of April, 1532, Master Richard Fox, Vicar General to the Bishop of London, accompanied with certain Divines, and Matthew Greston the Register, sitting judicially, James Bainham was brought before him by the Lieutenant of the Tower; before whom the Vicar-General rehearsed the Articles contained in his Abjuration before made, and showed him a bound Book, which the said Bainham acknowledged to be his own writing, saying, That it was good. Then he shewed him more of a certain Letter sent unto the Bishop of London, the which also he acknowledged to his: objecting also to the said Bainham, that he had made and read the Abjuration which he had before recited: shewing him moreover certain Letters which he had written unto his Brother, the which he confessed to be his own writing; saying moreover, That though he wrote it, yet there is one thing in the same that is naughty, if it be as my Lord Chancellor saith. Then he asked of Bainham,



How he understood this which followeth, which was in his Letters: Yet could they not see nor know him for God, when indeed he was both God and Man, yea, he was Three Persons in one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and *Bainham* said it was strange. Which things thus done, there was further objected unto him these words: That he had as leue pray to *Joan* his Wife, as to our Lady. The which Article *Bainham* denied. The said *Bainham* amongst other talks, as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, said, *Christ's Body* is not cheere'd with Teeth, but received by Faith. Further it was objected against him, That notwithstanding his Abjuration, he had said, that the Sacrament of the Altar was but a myrrour or memorial Body: the which Article *Bainham* denied. It was further laid unto him, that he should say, That *St. Thomas of Canterbury* was a Thierf and a Murderer, and a Devil in Hell. Whereunto he answered thus: That *St. Thomas of Canterbury* was a Murderer, and if he did not repent him of his Murders, he was rather a Devil in Hell, than a Saint in Heaven.

The twentieth day of *April*, in the year aforesaid, the said *James Bainham* was brought before the Vicar-General, in the Church of *All Saints, of Barking*, whereas he manifested these Interrogatories unto him.

First, That since the Feast of *Easter* last past, he had said, affirmed, and believed, That the Sacrament of the Altar was but a myrrour Body of *Christ's* and afterward he said, It was but a memorial. The which Article *Bainham* denied. Then the Vicar-General declared unto him, that our holy Mother the Catholick Church determineth and teacheth in this manner: That in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration, there remaineth no Bread. The Official asked *Bainham*, whether he did believe or not? Whereunto *Bainham* answered, saying, That *St. Paul* calleth it Bread, rehearsing these words; *Quisquis comederit panem hunc, &c. de peccato libentius, mortem Domini annuntiabit.* And in that point he faith as *St. Paul* faith, and believeth as *St. Paul* believeth. And being demanded twice afterward what he thought therein, he would give no other answer.

Item, That since the Feast of *Easter* aforesaid, he had affirmed and believed, that every Man whatsoever that would take upon him to preach the Gospel of *Christ* clearly, had as much power as the Pope. To the which Article he answered thus: He that preacheth the Word of God purely, whatsoever he be, and liveth thereafter, he hath the Key that bindeth and looseth both in Heaven and Earth. The which Key is the same Scripture that is preached, and the Pope hath no other power to bind and to loose, but by the Key of the Scripture.

Item, That he affirmed, That *St. Thomas of Canterbury* was a Thierf and a Murderer, and in Hell. Whereunto he answered as before.

Item, That he said, That he had as leue pray to *Joan* his Wife, as to our Lady. The which he denied as before.

Item, That he affirmed and believed, that *Christ* himself was but a Man: The which Article he also denied.

The Premises thus passed, the Vicar-General received *Francis Realm*, *John Edwards*, *Ralph Hilson*, *John Ridley*, *Francis Drim*, and *Ralph Noble*, as Witnesses to be Sworn upon the Articles aforesaid, and to speak the truth before the face of the said *James Bainham*, in the presence of Master *John Naylor*, Vicar of *Barking*, Master *John Rode* Bachelor of Divinity, *William Smith*, *Richard Grevet*, *Thomas Wimple*, and *Richard Gitt*.

The six and twentieth day of *April*, in the year aforesaid, before Master *John Roford*, Vicar-General of the Bishop of *London*, in the presence of *Matthew Greston*, Register, and *Nicholas Wilson* and *William Phelley*, professors of Divinity, *John Olceor*, *William Alderson*, and *High Sheriff of London*, and a great company of others, *James Bainham* was brought forth by the Lieutenant of the Tower, in whole presence the Vicar-General rehearsed the merits of the waste of Inquisition of Herefie against him, and proceeded to the reading of the Abjuration. And when the Judge read this Article following contained in the Abjuration: Item, That I have said, That I will not determine whether any Souls departed be in Heaven or no, but I believe that they be there as it

pleaseth God to have them: that is to say, in the Faith of *Abraham*: and I wote not whether the Souls of the Apostles or any other be in Heaven or no. To this *James* answered, That I did Abjure, and if that had not been, I would not have Abjured at all.

After all the Articles were read contained in the Abjuration, and certain talk had as touching the Sacrament of Baptism, the said *James Bainham* spake these words: *I thank, a Free, or a Servant do trust in God, and keep his Law, he is a good Christian Man.* Then the Official shewed unto him the Letters which he sent unto his Brother, written with his own hand, and asked him what he thought as touching this Clause following: Yet could they not see and know him from God, when indeed he was both God and Man, yea, he was three Persons in one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Whereunto *Bainham* said, That it was naught, and that he did it by ignorance, and did not over-see his Letters. Then Master *Nicholas Wilson* amongst other talks, as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, declared unto him, That the Church did believe the very Body of *Christ* to be in the Sacrament of the Altar. *Bainham* answered, The Bread is not *Jesus Christ*, for *Christ's Body* is not cheere'd with Teeth, therefore it is but Bread. Being further demanded whether in the Sacrament of the Altar is the very Body of *Christ*, God and Man in Flesh and Blood; after diverse doubtful answers, *Bainham* answered thus: He is there very God and Man in form of Bread.

This done, the Official declared unto him the Depositions of the Witnesses which were come in against him, and objected unto him, that a little before *Easter*, he had Abjured all Heresies, as well particularly as generally. Then the said Vicar-General, after he had taken deliberation and advice with the learned his Affiliates, did proceed to the reading of the definitive sentence against him, and also published the same in writing: whereby amongst other things, besides his Abjuration, he pronounced and condemned him as a relapsed Heretic, damnable fallen into sundry Heresies, and to be left unto the Secular Power; that is to say, to one of the Sheriffs being there present. After the pronouncing of which sentence, Master *Nicholas Wilson* counselled and admonished the said *James*, That he would confirm himself unto the Church. To whom he answered, That he trusted that he is the very Child of God; which ye blind Asses, said he, do not perceive. And last of all, departing from his Judgment, he spake these words: Matter *Wilson*, nor you my Lord Chausseleur shall not prove by Scripture, that there is any Purgatory. Then the sentence of condemnation was given against him, the which here to repeat word for word is not necessary, forasmuch as the tenor thereof is all one with that which passed before in the story of *Boysfield*, also *Somerflem*. Here also should ensue the Letter of the Bishop of *London*, directed unto the Mayor and Sheriffs of the same City, for the receiving of him into their power, and the putting of him to death, the tenor whereof is also of like effect to that before-written in the story of *Boysfield*. After this sentence given, *James Bainham* was delivered into the hands of *Sir Richard Gresham* Sheriff, then being present, who caused him by his Officers to be carried unto *Newgate*, and the said *James Bainham* was burned in *Smithfield* the last day of *April*, in the year aforesaid, at three of the Clock at afternoon.

This Master *Bainham*, during his Imprisonment, was the cruel handling of *Bainham*, very cruelly handled. For almost the space of a fortnight he lay in the *Bishops* Cole-house in the Stocks, with Irons upon his Legs. Then he was carried to the Lord Chancellors, and there chained to a Post two nights. Then he was carried to *Pulham*, where he was cruelly handled by the space of a fortnight. Then to the Tower, where he lay a fortnight, scourged with Whips, to make him revoke his Opinions. From thence he was carried to *Barking*, and then to *Chelsey*, and there condemned, and so to *Newgate* to be burned.

KING'S  
1168.8

## The burning of James Bainham.

KING'S  
1168.8

At whole burning, here is notoriously to be observed, that as he was at the Stake in the midst of the flaming fire, which fire had half consumed his Arms and Legs, he spake these words: O ye Papists, behold, ye look for miracles, and here now you may for a miracle; for in this Fire I feel no more pain, than if I were in a Bed of Down; but it is to me as a Bed of Roses. These words spake he in the midst of the flaming fire, when his Legs and Arms, as I said, were half consumed.

JOHN BENT  
Martyr.

At the writing hereof, came to our hands a certain notice of one *John Bent*, who about this year

## John Bent, Martyr.

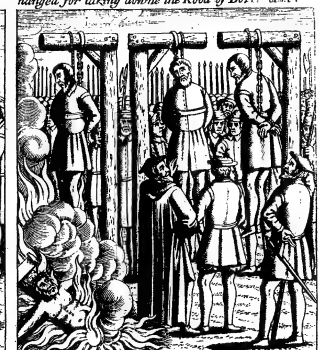


sent time, or not long before, being a Tailor, and dwelling in a Village called *Urbervum*, was burned in the Town of the *Devon* within the County of *Wiltshire*, for denying of the Sacrament of the Altar, as they term it.

## One Trappel, Martyr.

As much about the same time, was one *Trappel*, burned in a Town called *Bradford*, within the same County.

Robert King, Robert Debrum, and Nicholas Martin, hanged for taking down the Rod of *Dorset*.







proveh. For many to believe, and yet in so believing the Sacrament to be the natural body are not thereby saved, but receive it to their own damnation.

Again, in believing the Sacrament to be the natural body, yet that natural presence of his Body in the Bread is not that which saveth us, but his presence in our hearts by Faith. And likewise, the not believing of that shall presence in the Sacrament, is not the thing that hurteth damn us, but the absence of him out of our heart; through unbelief. And if it be objected, that it is necessary to believe Gods Word under pain of damnation: to that he answereth, That the Word taken in the right sense as Christ meant, maintaineth no faith, but rather condemneth the Popes Church both reach, but rather condemneth that presence. And that, faith he, may be further confirmed thus:

#### Argument.

- Cr. None of the old Fathers before Christs Incarnation were bound under pain of damnation to believe this Faith.
- la. All we be saved by the same Faith that the old Fathers were.
- rent. Ergo, None of us are bound to believe this point under pain of damnation.

The first part, faith he, is evident of it self. For how could they believe that which they never heard nor saw?

The second part, faith he, appeareth plainly by Saint Augustine, writing *ad Darmanum*, and also by an hundred places more. Neither is there any thing that he doth more often inculcate than this, that the Faith that saved our Fathers, saveth us also. And therefore upon the truth of these two parts proved, must the conclusion, faith he, needs follow.

#### Another Argument.

None of the old Fathers before Christs Incarnation did eat Christ corporally in their figs, but only mystically, and spiritually, and were saved.

And we do eat Christ even as they did, and are saved as they were.

Ergo, None of us do eat Christ Corporally, but mystically, and spiritually in our figs as they did.

For the probation of the first part, *Frith* proceeding in his Discourse declareth how the ancient Fathers before Christs Incarnation did never believe any faith point of this gods and carnal eating of Chastity body, and yet notwithstanding they did eat him spiritually and were saved. As *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Moses*, *Aaron*, *Phineas*, and other godly Israelites besides. All which, faith he, did eat the Body of Christ, and did drink his Blood as we do. But this eating and drinking of theirs was Spiritual, pertaining only to Faith, and not to the Flesh: which fulfilled them this rock was Christ, which was promised them to come into the World. And this promise was first made unto *Adam*, when as it was said unto him, *between thee and thy seed*, &c.

Con. 10. For they were all under the cloud, and drank of the rock which fulfilled them this rock was Christ, which was promised them to come into the World. And this promise was first made unto *Adam*, when as it was said unto him, *between thee and thy seed*, &c.

Gen. 3. The Serpent I will put barred between thee and the woman, between her seed and thy seed, &c. And afterward again unto *Abraham*: In thy seed shall all people be blessed, &c. Adding also the Sacrament of Circumcision, which was called the Covenant: not because it was instituted, but because it was a sign and a token of the Covenant made between God and *Abraham*, adumbrating us thereby, how we should judge and think touching the Sacrament of body and blood, to wit, that albeit it is called the body of Christ, yet we should properly understand thereof by the fruit of our justification, which plentifully floweth unto all the faithful, by this most heavenly body and blood. Likewise the same promise was made unto *Moses* the blood of the new and gentle Captain of the *Israelites*, which did not only himself believe upon Christ, which was so often promised, but also did prefigure him by divers means, being by the *Manna* which came down from Heaven, and also by the Water which issued out of the Rock, for the refreshing of the bodies of his people.

Neither is it to be doubted; but that both *Adam* and *Christ* this water had a propheticall mystery in them, declaring the very self-same thing thence, which the Bread and the Wine do now declare unto us in the Sacrament. For *Adam* did eat *Manna*, and *Phineas* also, and many other old did eat thereof, which pleased God, and are not dead. Why? Because they did understand the visible meat spiritually. They did spiritually hunger, and did spiritually take it, so that they might be spiritually satisfied. They all did eat the same spiritual meat, and all did drink the same spiritual blood, but not all one Corporal matter (for they did eat *Manna*, and we another thing) but the self-same spiritual thing that we do, and although they drank the same spiritual drink that we do, yet they drank one thing, and we another: Which themselves testified all one thing. The Apostle answereth, How did they drink all one thing? The spiritual answereth, Of the spiritual Rock which followed them. For the Rock was Christ. And *Beda* also adding these words *faith*, *Behold the figs are altered, and yet the Faith remains one*. Thereby a man may perceive that the *Manna* which came down from Heaven, was the same unto them that our Sacrament is unto us, and that by either of them is signified that the body of Christ came down from Heaven; and yet notwithstanding never any of them said, That *Manna* was the very body of Christ, as our Sacrament Bread is not indeed the Body of Christ, but a mytical representation of the same. For like as the *Manna* which came down from Heaven, & nourish the body, even so the body of Christ coming down from Heaven, and being given for us, doth quicken up the spirits of the Believers unto life everlasting. Then is the Salvation of both people be like, and their faith also one, there is no cause why we should add Transubstantiation unto our Sacrament, more than they believed their *Manna* to be altered and changed. &c. Therefore because they are named Sacraments, even by the figification of the name they must needs be figs of things, or else necessity they can be no Sacraments.

But some may here object and say, If only Faith, both unto them and also unto us, be sufficient for Salvation, what need then any Sacraments to be instituted? He answereth, that there are three causes why Sacraments are instituted. The first Saint *Augustine* declareth in these words, Writing against *Faustinus*, *Man* faith, cannot be knit together into one man of Religion, be it true or false, except they be knit by the society of gods and visible Sacraments, the power whereof doth wonderfully prevail, in so much that faith, as condemn them are wicked: for that is wickedly condemned without the which godliness cannot be made perfect, &c. Another cause is, that they should be helps to grace and plant Faith in our Hearts, and for the confirmation of Gods promises. But this use of Sacraments may be yet ignorant of, and more there be which do preposterously judge of the same, as taking the figs for the thing it self, and worshipping the figs, as they do the Sacrament, and so they would have faith: even by like reason in a manner, as if a man would take the bulb that hangeth in the Tavern door, and suck it the Wine is. Thirdly, they do serve unto this use, to stir up the minds and hearts of the faithful to give thanks unto God for his benefits. And thence in a manner are the principal points of his Book.

When *Adam* (as is aforesaid) had gotten a Copy of new Testament, he sharpened his Pen all that he might to make answer unto this young man (for he called him throughout his whole Book) but in such forth that when the Book was once forth, and flewed unto the World, then he endeavored himself all that he might to keep it from printing, peradventure lest that any Copy thereof should come unto *Frith* hand. But notwithstanding, when at the last *Frith* had gotten a Copy thereof, by means of his friends. He answered him out of the Prison, omitting nothing that any man could deliver to the pericote

and absolute handling of the matter. And as it were a great labour to do to think it not much necessary to repeat all his Reasons and Arguments, or the Testimonies which he had gathered out of the Doctors: specially forasmuch as the Archbishop of *Canterbury* *Cramer*, in his Apology against the Bishop of *Winchester*, learned to have collected them abundantly, gathering the principal and chiefest helps from thence that he leaned unto against the other: and I doubt much whether the Archbishop ever gave any more credit unto any Author of that Doctrine, than unto this aforesaid *Frith*.

What dexterity of Wit was in him, and excellency of Doctrine, it may appear not only by his Books which he wrote of the Sacrament, but also in them which he authored of Purgatory. In the which quare he withstood the violence of three most ultimate enemies: that is to say, of *Rockefeller*, *More*, and *Raffael*, whereof the one by the help of the Doctors, and the other by the writing of the Scripture, and the third by the help of natural Philosophy had conspired against him. But he, as *Heracles* fighting not against two only, but even with them all three at once, did so overthrow and confound them, that he converted *Raffael* to his part.

Besides all these Commendations of this young Man, there was also in him a fixtly and prudent moderation in uttering of the truth, joyed with a learned godliness. Which virtue hath always so much prevailed in the Church of Christ, that without it, all other good gifts of knowledge, which they were so great, cannot greatly profit, but offences do very much hurt. And would God that all things in all places were so free from all kind of definition, that there were no mention made amongst Churche of *Zuinglius* and *Lutherians*, when as neither *Zuinglius*, neither *Luther* did for us, but that we might be all one in Christ. Neither do I think that any thing could happen more grievous unto these worthy Men, than their names to be abused to Sects and Factions, which to greatly withstood and strove against all Factions. Neither do I here discourse which part came nearest unto the truth: Neither so valiantly intermeddle in this matter, as I will deterred any thing from either part, but rather wish of God I might join either part unto other.

But now, forasmuch as we treat of the Story of *John Frith*, I cannot choose, but must needs earnestly and heartily embrace the prudent and godly moderation which was in that Man, who maintaining his quarrel of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, no less godly than learnedly, (and soas no Man in a manner had done it more learnedly and pitifully) yet he did it so moderately, without any contention, but that he would never firm to strive against the Papists, except he had been driven to even necessity. In all other matters where usefully did not move him to contend, he was ready to grant all things for quietness sake; as his most modest Reason and answers did declare.

For when as *More*, departing in a certain place upon the Sacrament, laid against him the authority of Doctor *Barnes*, for the presence of the Body and Blood in the Sacrament, he answered unto *More* and his Companions, that he would promise unto this condition, That the sentence of *Luther* and *Barnes* might be holden as ratified, he would never speak more words of it: for in that point they did both agree with him, that the Sacrament was not to be worshipped, and that idolatry being taken away, he was content to permit every Man to judge of the Sacrament, as God should put into their hearts: for then there remained no more poison, that any Man ought or might be afraid of. Whence if they did agree in that which was the chiefest point of the Sacrament, they should easily accord and agree in the remnant.

Thus much he wrote in the Treatise, entitled, The exile of *Barnes* against *More*. Which words of this most meek Heart of Christ, if they would take place in the tedious divisions and fictions of these our days, with great ease and little labour, Man might be brought to unity in this controversy, and much more concord and love should be in the Church, and much less offence given abroad than there is.

But to our Story again, *John Frith*, who after he had now sufficiently contended in his writings with *More*,

*Rockefeller*, and *Raffael*, *More* Son in Law, he was at the last carried to *Lambeth*, first before the Bishop of *Canterbury*, and afterward unto *Crofton*, before the Bishop of *Winchester*, to plead his Cause. Last of all, he was called before the Bishops in a common Assembly at *London*, where he continually defended himself, if he might have been heard.

The Order of his judgment, with the manner of his Examination and Articles which were objected against him, are compiled and set forth by himself in a Letter written and sent unto his Friends, whilst he was prisoner in the Tower.

A Letter of *John Frith* to his Friends, concerning his troubles: Wherein after he had first with a brief Preface flattered them, entering then into the matter, Thus he writeth.

I Doubt not dear Brethren, but that is doth some deal to vex you, to see these parts to have all the words, and to be seen for to speak unto thy life, and to be in the end of that recollect not worthy work which is made in the Tower concerning the Sacrament of the blood of Christ, Purgatory.

The whole matter of this my examination was comprehended in two special Articles, that is to say, of Purgatory, and of the substance of the Sacrament.

And first of all, as touching Purgatory, they enquired of me whether I did believe there was any place to purge the spots and filth of the Soul after this life. But I said, that I thought there was no such place: For Man (said I) doth consist and is made only of two parts, that is to say, of the body and the soul, whereof the one is purged here in this world, by the Cross of Christ, which he suffereth every Child that he receiveth as a sacrifice. Wholly expelling perfection, imprisonment, &c. And last of all the reward of sin, which is death, is laid upon us: but the soul is purged with the Word of God which we receive through Faith, to the salvation both of Body and soul. Now if you can give me a third part of Man betwixt the Body and the Soul, I will also grant unto you the third place, which ye do call Purgatory. But because ye cannot do this, I must also of necessity deny unto you the Bishop of *Rome* Purgatory. Nevertheless I count neither part a needless Article of our Faith, but to be believed under pain of damnation, whether there be such a Purgatory or no.

Secondly, They examined me touching the Sacrament of the Altar, whether it was the very Body of Christ, or no.

I answered, that I thought it was both Christ Body and also our Body, as Saint Paul teacheth us in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and tenth Chapter. For in that it is made one bread of many corns, it is called our body, which being divers and many members, are affluente and gathered together into one Fellowship or body. Likewise of the wine, which is gotten of many clusters of Grapes, and is made into one Liquor. But the same bread again in that it is broken, is the Body of Christ, declaring his Body to be broken and delivered unto death, to redeem us from our iniquities.

Furthermore, in that the Sacrament is distributed, it is Christ Body signifying, that as verily as the Sacrament is distributed unto us, so verily is Christ Body and the fruit of his passion distributed unto all faithful people.

In that it is received it is Christ Body, signifying that as verily as the outward Man received the Sacrament with his Teeth and Mouth, so verily doth he inward Man through Faith receive Christ Body and fruit of his passion, and it is as sure of it as of the Bread which he eateth.

Well (said they) doth thou not think that his very natural Body, Flesh, Blood, and Bone, is really contained under the Sacrament, and there present without all figure or similitude? No, said I, I do not so think: I acknowledge I would not that any should count, that make my saying (which is the negative) any Article of Faith. For even















## C Persons abjured, with their Articles.

Grace Palmer, 1531.

Witnes was brought against her by her Neighbours, *John Royle, John Tyle, of St. Olives*, for saying, Ye use to bear *Palm* on *Palm-Sunday*, it skildeth not whether you bear any or not, it is but a thing idle, and need not.

Also ye use to go on Pilgrimage to our Lady of Grace, of *Waltingham*, and other places, ye were better tarry at home, and give money to favour me and my Children, and other of my poor Neighbours, than to go thither; for there you shall find but a piece of Timber painted, there is neither God nor our Lady.

Item, For repenting that the idd ever light Candles before Images.  
Item, That the Sacrament of the Altar is not the Body of Christ; it is but Bread, which the Priest there sheweth for a token or remembrance of Christs Body.

Philip Bramer of Buckhead, 1531.

His Articles, That the Sacrament holden up between the Priests hands is not the Body of Christ, but bread, and is done for figuration; That confession to a Priest needeth not; That Images be but fables and fables; That Pilgrimage is vain, also for the Priests, That when there is any Miracle done, the Priests do anoint the Images, and make men believe that the Images do sweat in labouring for them; and with the Offerings the Priests find their Harbors.

John Fairfelede of Colchester, 1531.

His Articles, For words spoken against Pilgrimage and Images. Also for saying these words, *That the Jew should come that was bound to say, Confess he that they that make these false Gods (meaning Images).*

George Bul of Much-Hadham, Drapers, 1531.

His Articles, That there be three Confessions; one Principal to God, another to his Neighbour whom he had offended, and the third to a Priest; and that without the two first Confessions, to God and to his Neighbour, a man could not be saved. The third confession to a Priest, is necessary for counsel to such as be ignorant and unlured, to learn how to make their confession with a contrite heart unto God, and how to hope for Forgiveness; and also in what manner they should ask forgiveness of their Neighbour whom they have offended, &c. Item, For saying that *Luther* was a good man. Item, That he reported, through the credence and report of Mr. *Patmore*, Parson of *Hadham*, that where *Wickliffe* bones were burnt sprang up a Well or Well-Spring.

John Heymond, Millwright, 1531.

His Articles, For speaking and holding against Pilgrimage and Images, and against prescribed Fastings-days.

That Priests and religious men, notwithstanding their Vows made, may lawfully forsake their Vows and marry.

Item, For having Books of *Luther* and *Tindall*.

Rob. Lambie, a Harper, 1531.

His Article, For that he standing accused two years together, and not fearing the Censures of the Popes Church, went about with a Song in the Commendation of *M. Luther*.

John Hewes, Draper, 1531.

His Articles, For speaking against Purgatory, and *Thomas Becket*.

Item, At the Town of *Furnham*, he seeing

## C Persons abjured, with their Articles.

*Edward Frenham* kneeling in the street to a Cross carried before a Clerk; asked, *To whom he knelt?* He said, *To his Maker.* Then art a Fool (said he) it is not thy Maker, it is but a piece of Copper or Wood, &c.

Item, For these words, Matters ye use to go on Pilgrimage; it were better first that ye look upon your poor Neighbours which lack favour, &c. Also for saying, That he heard the Vicar of *Crofton* thus preach openly, That there is much baundry kept upon Pilgrimage to *Walsden* or *Manwell*, as in the Stews belide, &c.

Tho. Patmore, Draper, 1531.

This *Patmore* was Brother to *Matthe Patmore*, Parson of *Hadham*, who was prisoned in the *Ballards* Tower for marrying a Priest, and in the same prison continued three years.

This *Patmore* was accused by divers Witneses, upon these Articles:

That he had as leve pray to yonder Hunter, pointing to a man painted there in a stained-cloth, for a piece of flesh, as to pray to Stocks that stand in *Wals*, meaning Images.

Item, That men should not pray to Saints, but to God only; For why should we pray to Saints (said he) they are but blocks and flocks.

Item, That the truth of Scripture hath been kept from us a long time, and hath not appeared till now. Item, Coming by a Tree wherein found an Image, he took away the Wax which hunged there offered.

Item, That he regarded not the place whether it was hallowed or no, where he should be buried after he was dead.

Also in talk with the Curate of *St. Peters*, he defended that Priests might marry.

This *Patmore* had long held with the Bishop of *London*. First, he would not swear, *infamia non procedens*. Then he would appeal to the King; but all would not serve. He was to wrap in the Bishops Nets, that he could not get out; but at last he was forced to abjure, and was fined to the King an hundred pounds.

Note in the Communication between this *Patmore* and the Priest of *Saint Peters*, That whereas the Priest objected against him (as is in the Register) that Priests have lived unmarried, and without Wives these 1500 years in the Church; he and all other such Priests therein say falsely, and deceive the people, as by flow is proved in this Volume, that Priests here in *England* had Wives by the Law within these five hundred years and less.

*Simon Smith* Master of Arts of *Gowwell-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and *Benor* his Wife, 1531.

This *Simon Smith*, and *Benor* his Wife were the Parties whom *Matthe Patmore* Parson of *Hadham* above mentioned did marry, and was condemned for the same to perpetual Prison. For the which Marriage both the said *Simon* and *Benor* his Wife were called to Examination before the Bishop, and he caused to make the whole Discourse of all his doings, how and where he married. Then after his marriage, how long he tarried, whether he went beyond Sea, where he was, and with whom. After his return, whether he resorted, how he lived, what Merry-Wine he occupied, what Fairs he frequented, where he left his Wife, how he carried her over, and brought her home again, and how life was found, &c. All this they made him confess, and put it in their Register. And though they could fatten no other Crime of Heresy upon him, but only his marriage; yet calling both him and her, being great with child to Examination, they caused them both to abjure and suffer Penance.

{ KING }  
{ HENRY }  
{ VIII. }  
Agd. kneeling to the Cross.

John had-  
dry in Pil-  
grimage.

The truth  
of Scripture  
along time  
kept from.

A note.

The Priests  
fully felt  
that Priests  
have been  
unmarried  
these 1500  
years.

Thomas

## C Persons abjured, with their Articles.

Thomas Patmore, Parson of Hadham, 1530.

This *Thomas Patmore*, being learned and holy, was preferred to the Parsonage of *Hadham* in *Griffords*, by *Richard Fitz-James* Bishop of *London*, and there continued in teaching and flock, during the time of the said *Fitz-James*, and also of *Tusnel* his successor, by the space of sixteen years or more, behaving himself in life and conversation, without any public blame or reproach, until that *John Stokely* was preferred unto the said *Bishopricks*. Who was very long after his installing, either for malice, not greatly liking of the said *Patmore*, or else desirous to prefer some other unto the Benefice (as it is supposed and alleged by his brethren in sundry supplications exhibited unto the King, as also unto *John*, then *Machione* of *Penbroke*) caused him to be attached and brought before him, and then keeping him Prisoner in his own Palace, a certain time afterwards committed him to *Lollards* Tower, where he kept him most extremely above two years without fire or Candle, or any other relief, but such as his friends felt him, not suffering any of them notwithstanding to come unto him, no not in his sickness. However, sundry times in the mean while he called him judicially, either before himself or else his Vicar General *Fosford*, that great Prefector, charging him with these faulty Articles, *viz.* as first, whether he had been at *Wittenberg*; secondly, and had been or talked with *Luther*; thirdly, or with any *Engelmann*, abiding there; fourthly, who went with him, or attended upon him thither; fifthly, also what Books he bought there, either *Latine* or *Englishe*; sixthly, and whether he had read or received any works of *Luther*, *Oecolampadius*, *Pomerane* or *Melancthon*. Besides these, he ministered also other Articles unto him, touching the Marriage of *Matthe Siman Smith* (before mentioned), with one *Benor Bramer*, charging him, he both knew of and also consented unto their Marriage, the one being a Priest and his Curate, and the other his Maidervant, and that he had persuaded his said Maidervant to marry with his said Curate, alledging unto her, that though it were not lawful in *England* for Priests to marry, yet it was in other Countries beyond Seas. And that after their said Marriage, he (knowing the same) did yet suffer the said *Smith* to minister in his Cure all *Easter* time, and fifteen days after; and that at their departure out of *England*, he shipped with them at the Bell in *New-Pilghreer*, and again, at their return into *England*, did meet them at the said *Bell*, and there lent unto the said *Smith* a Priests Gown.

He objected moreover against him in the said Articles; that he had affirmed at *Cambridge*, first, that he did not let a Bottle of Hay by the Popes or Bishops Curse; secondly, and that God bindeth us to impossible things, that he may save us only by his mercy; thirdly also, that though young Children be baptised, yet they cannot be saved except they had faith; fourthly and lastly, that it was against Gods law to burn Heretics.

Unto these Articles, after long imprisonment and great threats of the Bishop and his Vicar, he at the last answered, making first his Appeal unto the King. Wherein he shewed, that forasmuch as the Bishop had most unjustly and contrary to all due order of Law, and the equity thereof proceeded against him, as well in fully detaining him with the crime of Heresy, without any proof or publick defauntation thereof, as also contrary to all justice, keeping him in most strict Prison so long time (both to the great danger of his life by grievous sickness taken thereby, as especially to his no small grief, that through his absence, his flock, whereof he had charge, were not fed with the Word of God and his Sacraments as he would) and then to minister unto him such Articles, mingled with Interrogatories, as neither touched any Heresy nor transgression of any Law, but rather drew

## C Persons abjured, with their Articles.

ing a mind to pick quarrels against him and other innocent people; he therefore, for the causes alledged, was compelled and did appeal from him and all his Officers unto the Kings Majesty, whom he thought God had for his most just and lawful relief, and defender against all injuries. From which Appeal although he minded not at any time to depart, yet because he being his Ordinary (although he had used just cause to suspect his unjust proceedings against him) he was nevertheless content to exhibit unto him this answer. First, that howsoever the Bishop was privately informed, yet because he was not Publick defauntator *ad hominem & graves*, according to law, he was not by the law bound to answer to any of those Articles.

And as touching the first five Articles (as whether he was at *Wittenberg*, and spake with *Luther* or any other, or bought or read any of their Books, &c.) because none of those things were forbidden him by any law, neither was he publicly accused of them (for that it was permitted to many good men to have them) he was not bound to answer, neither was he to be examined of them. But as touching the Marriage of *Matthe Siman Smith* with *Benor Bramer*, he granted that he knew thereof by the declaration of *Matthe Smith*; but that he gave his Maid counsel thereunto he utterly denied. And as concerning the contracting of the Marriage between them, he thought it not at all against Gods Law, who to the first Creation made it lawful for all men. Neither thought he it unlawful for him, after their Marriage, either to keep him as his Curate, or else to lend or give him any thing needful (wherein he said he had shewed more charity than the Bishop who had taken all things from them) and therefore he desired to have it reviewed by the Scriptures, that Priests Marriages were not lawful. Against whom, *Priests* the Bishops Vicar often alledged General Councils, and Determinations of the Church, but no Scriptures, still urging him to abjure his crime, and to receive a more long time refused, and flitting a great while to his former answer, at last was threatened by *Fosford*, to have definitive sentence read against him. Whereupon he answered, That he believed the holy Church as a Christian man ought to do, and because it paid his capacity, he desired to be instructed, and if the Scriptures did teach it, he would believe it; for he knew not the contrary by the Scriptures, but that a Priest might marry a Wife, howbeit by the laws of the Church he thought that a Priest might not marry. But the Chancellor full of counsel how to follow whether a Priest might marry without offence to God, that at length he granted that Priests might not marry without offence to God, because the Church had forbidden it; and therefore a Priest could not marry without deadly sin. Now as touching the four last Articles, he denied that he spake them as they were put against him; but he granted that he might, perhaps, jealously say, *That a bottle of Hay were more profitable to him than the Popes curse, which he thought true*. Also to the second he affirmed, That God did let before by his Precept save us by his mercies the way to justice; which way was not in mans power to go and keep; therefore *Paul* faith, *ad Galatas* 3. *Quod lex erat ordinata per Angelos*; buyet to fulfil it, it was in mans (id est, in mans) power to do; and therefore *Paul* faith, *Ubi quiescat* intercessit; That none that shall be saved shall account their salvation unto their own deeds, or thank their own justice in observing the Law; for it was in no mans power to observe it; but that he gave all thanks to the mercies and goodnes of God; according to the *Psalms*, *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*; and according to the saying of *Paul*, *Ubi quiescat* gloriamur, in *Dominio gloriamur*; Which had sent his Son to do for us that which was not in our own power to do. For if it had been in our power to fulfil the Law, Christ had been sent to us without cause, to do for us that thing, which we our selves could

## Persons abjured, with their Articles.

could have done, that is to say, fulfil the Law. As for the third he saith not, that he did never know that any may be baptised without Faith; which Faith, inasmuch as it is the gift of God, why may it not be given *parvulis*? To the last he said, That it he spoke in such as men call Heretics according to the testimony of St. Paul, *Act 24*. I have after the way (saith he) that men call Heretics, whom Christ doth foretell that ye shall burn and persecute to death.

After these answers frustrated, the Bishop with his persecuting *Reverend*, dealt so hardly with this good man, partly by strict imprisonment, and partly by threats to proceed against him, that in the end he was thrust through humane infirmity to submit himself and was abjured and condemned to perpetual prison with loss, both of his Benefice, as also of all his goods. Howbeit one of his Brethren afterwards made such suit unto the King (by means of the Queen) that after three years imprisonment, he was both released out of Prison, and also obtained of the King a Commission to the Lord *Arundel*, then being Chancellor, and to *Cromwell*, Archbishop of Canterbury, and to *Cromwell*, then Secretary, with others, iniquity of the injurious and unjust dealings of the Bishop and his Chancellor against the said *Patmore*; notwithstanding his appeal unto the Kings and to determine thereof according to true equity and justice, and to restore the said *Patmore* again unto his said Benefice. But what was the end and issue of this Commission, we find not as yet.

John Row, Book-binder, a Frenchman, 1531.

This man, for binding, buying and dispersing of Books inhibited, was enjoyed, beside other Penance, to go to *Smithfield* with his Books tied about him, and to call them in the fire, and there to abide till they were all burnt to ashes.

Christopher, a Dutchman of Antwerp, 1531.

This man, for selling certain New Testaments in English, to *John Row* afore said, was put in Prison at *Windsor*, and there died.

W. Nelson, Priest, 1531.

His crime was, for having and buying of *Periman* certain Books of *Luther*, *Tindal*, *Thorp*, &c. and for reading and perusing the same, contrary to the Kings Proclamation, for the which he was abjured. He was Priest at *Leith*.

Thomas Eve, Weaver, 1531.

His Articles: That the Sacrament of the Altar is but a memory of Christs Passion. That men were fools to go on Pilgrimages, or to set any Candle before Images. *Item*, It is as good to set up Candles before the Sepulchre, as to set up Tapers of Wax. That Priests might have Wives.

Robert Hudson of S. Sepulchres, 1531.

His Article: On *Childrens day* (saith the Register) he offered in *Pauls Church* at offering time, to the Child Bishop (called *S. Nicholas*) a Dog for devotion (as he said) and meant no harm for he thought to have offered a half-penny, or else the Dog, and thought the Dog to be better than a half-penny, and the Dog should raise some profit to the Child and said moreover, that it was the tenth Dog. *Sec. Ex Regis.*

## Persons Abjured, with their Articles.

Edward Hewet, Servingman, 1531.

His Crime: That after the Kings Proclamation, he had and read the New Testament in English; also the Books of *John Frith* against Purgatory, &c.

Walter Kiry, servant, 1531.

His Article: That he, after the Kings Proclamation, had and used their Books; The Testament in English, the Summ of Scripture, a Primer and Primer in English, hidden in his Bedchamber at *Worcester*.

Michael Labley, 1531.

His Articles: That he being at *Antwerp*, bought certain Books inhibited, as *The Revelation of Antichrist*, the *Summ of a Christian man*, the *wicked Mammon*, *Frith against Purgatory*. *Item*, For saying, that *Binney* was a good man, and died a good man, because of a Bill, that one did send from *Norwich*, that (saith he) he took his death so patiently, and did not forsake to die with a good will.

A Boy of Colchester, 1531.

A Boy of Colchester or *Norfolk*, brought to *Richard Bayfield* a Budget of Books, about four days before the said *Bayfield* was taken; for the which the Lad was taken, and laid in the Counter by *Mr. More* Chancellor, and there died.

William Smith, Taylor, 1531.

His Articles: That he lodged oftentimes in his house, *Richard Bayfield*, and other good men; and that he received his Books into his house, and used much reading in the New Testament; he had also the Testament of *William Tracy*; he believed that there was no Purgatory.

William Lincoln, Prentice, 1532.

His Articles: For having and receiving Books from beyond the Sea, of *Tindal*, *Frith*, *Thorp*, and other. *Item*, He doubted, whether there were any Purgatory. Whether it were well done to set up Candles to Saints, to go on Pilgrimage, &c.

John Mel of Beckford, 1532.

His Heresy was this: For having and reading the New Testament in English, the Primer in English, and the Book called *A.B.C.*

John Medwell, servant to Master Carket, Servant.

This *Medwell* lay in Prison twenty four Weeks, till he was almost lame. His Heresies were these: That he doubted whether there was any Purgatory. He would not trust in Pardons, but rather in the Promises of Christ; he doubted, whether the merits of any but only of Christ did help him; He doubted whether Pilgrimages and setting up of Candles to Images, were meritorious or not. He thought he should not put his trust in any Saint. *Item*, he had in his custody, the New Testament in English, the Examination of *Thorp*; the wicked *Mammon*, a Book of *Mattimony*, *Ex ipsius schedula ad Episc.* *Scripta.*

Christopher

(KING  
1532.)

Why did  
that Mr.  
More say  
that *Binney*  
recanted  
and died a  
good man,  
if he were  
punished  
for receiv-  
ing him to  
be a good  
man.

A Lad in  
Colchester  
did not  
bring to  
*Bayfield* the  
Books.

(KING  
1532.)

## Persons abjured, with their Articles.

Christopher Falman, Servant to a Goldsmith, 1532.

This young man was attached, for receiving certain Books at *Antwerp* of *George Constantine*, and transporting them over into England, and selling them to sundry persons, being Books prohibited by the Proclamation. *Item*, He thought then their Books to have been good, and that he had been in error in times past.

Margaret Bougas, 1532.

Her Heresies were these: being asked if she would go on Pilgrimage, she said, I believe in God, and he can do me more good than our Lady, or any other Saint; and as for these, they shall come to me, if they will, &c. Then *Richard Sharpley*, Parson of *Milend* by *Colchester*, asked her, if she laid her *Deve Maria*. I say, said he, *Hail Mary*, but I will say no further. Then said he, if he left not those opinions, the would bear a Beget. If I had, said he, better than I had; adding moreover, that he would not go from that to die therefore; to whom the Priest answered and said, the would be burned. Hereunto *Margaret* again replying, asked the Priest, Who made *Margaret's* *Tyrants* (quoth the Priest) make *Margaret's* for they put *Margaret* to death. So they shall pray me, quoth *Margaret*. At length with much ado, and great persuasions, she gave over to *Fosford* the Chancellor, and submitted her self.

John Tiler, an Irishman of Billerika, Taylor.

His Articles were these, That the Sacrament of the Altar was not the body of Christ, but only a Cake of Bread. Furthermore, the occasion being asked, how he fell into this Heresy, he answered and said, that about three Weeks before *Advent* was last past, he heard *Mrs. Hugh Latimer* preach at *Saint Mary Abchurch*, that men should leave going on Pilgrimage abroad, and do their Pilgrimage to their poor neighbours. Also the said *Mrs. Latimer*, in his Sermon did let the Sacrament of the Altar at little.

William Lancelot, Taylor, 1532.

The cause hid to this man, was, that he had in his keeping the book of *Wickliffe's Wicket*. *Item*, That he believed the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration, not to be the body of Christ really, &c. *Item*, Upon the day of *Assumption*, he said, That if it were not for the speech of the people, he would not receive the Sacrament of the Altar.

Robert Topley, Friar, 1532.

His Articles: He being a Friar *Augustine* of *Clare*, forsook his Habit, and going to a secular mans weed ten years, married a Wife, called *Margaret Nixon*, having by her a child; and afterward, being brought before the Bishop, he was by him abjured and condemned to be imprisoned in his former Monastery; but as he escaped out, and returned to his Wife again.

Thomas Topley, Augustine Friar, at Stokeclere.

By the occasion of this *Robert Topley* afore said, place is offered to speak something likewise of *Thomas Topley*, his Brother belike, and also a Friar of the same Order and House of *Stokeclere*. This *Thomas Topley* had been before converted to one *Richard Fox*, Priest of *Bumfied*, and *Miles Coverdale*, inasmuch, that he being induced partly by them, partly by reading certain Books, call off both his Order and Habit, and went like a secu-

## Persons Abjured, with their Articles.

Jas. Prieth. Whereupon he was episcopd, and brought to *Cuthbert*, Bishop of *London* *October* 1532, before whom this Confession he made as followeth.

## The Recantation of Thomas Topley.

ALL Christian men beware of confuting to *Erafmus* Fables, for by confuting to them they have caused me to shrink in my Faith, that I promised to God at my Chanting by my Writings. First, as touching these Fables, I read in *Colloquium*, by the instruction of *Sir Richard Fox*, of certain Pilgrims, which (as the Book doth say) made a Vow to go to *Saint James*, and as they went, one of them died, and he desired his fellows to curse *Saint James* in his name; and another died at home, and he desired that they would curse his Wife and Children; and the third died at *Florence*, and his fellow said, he supposed he was in Heaven, and yet he said that he was a great Heretick. Thus I mislead of these Opinions for greatly, that my mind was almost withdrawn from Devotion to Saints. Notwithstanding, I confessed that the divine Service of them was very good, and is, though I have not had such sweetness in it as I should have had, because of such Fables, and also because of other foolish Paltines; as dancing, Tennis, and such other, which I think have been great occasions that the goodness of God hath been void in me, and vice in strength.

Moreover, it fortuned thus, about half a year ago, that the said *Sir Richard* went forth, and desired me to serve his Cure for him; and as I was in his Chamber, I found a certain Book called *Wickliffe's Wicket*, whereby I felt in my Conscience a great wavering for the time that I did read upon it, and afterward also when I remembered it, it wounded my Conscience very sore. Nevertheless I confessed not to it, until I had heard him preach, and that was upon *Saint Anthonies day*. Yet my mind was still much troubled with the said Book (which did make the Sacrament of Christs body, in form of bread, but a remembrance of Christs Passion) till I heard *Sir Miles Coverdale* preach, and then my mind was free withdrawn from that blessed Sacrament, inasmuch that I took it then but for the remembrance of Christs body. Thus I have wretchedly wrapped my soul with sin, because I have not been faithful in that holy Order that God hath called me unto by Baptism, neither in the holy Order that God and *St. Augustine* hath called me to by my Religion, &c.

Furthermore, he said and confessed, That in the Lent last past, as he was walking in the field at the *Bumfied*, with *Sir Miles Coverdale*, late Friar of the same Order, going in the Habit of a secular Priest, which had preached the fourth Sunday in Lent at *Bumfied*, they did commune together of *Joanmas* Works, and also upon Confection. The which *Sir Miles* did and did hold, that it was sufficient for a man to be contrite for his sins betwixt God and his Conscience, without Confection made to a Priest; which Opinion this Respondent thought to be true, and did affirm and hold the same at that time. Also he said, that at the said Sermon made by the said *Sir Miles Coverdale* at *Bumfied*, he heard him preach against worshipping of Images in the Church, saying and preaching, That men in no wise should honour or worship them; which likewise he thought to be true, because he had no learning to defend it.

William Gardner, Augustine Friar of Clare.

With this *Topley* I may also join *William Gardner*, one of the same Order and House of *Clare*, who likewise by the motion of the said *Richard Fox* Curate of *Bumfied*, and by shewing him certain

The Recantation of  
The Topley  
Friar.  
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Ex Reg. Len.

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Miles Co-  
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Christopher,  
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was put in  
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Why did  
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More say  
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recanted  
and died a  
good man,  
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K. Hem  
married  
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**I**N the first entry of the Kings Reign, ye heard before how after the death of Prince *Arthur*, the Lady *Katharine*, Princess Dowager, and Wife to Prince *Arthur*, by the consent both of her Father and his, and also by the advice of the Nobles of this Realm, to the end her Dowry might remain still within the Realm, was espoused after the decease of her Husband, to his next Brother, which was this King *Henry*.

All these Centuries, Books and Writings of all Quarters  
Doctors, Clerks and Universities, sent from all Nations  
to Christendom to the King, albeit they might suffice to  
have full relieved, and satisfied the Curiosity of all  
that should be desirous to know the Cause, and  
of this People's Marriage; yet would  
not be so fruitfully use that advantage which learning  
did give him, unless he had willed the silent as well of  
the Pope, as also the Emperor; which, perceived  
no little difficulty. For the Pope, he thought, first  
that the Marriage of the Emperor's Dispensation by  
his Predecessor, would hardly turn his Keys about to undo  
that which the Pope before him had locked; and much  
less would he suffer those Keys to be toyed, or to come  
in any doubt, which was like to come, if that Marriage  
were proved unindisputable by such Words.  
Gauging, and measuring, the Emperor's Mind. Again,  
the Emperor he thought would be no less hard  
for his part, on the other side, forasmuch as the said  
Lady Katharine was the Emperors near Aunt, and a  
Spanish born. Yet nevertheless, his purpose was to  
prove and feel what they both would say unto him  
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### The Kings Oration to his Subjects.

And although it hath pleased Almighty God to find *us* a fair Daughter of a noble Woman, and of my begetters, to our great comfort and joy, yet it hath been said *us* were born with a curse upon our backs, that we should never see our Mother our lawful Wife, but that we should live together abominably and detestably in open adultery, inasmuch that when our Emphasis was left in France and our nation was made that the Duke of Orleans should marry *us* his lawful Daughter, one of the chief Counsellors to the French King, who was then our Father, said to him, that he be the King of England's lawful Daughter or not was for well known it is, that he begot her on his Brother's Wife, which is directly against Gods Law and his Precepts. Think you, my Lords, that these words touch me not? I have heard that the Duke of Orleans loveth me daily and lawfully loves my Conscience, and vice my Conscience? Yes, We doubt not but if it were your cause, every man would seek remedy, when the peril of your soul, and the loss of your inheritance is openly laid upon you. For that I have said, I have said to you, that I have said to you, my Prince, I have asked counsel of the greatest Clerks in Christendom, and for this cause I have sent for this Legate, as a man indifferent, only to know the truth, and, as I see, to satisfy my Conscience, and for more other cause, as I have said to you, that I have said to you, my Prince, I am judged by the Law of God that *he* is my lawful Wife, and there was never thing more pleasant nor more acceptable to

[illegible]

The Cardinal of York excused himself, saying, that he was not the beginner nor the mover of the doubt.

Q. Katharine answers to the Cardinals.

**The Cardinal cause of this Divorce and why?**

Also the her self caused a Bull to be purchased, in to which were these words: *Vel forsan cognitam*, which as much to say as, peradventure carnally known. Which words were not in the first Bull granted by *July* at his second Marriage to the King. Which second Bull with this clause was only purchased, to dispense with the second

**T**HE King's Highness's fairly charged and commanded his officers, clerks, or men, that they should not, under any colour or pretext, or in any manner of person, what estate, degree, or condition (soever be) they be of, do purchase or attempt to purchase from the Court of Rome, or elsewhere, any office and post in execution, divulge or publish any the defects, within the year past, purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, containing matter prejudicial to the authority, jurisdiction, and Prerogative Royal of this said Realm, or to the let, hindrance, or impeachment of his Grace's noble and virtuous, intended purposes in Permits, upon pain of incurring his Highness's indignation.

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before the was Crowned, both to men and women, gave also wonderful much privy alms to widows and other poor householders continually till the was apprehended, and the ever gave three or four pound at a time to the poor people, to buy them kine-witch, and sent her Substant to the Towns about the way, that the Parishioners should make a Bill of all the poor householders in their Parish, and some Towns received seven, eight, or ten pound to buy kine-witch, according as the number of the poor in the Towns were. She also maintained many learned men in *Cambridge*. Likewise did the Earl of *Wiltshire* her Father, and the Lord *Rochford* her Brother, and by them their men were brought in favour with the King; of whom some are yet alive and can testify the same: which would to God they were now as great professors of the Gospel of Christ, as then they appeared to be: which were Doctor *Horn*, and Doctor *Thurly*. The latter was poyred the Lord *Peter*, who at that present was an earnest Protestant, and gave unto one *Raymond Woff* *Luther* Books, and other Books of the *German*, as *Francis Lambert*, de *Sedus*, and at that time he read *Melanchton* Rhetorick openly in Trinity-Hall in *Cambridge*, and was with his Master *Gordian*, a maintainer of *Doctor Barnes*, and all the Protestants that were then in *Cambridge*, and help many Religious persons out of their Cowies.

It hath been reported unto us by divers credible persons which were about this Queen, and daily acquainted with her doings, concerning her liberal and beautiful distribution to the poor, how her Grace carried ever about her a certain little purse out of the which she was wont daily to scatter abroad some alms to the needy, thinking no day well spent wherein some man had not fared the better by her doing benevolence. And in this order she wrote by the relation of certain noble Personages which were the chief and prince of her waiting Maids about her, especially the Dutches of *Richmond* by name.

Also concerning the order of her Ladies and Gentlewomen about her, one that was her Stillwoman, a Gentlewoman not so rich, but of great credit, and also of fame for her worthy doings, did credibly report, that in all her time she never fair better order among the Ladies and Gentlewomen of the Court, than was in this good order of the Queens days, who kept her Maids and such as were about her, so occupied in fowing and working of flairs and finches for the poor, that neither was there seen any idleness then among them, nor any leisure to follow fish pastimes as daily are seen now adays to reign in Princes Courts.

Thus the King being divorced from the Lady Dowager his Brothers wife, married this gracious Lady, making a prosperous and happy change for us, being divorced from the forward Princess, and also from the Pope, both at one time. Notwithstanding, as good and godly purposes are never without some incommody or trouble following, so it happened in this divorcement, that the said Princess procuring from *Rome* the Popes Curie, caused both the King and the Realm to be interdicted: whereof more is hereafter to be spoken.

In the mean time Queen Anne shortly after her Marriage being great with child, the next year following, which was 1533, after the first divorcement publicly proclaimed, was Crowned with high solemnity at *Westminster*: and not long after her Coronation, the seventh day of September, she was brought to Bed, and delivered of a fair Lady: for whose good deliverance *St. Dunstons* was called in all places, and great preparation made for the Christening.

The Mayor and his Brethren with forty of the chief Citizens were commanded to be present, with all the Nobles and Gentlemen. The Kings Palace, and all the walls between that and the *Friers*, was hanged with Armes, and the *Friers* Church. Also the Font was of Silver, and flood in the middle of the Church, three steps high, which was covered with a fine cloth, and divers Gentlemen, with Aprons and Towels about their necks, gave attendance about it. Over the Font hung a fair Canopy of Crimson Satin fringed with Gold. About it was a Rail covered with Say. Between the Quire and the Body of the Church was a clofe place with a pan of fire to make the child ready in. These things thus ordered, the child was brought into the Hall, and then every man set forward.

First the Citizens, two and two: then the Gentlemen, Esquires, and Chaplains. Next after followed the Aldermen, and the Mayor alone. Next the Mayor followed the Kings Council. Then the Kings Chappell. Then Bishops, Bishops, and Earls. Then came the Earl of *Essex*, bearing the covered Balm. After him the Marquess of *Essex*, with the Taper of Virgin-wax. Next him the Marquess of *Dorset*, bearing the Salt. Behind him the Lady *Mary of Norfolk*, bearing the Chrysome, which was very rich of Pearl and Stone. The old Dutches of *Norfolk* bear the child in a Maye of purple Velvet, with a long Train furled with Ermine. The Duke of *Norfolk* with his Marital-Rod, went on the right hand of the said Dutches, and the Duke of *Suffolk* on the left hand. Before them went the Officers of Armes. The Countesses of *Kent* bear the long Train of the Childs Mantle. Between the Countesses and the child, went the Earl of *Wiltshire* on the right hand, and the Earl of *Dorby* on the left hand, supporting the said Train. In the midst over the Child, was borne a Canopy by the Lord *Rochford*, the Lord *Hulley*, the Lord *William Howard*, and the Lord *Thomas Howard* the Elder. In this order they came unto the Church-door, where the Bishop of *London* met it, with divers Abbots and Bishops, and began the observances of the Sacrament. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was Godfather, and the old Dutches of *Norfolk*, and the old Marchioness of *Dorset*, Widows, were Godmothers, and the Child was named *Elizabeth*.

After all things were done at the Church-door, the Child was brought to the Font and Christened. This done, Garter, the chief King at Armes, cried aloud, *God of his infinite goodness, Give prosperous life and long, to the high and mighty Princess of England, Elizabeth*. Then the Trumpets blew, and the Child was brought up to the Altar, and immediately confirmed by the Archbishop, the Marchioness of *Essex* being Godmother. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* gave the Princess a standing Cup of Gold. The Dutches of *Norfolk* gave her a standing Cup of Gold, fringed with Furs. The Marchioness of *Dorset*, three gilt Bowls pounced, with a Cover. The Marchioness of *Essex* three flanding Bowls gilt and graven, with a Cover. And after a solemn Banquet ended with Hypocras, Waters, and such like in great plenty, they returned in like order again unto the Court with the Princess, and so departed.

At the Marriage of this Noble Lady, as there was no small joy unto all good and godly men, and no less hope of prosperous success to Gods use Religion: so in like manner, on the contrary part, the Papists wanted their malicious and craft attempts, as if the false hypocrite and feigned holiness of a false feigned hypocrite, this year being eiped and found out, may sufficiently appear what their Devilish devices and purpises were. For certain Monks, *Friers*, and other evil disposed persons, of a Devilish intent, had put into the heads of many of the Kings subjects, That they had a revelation of God and his Saints, that he was highly displeased with King *Henry* for the Divorcement of the Lady *Katherine*: and furnished among other things, That God had revealed to a Nun, named *Elizabeth Barton*, whom they called the holy Maid of *Kent*, That in case the King proceeded in the said Divorce, he should not be King of this Realm one month after, and in the reputation of God not one day nor hour. This *Elizabeth Barton* by false diffamation practised and shewed to the people, marvelous alteration of her visage, and other parts of her body, as if she had been wrapt or in a trance, and in those feigned trances, by false hypocrite (as though she had been inspired of God), she spake many words in rebuking of sin, and among them the Gospel, which she called *Heretic*: and among them uttered divers things to the great reproach of the King and Queen, and to the establishing of Idolatry, Pilgrimage, and the derogation of Gods glory. Which her naughtyings being eiped out by the great labour and diligence of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Cromwell*, and Master *Hugh Latimer*, she was condemned and put to death, with certain of her affinity and counsel, in the month of April, Anno 1533. The names of which Conspirators with her were these, *Edward Bocking*, Monk of *Canterbury*, *Richard Mafers*, *Parfon*

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*Parfon of Aldington*, *John Dering*, Monk of *Canterbury*, *Hugh Rich Frier*, Warden of the *Gray Friars of Canterbury*, *Richard Rilly*, *Henry Gold*, Bachelor of Divinity, and *Parfon of Aldermay*, *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, *John Alden* Priest, his Chaplain, *Thomas Lawrence*, the Bishop Regular of *Canterbury*, *Edward Thwaites*, *Thomas Alden*. Of the which persons, the said *Elizabeth Barton*, *Henry Gold*, *Richard Mafers*, *Edward Bocking*, *John Dering*, *Hugh Rich*, *Richard Rilly*, were attainted of Treason by Act of Parliament, and put to execution.

The residue, as *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, *Thomas Gold*, *Ths. Lawrence*, *Edward Thwaites*, *John Alden*. This *Abel*, being contemner of the law, was condemned to Prison, and forfeited their Goods and Possessions to the King. *Ex Statuto*. An. 25. Reg. Hen. 8.

*Edward Hall*, a Writer of our English Stories, making mention of this *Elizabeth Barton* aforesaid, adjecteth therein his Book the narration of one *Paviser*, or *Pavry*, a notorious enemy (no doubt) to Gods Truth. This *Paviser* being the Town-Clerk of the City of *London*, was a man (saith he) that in no case could abide to hear that the Gospel should be in English: inasmuch that the said *Hall* himself heard him once say unto him, and to other by swearing a great Oath, that if he thought the Kings Highness would see forth the Scripture in English, and let it be read of the people by his Authority, rather than he would so long live, he would cut his own Throat; but he broke promise, faith *Hall*, for he did not cut his Throat with a Knife, but with a Halberd he hung himself. Of what mind and intent he so did, God judge.

My information further addeth this, touching the said *Paviser* or *Pavry*, that he was a bitter enemy, very buile at the burning of *Richard Bainsam* above intimated. Who hearing the said *Bainsam* at the false speaking against Purgatory and Transubstantiation: set fire, said he, to this Heretic, and burn him. And as the Train of Gunpowder came toward the Martyr, he lifted up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, saying to *Paviser*, God forgive thee, for thou hast more money than thou doest to me. The Lord forgive Sir *Thomas More*, and pray for me all good people, and so continued he praying, till the Fire took his Bowels and his Head, &c.

After whose Martyrdom, the next year following, this *Paviser* the Town-Clerk of the City, went and bought Ropes. Which done, he went up to an high Garret in his house to Pray, as he was wont to do, to a Room which he had there, before whom he biterly wept: and as his own Maid coming up found him so doings, he bid her take the rusty Sword and go make it clean, and trouble him no more, and immediately he tied up the Rope, and hung himself. The Maids heart still throbbed, and so came up, and found him but newly hanged. Then she having no power to help him, ran crying to the Church to her Mistis to fetch her home. His Servants and Clerks he had sent out before to *Finisby*, and to Master *Elmyr*, Sergeant to the Lord Mayor, dwelling over *Bishopgate*, to tarry for him at *Finisby* Court till he came: But he had dispatched himself before, so that they might long look for him before he could come. Which was, Anno 1533.

To the Story of *Paviser*, may also be added the like terrible example of Doctor *Foxford*, Chancellor to the Bishop of *London*, a cruel Persecutor, and a common Butcher of the good Sains of God: who was the condemnor of all those aforesaid, which were put to death: troubled or eiped up by Bishop *Stokeley* through all the Towns of *London*. This *Foxford* died about this present year and time: Of whose terrible end it was then commonly reported and affirmed, by such as were of right up to witness, that he died suddenly sitting in his Chair, his belly being burst, and his Guts falling out before him.

About the same time dyed also William Warham, Archbishop of *Canterbury*: In whose Room succeeded the first prelate *Thomas Crommer*, which was the Kings Chaplain, and a great disposer against the unlawful Marriage of *Lea* and *Princess Katherine*, *Princess Dowager*, being then so called by Act of Parliament.

Ye heard before, how the Parliament had enacted that no person after a certain day, should appeal to *Rome* for any cause. Notwithstanding, when the Queen, now called Princess *Dowager*, had appealed to the Court of *Rome* before that Act made: So that it was doubted, whether that Appeal was good or not. This question was well handled in the Parliament House, but much better in the Convocation House, and yet in both Houses it was alleged, yea, and by Books shewed, that in the Councils of *Chalcedon*, *Africa*, *Tolotane*, and divers other famous Councils in the Primitive Church, yea, in the time of *St. Augustine*, it was affirmed, declared, and determined, that a cause anling in one Province, should be determined in the same, and that neither the Councils of *Chalcedon* should meddle in causes moved in the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of *Antioch*, nor any Bishop should intermeddle within another Province or Country: Which things were so clearly opened, and so cunningly left forth to all intents, that every man that had wit, and was determined to follow the Truth, and not wilfully wedded to his own mind, might plainly see, that all Appeals made to *Rome* were clearly void, and of none effect. Which *Duchies* and Councils were shewed to the Lady *Katherine* Princess *Dowager*; but she (as was wonten long to life no dignity) ever continued in her old *Stokes* trusting more to the Popes partiality, than to the determination of Christs verity.

Whereupon the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Crommer* above named, accompanied with the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Bathes*, *Exeter*, and divers other great Clerks in a great number rode to *Dunblane*, which is six miles from *Ampthill*, where the Princess *Dowager* lay: And there by a Doctor, called Dr. *Lee*, she was acted to appear before the said Archbishop, in cause of Matrimony, in the said Town of *Dunblane*: And at the day of appearance she would not appear, but made default, and so was called peremptorily, every day Fifteen days together, and at the last, for lack of appearance, and for contumacy, by the assent of all the learned men there being, sentence was divorced from the King. The sentence of divorce declared was void and of none effect: Which sentence given, the Archbishop, and all the other returned back again.

¶ Where note, that although their divorce following after the new Marriage needed not at all to be made, the said Marriage being no Marriage at all before God, yet, to satiate the voice of the people, more than for any necessity, the King was contented, through the persuasions of some, to do so. For else as touching God and Conscience, what great news-was there of any divorce, where before God no Marriage was to be accounted, but rather an incestuous and detestable Adultery, as the Act of Parliament doth term it? But to our matter again.

After the dissolution of this first Marriage made between the King and the Lady Princess *Dowager*, the reverend Clerks bearing a stout mind, would yet not relent, neither to the determination of the Universities, nor to the consent of the Clergy, nor of the whole Realm: but following the Council rather of a few Spaniards, to molest the King, and the Realm by force, and by means made by the Pope, procured certain Writings, first of monition and aggravation, then of Excommunication and Interdiction to be sent down from *Rome*, wherein the Pope had intimated both the King and the whole Realm. But the Popes Curser being, not the hardest man, belike, that ever lived, he thought it much more fare for him to overthrow his Popish carriage without the Kings reach, and so keeping himself a loose off (like a prey man) let up his writings in the Town of *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*. In the which Town, first upon the North door of the Church was set up a vitall sign, that the King of *England* had forfeited the face of Divorce: the which *John Fisher*, Clerk, then Comptroller of *Calice*, by Commandment, took down in a Night.

After that, before *Whitsunweek*, there was set up in the first place of the Church, Aggravations, Re-ving aggravations, and Interdictions. For the which also, the said *Fisher* by Commandment was sent to *Dunkirk* to take them down. And because the Council of *Calice* would be yet so certified of his diligence therein, they sent a Servant of Pope.



## In English.

I Stephen Bishop of Winchester do purely of mine own voluntary accord, and absolutely, in the word of a Bishop, profess and promise to your Princely Majesty, my singular and chief Lord and Patron, Henry the Eighth by the grace of God, King of England and of France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and in Earth of the Church of England Supreme Head immediately under Christ, that from this day forward I shall Swear, Promise, Give, or cause to be Given to no foreign Potentate, Emperor, King, Prince, or Prelat, nor yet to the Bishop of Rome, whom they call Pope, any Oath or Fealty, directly or indirectly either by word or writing; but at all times, and in every case and condition I shall Observe, Hold, and Maintain, to all effects and intents, the guard and cause of your Royal Majesty and your Successors, and to the uttermost of my power shall defend the same against all manner of persons whomsoever I shall know or be suspected to be adversaries to your Majesty, or to your Successors; and shall give my Faith, Truth, and Obedience, Sincerely, and with my very heart, only to your Royal Majesty, as to my supreme Prince. I protest the Papacy of Rome not to be ordained of God by holy Scripture, but constantly do affirm, and openly declare, and shall declare it, to be set up only by man, and shall cause diligently other men likewise to publish the same. Neither shall I enter any Treaty with any person or persons either privily or openly, or shall content thereof, that the Bishop of Rome hath or exercise here any authority or jurisdiction, or is to be restored to any jurisdiction hereafter.

Furthermore, that the said Bishop of Rome now being, or any that shall succeed him hereafter in the said See, nor to be called Pope nor Supreme Bishop or Universal Bishop, nor most holy Lord, but only ought to be called Bishop of Rome, and fellow Brother (as the old manner of the most ancient Bishops hath been) this I to my power openly maintain and defend.

And I shall firmly Observe and cause to be Observed of other, to the uttermost of my cunning, wit, and power, all such Laws and Acts of this Realm, how and whatsoever, as have been enacted and established for the extirpation and suppression of the Papacy, and of the authority and jurisdiction of the said Bishop of Rome. Neither shall I appeal hereafter to the said Bishop of Rome, nor ever consent to any person that shall appeal to him; neither shall I attempt, prosecute, or follow any suit in the Court of Rome for any cause of right or justice to be had, or shall make answer to any Plea or Action, nor shall take upon me the person and office either of the Plaintiff or Defendant in the said Court. And if the said Bishop by his Messenger or by his Letters shall make any means or signification unto me, of any matter whatsoever it be, I shall with all speed and diligence make declaration and advertisement thereof, or cause the same to be signified either to your Princely Majesty, or to some of your secret Council, or to your Successors, or to some of your Privy Council. Neither shall I fend or cause to be sent at any time any writing nor Messenger to the said Bishop, or to his Court, without the knowledge and consent of your Majesty or your Successors willing me to send writing or Messenger unto him. Neither shall I procure, or give Counsel to any person to procure Bulls, Briefs, or Reliefs whatsoever, either for me or any other, from the said Bishop of Rome or his Court. And if any such shall be procured against my will and knowledge, either in general or in special, or else howsoever they shall be granted unto them, I shall utter and declare the same, and not content therewith, nor use them in any case, and shall cause them to be brought to your Majesty, or your Successors.

Furthermore, for the confirmation hereof I give my Faith and Truth by firm promise, and in the Faith of a Bishop, that against this my foresaid profession and promise made, I shall defend my self by no diffinition, exception, nor any remedy or sword of Law or example, during this my natural life. And if hereafter I have done or make any profession in prejudice of this my profession and promise here made, the same I do revoke at this

present, and for ever hereafter, and heretofore do renounce, by these presents. Whereunto I have subscribed and subscribed the name both of my self and of my Bishoprick, with my proper Hand, and thereto also have put my Seal, in perpetual and undoubted testimony of the Premises.

Given the Tenth day of February, Anno 1534, and of our Sovereign Lord King Henry the Eighth, twentieth sixth.

Stephen Winton.

## The like Oath of John Stokely Bishop of London.

I John Bishop of London do purely and of mine own voluntary accord, and absolutely in the word of a Bishop, profess and promise to your Princely Majesty, my singular and chief Lord and Patron, Henry the Eighth by the grace of God King of England of France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and in Earth of the same Church of England Supreme Head immediately under Christ, &c. Like to the Oath before.

Joan. London.

## The like Oath and hand-writing of Edward Lee, Archbishop of York.

I Edward by the permission of God Archbishop of York, the Oath do purely of my own voluntary accord, and absolutely, in the word of a Bishop, profess and promise to your Royal Majesty, my singular and chief Lord and Patron, &c. In like form to the Oath before.

Edwardus Eborac.

## The like Oath and hand-writing of Cuthbert Bishop of Durham.

I Cuthbert, By the permission of God Bishop of Durham, do purely of mine own voluntary accord, and absolutely, in the word of a Bishop, profess and promise to your Royal Majesty, my singular and chief Lord and Patron, &c. As before.

Per me Cuthbertum Dunelm.

And so likewise all the other Bishops after the same order and form of Oath were obliged and bound to the King, as to the supreme head of the Church of England immediately under Christ, renouncing and abjuring utterly and voluntarily the Pope too long usurped jurisdiction in this Realm, testifying moreover the same both with their own Hand, and also with their Seal.

Besides these confutations and Testimonies of the Bishops aforesaid, ye shall hear yet moreover the Decree and publick sentence of the university of Cambridge, written likewise and subscribed, and signed with the publick Seal of their University, the tenour of which their Letter here followeth.

## A Letter of the University of Cambridge against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome.

Univerſity Sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ filii, ad quos præsentis litteræ perueniunt sunt, cunctis omni regentium et non regentium Academicis Cambrigiensibus, salutem in omnium ſalutatore Jeſu Chriſto. Cum de Romanis Pontificis poſſeſſat, &c.

In English.

To all and singular Children of the Holy Mother Church, to whose hands these presents shall come, the whole society of Regents and non Regents of the University of Cambridge, friendly greeting in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Whereas

Whereas now of late it hath risen up in question among us, concerning the power of the Bishop of Rome, which he doth both claim to himself by the holy Scriptures over all Provinces and Nations in Christendom, and hath now of long time exercised in this Realm of England; and furthermore as our conscience concerning the cause is required, to wit, Whether the Bishop of Rome hath any power or authority in this Kingdom of England ascribed to him by God in the Scriptures, more than any other foreign Bishop, or no? We thought it therefore good reason, and our duty for the searching out of the verity of the said question, that we should employ therein our whole endeavour and study, whereby we might render and publish to the world, our own reason and conscience touching the premises. For therefore we suppose, that Universities were first provided and instituted of Princes, to the end that both the people of Christ might in the Law of God be instructed, and also that false errors, if any did rise, might through the vigilance care and industry of learned Divines be discussed, extinguished, and utterly rooted out. For the which cause we in our assemblies and Convocations (after our accustomed manner) resorting and conferring together upon the question aforesaid, and fruitfully debating and deliberating with our selves how and by what order we might best proceed for the finding out of the truth of the matter; and at length through our certain of the best learned Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, and other Masters, have committed to them in charge, studiously to inquire and peruse the places of holy Scripture, by the viewing and conferring of which places together, they might certify us what is to be fald to the question proposed.

Forasmuch therefore, as we having heard, and well advised, and thoroughly discussed in open disputations what may be said on both parts of the foresaid question, those reasons and arguments do appear to us more probable, stronger, truer, and more certain, and founding much more near to the pure and native fense of Scriptures, which do deny the Bishop of Rome to have any such power given him of God in the Scripture. By reason and force of which arguments we being persuaded, and coming together in one opinion, have with our selves thus decreed to answer unto the question aforesaid, and in these writings thus respectfully do answer in the name of the whole University, and for a conclusion undoubted do affirm, approve, and pronounce, that the Bishop of Rome hath no more State, authority, and jurisdiction given him of God in the Scriptures, over this Realm of England, than any other extren Bishop hath. And in testimony and credence of this our answer and affirmation, we have caused our common Seal to be put to these our foresaid Letters accordingly.

At Cambridge in our regenerate house: Anno Dom. 1534.

Steph. Wint. De vera obedientia.

You have heard before of Stephen Gardener, of Leicester, and of Stokely, how of their own voluntary mind they made their profession unto the King, every one severally, taking and accepting a corporal Oath, utterly and for ever to renounce and reject the usurped superiority of the Bishop of Rome. Now for a further testimony and declaration of their judgments and opinions which then they were of, following the force both of truth and of time then present, ye shall hear over and beside their Oaths, what the foresaid Bishops in their own Books, Prologues, and Sermons do write, and publish abroad in Print, touching the said cause of the Popes Supremacy.

And first, God willing, to begin with Stephen Gardener's Book De vera obedientia, we will briefly note out a few of his own words, wherein with great Scriptures and good declaration he not only confute the Popes usurped authority, but also prove the Marriage between the King and Queen Katherine his Brothers Wife not to be good nor lawful, in these words,

Of the which moral precepts in the old Law, to speak of some (for to rehearse all it needs not) the Levitical precepts touching forbidden and incestuous Marriages, as far as they concern chastity and pure wedlock, wherein original of man's increase consisteth, are always to be reputed of such fort, that although they were first given to the Jews, yet because they appertain to the Law of Nature, and expound the same more plainly to us, therefore they belong as well to all manner of people of the whole world for evermore. In which doubtless, both the voice of nature and Gods Commandment agreeing in one, have forbidden that which is contrary and divers from the one and from the other. And amongst these, this there is commanded that a man shall not marry his Brothers Wife, which the Kings excellent Majesty do otherwise, than he did by the whole consent of the people, and judgment of his Church, that he to be divorced from unlawful Marriage, and use lawful and permitted copulation and obeying (as meet it was) conformably unto the commandment, call off her, whom neither Law nor right permitted him to retain, and take him to chail and lawful Marriage? Wherein although the sentence of Gods word (whereunto all things ought to be) might have sufficed; yet his Majesty was content to have the assents contents of the most notable grave men, and the censures of the whole variety of the whole world; and all to the intent that men should be led both that he might do, and ought to do uprightly, seeing the best learned and most worthy men have subscribed unto it, shewing therein full obedience as Gods Word requireth of every good and faithful man, as it may be said, that both he obeyed Gods, and obeyed him truly. Of which obedience, forasmuch as I am purposed to speak, I could not pass this thing over with silence, whereof occasion so commodiously was offered me to speak.

## Winchesters Reasons against the Popes Supremacy.

Moreover, the said Gardener in the forenamed Book De vera Obediencia, what contiancy he pretendeth, what arguments he intereth, how carefully and pithily he disputeth on the Kings side against the usurped state of the Bishop of Rome aforesaid, by the words of his Book it may appear: whereof a brief Collection here followeth.

In the preface of his foresaid Book, he alleging the old distinction of the Popills, wherein they give to the Prince the regimen of things temporal and to the Church of things spiritual, comparing the one to the greater Light, the other to the lesser light, he confute and denieth the false distinction, declaring the fowle of the Church to extend no further, than to teaching and Excommunication, and reſerſeth all preeminence to the sword of the Prince: alleging for this the second Psalm, And now you Kings be wises, and be learned ye that judge Pſal. 2. the Earth, &c.

Also the example of Solomon, who being a King, according to his Fathers appointment obtained the Office of the Priests in their ministries, and Levites in their order, that they might give thanks, and minister before the Priests, after the order of every day, and Partakers in their divisions gate by gate.

And speaking more of the said Solomon, he saith: For ſo commanded the man of God, weſt did the Priests nor Levites omit any king of all that he had commanded, &c.

Beside this, he allegeth also the Example of King Ezra: Regi eſus, 2. Parali. 28. He allegeth moreover the example and fact of Judas Machabees, which made laws touching the Faith, Bishops, Clerks, Heretics and such other.

Aaron (saith he) obeyed Moſes Solomon gave ſanctiſſe upon Abiathar the High Priest.

Alexander the King, in the full of Adachabes writeth to Jonathan a Note touching this thus the 10. High-ſhip of thy people, &c. So did Demetrius to Machabees.

What Matter pleading, and advising this Book of *Wm. de Wyke*. De *Worce* *Obedience*, with *Benet's Bedes* before. The first thing we ever have thought any alteration could be to work in Mars here, to make these Men thus to turn the Car (as they lay) in the Pan, and to turn to suddenly from the Truth to manifestly known Error, and to turn to the contrary, as they are now, is it feared? Is it fairly substantiated? If they disordered all this that they wrote, fabricated, and swore unto: what perjury might excusable was it before God and men? They thought, what terrible blindness is this to suddenly fall upon others, to make that false now, which was true before, or that to be now true, which before was false. True to say plainly, and to say truly, is the best way to the Truth, and to the end of the day to play full or loose with truth, truly a Man may say is true.



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 { Heb. 8. }  
 Mat. 17.

John 6.

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Examples  
of *Pain's*  
subjection  
Acts 14

d. Apoc.

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**The Pope  
objectives**

Gal. 2.  
The Author:

Acts 10:

Ephes. 2:

Апoc. 21

1. *Species 115:*  
 2. *Species 116:*  
 3. *Species 117:*  
 4. *Species 118:*  
 5. *Species 119:*  
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This



The Supremacy of Rome reproved by the Council of Nice.

The Council of Nice  
Falsified by  
Faulstich  
the Pope  
L:ate.

The sixth  
Article  
Nuremberg  
Council.  
The four  
chief  
Patriarchs  
equal in  
rank.

Pope John  
the sub  
died to  
Empire

Pope.  
1871  
1872  
1873  
1874

8th  
Jal  
Lac

Thus after that Bishop *Tomstall*, praying the *Canon* *Lutheran*, both by Scriptures and ancient Doct<sup>rs</sup> also by examples sufficient of the Primitive Church hath proved and declared, how the Bishops of *Rome* ought to submit themselves to the higher powers which God hath appointed every Creature in this World: now let us likewise see how the said Bishop 2

Adam and Eve, and of Lucifer, Rome to the disobedience, the pride, and the malice of the Po-

Moreover, so

Princes,  
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may know  
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the Bishops  
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bove the Hea-  
offles sent into  
ly and Carnal  
of the Word

Now, faith he, because he can no longer in this Realm wrongfully use his Usurped power in all things (as he was wont to do) and suck out of this Realm by avarice insatiable, innumerable sums of Money yearly, to the great exhauſting of the fame : he therefore, moved and repleated with furious ire and pelliſent malice, goeth about to tinge all Chriſtian Nations, that will give eare to his Devilliſh incantments, to move War againſt this Realm of *England* and giving it in prey to all thoſe, that by his incitation will invade it.

their ~~un~~surety. Thy Wife shall be abused before thy face: thy Daughter likewise deflowered before thee: thy Children slain before thine eyes: thy House spoiled: thy Cattel driven away and sold before thy visage: Thy Plate, thy

And the Bishop of *Rome* now of late, to set forth his  
 pestilent malice the more, hath allured to his purpose a  
 subject of this *Realm*, *Reginald Poole*, comen of a Noble  
 blood, and thereby the more errant Traitor, to go about

And so continuing in his Discourse against Cardinals  
Pool and the Bishop of Rome for stirring the People to  
War and Mischief, he further saith, and saith truly, That  
for these many years past, both War both here and there

And in the later end of his Sermon, concluding with  
Ezek. 39. the thirty ninth Chapter of *Ezekiel*, where the Prophet  
speaketh against *Gog and Magog*, going about to destroy  
the People of God, and triumpheth against them. This

We have heard hitherto the Oaths, Censures, and Judgments of certain particular Bishops, of *Tork*, of *Wincchester*, of *London*, of *Daresmo*, and also of *Edmund Bonner*, Archdeacon then of *Leicester*, against the Popes

**W**E think it convenient, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their guidance, that whensoever

And as for the Bishop of Rome, it was many hundred years after Christ, before he could acquire or get any Primacy or Governance above any other Bishops, out of his Province in Italy: since the which time he hath ever

their own authority, not only unto all other Bishops  
within Christendom, but also unto the  
Emperors, Kings, and other the Princes  
and Lords of the World; and that un-

and finally after the end of the Spring season.





And where you thinke that Unity standeth not only  
the agreeing in one Faith and Doctrine of the Church  
but also in agreeing in one head ; if you mean the very  
only head over all the Church our Saviour Christ, whom the  
Father hath set over all the Church, which is his Bod  
wherein all good Christian Men do agree, therein you fa

And where you think the name of supreme head Christ, given and attributed to the Kings Majesty, maketh an innovation in the Church, and persecution of the Church in the face of it, cannot be innovation or trouble to the Church to use the room that God hath called him to, which good Christian Princes did use in the beginning, when Earth was made man, as *Agrippa* 1498. fol. 10.  
*Agrippa* *de rebus hebraicis lib. viii. c. viii. ubi cum dicitur non debuit Episcopus pro consulari iudicio pergeri, &c.* One there is which faith, that a Bishop ought not to have been put in his place before the Emperor, and that the Deputy is enough he himself consular, and not rather the Emperor himself called this inquiry to be made, to the jurisdiction (For which he hath answer to God) that could did formerly be made to the Emperor, as the same authority thus: *Lexus est qui non habet pernam nilum legem terrarum: iunimus & caput est omnium hominum super nos non habet potestatem: sed potestas est a deo: et non terrarum:* He is offended with the high Potestate, as upon the head of all Men upon Earth. And *Terrential ad Scapulari* faith, *Celsius ergo est Imperatoris fidei, quomodo & nobis licet: & tibi expedit, ut consueverit, ut non habet potestatem: sed habet reverentia* the Emperor in such wise, as is lawful to us and expedient to him, that is to say, as a Man next

By all which it may appear, that Christian Kings be Sovereigns over the Priests, above all other their Subjects; and that they command the Clergy, as well as the People, as well as they do others; and ought by their faithful Office to see that all Men of all degrees do the Duties, whereunto they are called either by God or by the King; and that they should be so charged with the People, that they should be the Kings Highways, taken upon him, as Supreme head of the Church of *England*, to see that as well spiritual Men as temporal do their Duties, both neither to move Innovation in the Church, nor yet trouble the People. As *Heretofore*, I have shewed, that the Kings of *France* did, and as all good Christian Kings ought to do. Which Office good Christian Emperours always took upon them, in calling the Universal Councils, and in commanding the same to be assembled together, to the intent that all Heretics might be brought to the Church might there be extirped; calling and commanding as well the *Rome* Princes, as other Patriarchs and Primates, as the Kings of *Spain*, and the Kings of the *South* as of the *North*, to come to the said Councils. As *Martianus* the Emperor did in calling the great Council of *Chalcedon*, one of the four chief and first general Councils, commanding *Leo* then Bishop of *Rome* to come unto it, and to be present, and he liked the time, which he would for a season should have been deferred; nor yet the place, for he would have had it in *Italy*, where the Emperor by his own commandment had called it.

When all other the Kings Subjects, and the learned of the Realm had taken and accepted the Oath of the Kings Supremacy, only *Filmer* the Bishop of Rochester and *Sir Thomas More* refused (as afore said) to be iurorn : who therefore falling into the danger of the Law, were committed into the Tower, and executed for the same, An. 1535. This *Filmer* *Filmer* afore said had written before against *Oecolampadius*: whose Book is yet extant, and afterward against *Luther*. And among other things he did therein have been a great enemy and persecutor of *Jehan Frisk*, the godly Martyr of Jesus Christ, whom he and *Sir Thomas More*

Am. T.  
1535.  
The  
Bishop  
of  
Rochester  
was  
sent  
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the  
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R. h. 2

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{ Ann. }  
{ 1535 }  
John Fife  
Bishop of  
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enemy to  
Christ's  
Gospel.





The Klieg  
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Furthermore, for the third purpose touching the Chancellor of France, inasmuch as he was one of the chief Personages whom the French King most trusted in his great Affairs (by whose advice all matters of Learning were then conducted and trained) the King thought it not unprofitable by all ways and means to win and allure his Friendship and Amity also unto his devotion, either that by his means and dexterity the Kings Purposes might be advanced the better, or at least for a *Ne necesse* that is, to mitigate and diminish such favour as he by the Admiral or otherwise was moved to flow to the Imperialists. For the which cause the King committing in Charge to his Embassador aforesaid, willed and instructed him how and what to do, and after what manner to temperate himself to all occasions and times of opportunity; as first to deliver to him from the King his Letters of Censure, and willed to declare and extend to the Kings most effectuous Commendations, with the hearty good will and sincere affections which his Highness bore to the said Cardinal, Chancellor of France, with no less desire also most gladly to do that thing which might be to his commodity and benefit, according as the manifold Benefits, Graces, and kindness done on his part for the Kings Highness did worthily deserve. Then after such words of mollification, to enter into further communication with him, in such sort as might best serve his honour.

And for as much as the Cardinal was then noted much to be moved with the affections of vain-glory and covetise; therefore amongst other Communication, it was devised to infer mention of the Papality, noting what ways and means might be used to attain unto that dignity. Wherein if the Kings Highness could find him in any stead, as he thought the person of the said Chancellor most meet for the same, he would not fail to move and to procure it to the best furtherance of his advancement. And finally, to declare how desirous the Kings Highness was to retain him unto him, and to his amity and friendship of the said Chancellor, and that his Highness desiring by what means and ways he might do the same (albeit his Grace knew well, that the Faith and Sincerity of the said Chancellor towards the Faith was such, as no Gift, Pension, or other offer could advance or increase that good will which for his Masters sake he would employ in the Kings Highness affairs) thought, that for declaration of his hearty good will towards the said Chancellor, it were convenient to offer unto him some yearly remembrance, &c.

This was the sum and effect of the Message which the King sent unto the French King, and to other of his Council, by his Embassador, Master *Edouard Fox*, which was especially to signify and make manifest to the said French King, the unjust dealings and prejudicial proceedings of the Pope, in calling up the Kings of England to appear at Rome by Proxy, which was derogatory to the Kings Dignity and Crown, and also prejudicial both to the General-Councils of the Primitive-time, and to the ancient Laws and Statutes of this Realm (as is afore declared) and no less hurtful for example to all other Princes and Kings likewise, &c.

This Message so done, shortly after was sent to the said French King, *Stephen Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, with the Kings Answer and Message again on this manner: That forasmuch as the saying of the French King unto the Embassadors was this, That notwithstanding all the Kings Realm should agree and consented never to much to the Right and Title which the Succession procured to this lawful Matrimony hath in this Realm; yet when outward Parties had conceived any other or contrary opinion thereof, great trouble and vexation might issue. Whereunto the King made answer again, declaring that he could not but greatly marvel, that the King his Brother, being so wise a Prince, and thereto well expert and learned in Chronicles and Histories, not only of his own Realm, but also of all others, or any of his Council, being men of such experience as they were taken to be, would think that the opinion and content of other outward Realm was so lightly to be considered and regarded of any Prince or King, in establishing or in executing things which might be lawfully done, and which touched the preservation of the Rights,

Preheriments, Dignity and State of his Realm, and did also notably concur unto the singular benefit and tranquillity of the same, for as the words both of the said King his Brother, and of the great Master did pretend. Who furthermore were not ignorant themselves, that many things have been by his noble Progenitors Kings of France, as attempted and done, as well in cases of Matrimony, as otherwise, which in some part in the opinion of the Popes of Rome then being, and in some part in the opinion of divers other outward Princes, States, Seigniories, and common people, have been thought not perfectly good, nor yet much acceptable unto them; and yet that notwithstanding his said Progenitors knowing themselves the prosecuting of those causes to be beneficial to them and to the Realm, have not therefore delighted from their said purposes, but diligently employing their own strength and powers with the Succours of their Friends, have finally achieved their said enterprises, without requiring or greatly regarding the opinion or agreement therunto of outward Princes.

Again, whereas the Chancellor of France made the Overture to the said Bishop of *Winchester*. Whether the King would be contented to have indifferent Judges to be appointed by the Authority of the Pope, to determine his Cause, with a Commission decreeal from the same, declaring, *Quid juris*, &c. The King, by his Embassadors therunto answering, declared, That the Pope having done unto him so notable and evident injuries as he had done, it were his office and duty now to labour mildly to end this matter, and to study how to make due satisfaction to God, and his Justice, which he hath, *tam indignis* made, offended and violated, and to deliver himself out of the danger, and the perpetual infamy of the World, which he hath incurred by reason of their his most ungodly doings; and not to look that the King should for any reason or suit unto him therefore, or recompense for the same, &c.

Furthermore, whereas the Pope, at the request of the French King, had in open Conclivity procured execution of his Censures and Excommunication against the King unto the first day of November, and word thereof was sent to the King by his Embassadors, from the great Master of France, that the King might have the said Proclamation made authentically in writing, if he would: The King answering therunto, thought it not unprofitable, that his Embassadors resident in France should receive into their hands the possession of the said new Proclamation, conceived and written in authentic form and manner, according to the order of the Laws.

After this again came other Letters to the King from France, namely, from the great Master of France, tending thereto to this end; That if the King would do nothing for the French King (meaning by the revocation of such Acts of Parliament as were made in the Realm of England, to the Popes prejudice) it were no reason, neither should it be possible for the French King to induce the Pope to any gratuity or pleasure for the King in his affairs.

Whereunto the King answering again, fenseth word to the French King, trusting and hoping well of the perfect Friendship of the French King his good Brother, which he will never suffer any such Persecution to enter into his breast, whatsoever the great Master, or any other fall to the contrary thereof, nor that he will require any thing more of him to do for the Pope, Chancellor, or other, than the Council have already desired to be done in this behalf, especially considering the words of the said French Kings promise made before, as well to the Duke of *Norfolk*, as to the other Embassadors, promising his Friendship to the King simply, without requiring him to recover or infringe any such act or constitution made by the Realm and Parliament to the contrary. Perceiving moreover, and laying before his eyes as well of the Pope, as of the French King, how much it should redound to the Popes dishonour and infamy, and to the slander also of his cause, if he should be seen to pack and covenant with the King, upon such conditions, as for the administration of that thing which he in his own Conscience hath reputed and adjudged to be most right, full and agreeable to justice and equity, and ought of his office and duty to do in this matter *simpliciter & gratis*, and without all worldly respects, either for the advancement

of his Realm, or for the advancement of his Realm.

The King to the right of his Realm as to the agreement of outward Realm.

The King to the right of his Realm as to the agreement of outward Realm.

The King to the right of his Realm as to the agreement of outward Realm.

The Pope hath against the King's Conscience.

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ment of his private lucre and commodity, or for the preservation of his pretended power and authority. For firstly it is not to be doubted, but that the Pope, being minded and determined to give Sentence for the invalidity and nullity of the Kings first pretended Matrimony, hath conceived and established in his own conscience a firm and certain opinion and persuasion, that he ought of justice and equity to do so.

Then to see the Pope to have this opinion indeed, and yet refuse this to do for the King, unless he shall be content for his benefit and pleasure, *Cedere juri suo*, and to do some things prejudicial unto his Subjects contrary to his honour: it is easy to be foreseen, what the World and the Purity shall judge *De tam turpi mundatione infamie*, & *si tantum fidei & fidei iuris & honoris ambicionem*. And as for the Kings part, if he shall not attain now justice at the mediation of his good Brother, knowing the Pope to be of this disposition and determination in his heart, to satisfy all his desires, being moved therewith by justice, and that the rest thereof is no doubt of justice in the cause, but only for that the King would not condescend to his request: it is to the King matter sufficient enough for discharge of his conscience to God and to the World, although he never did execute indeed his said determination. For such his corrupt affection is the only impediment thereof, what need either the King to require him any further to do in the cause, or let his Subjects to doubt any further in the justice of the same?

Albeit it respects to benefits and merits done towards the Pope and See of Rome, should be regarded in the attaining of justice in a cause of so high consequence as this is, reason would, that if it would please the Pope to consider the former kindness of the King shewed unto him in time past, (whereof he is very loth to enter the remembrance, *Ne videtur, unde cognoscatur quod alius fecerit bene*), he should not now require of him any new benefit or gratuity to be shewed unto him, but rather study to recompense him for the old graces, merits, pleasures and benefits before received. For surely he thinks that the Pope cannot forget, how that for the conservation of his Person, his Honour and Dignity, the King hath not heretofore spared for any respects, in using the office of a most perfect and steadfast Friend, to relinquish the long continued good will established between him and the Emperor, and to declare openly to all the World, that for the Popes sake, and in default of his deliverance, he would become enemy to the said Emperor, and to make against him actual War.

Beside this, the King hath not failed him with right large and ample subventions of money, for the better supporting of his charges against the enterprises of the said Emperor, combining and lusting himself with the French King, to procure the advancement of the said French Kings Army into Italy, to the Charges whereof the King did bear little less than the one half: Besides notable losses suffered as well in his Customs, Subsidies, and other Duties, as also to the no little hindrance and damage of his Subjects and Merchants, occasioned by discontinuance of the Traffick and entrecoast heretofore used with the Emperors Subjects. In doing of all which things, the King hath not been thus respective, as the Pope now bereth himself towards him, but he a perfect Friend hath been always contented, frankly, liberally, and openly to expose all his study, labour, treasure, puissance, Realm and divers Subjects for the Popes aid, and maintenance of the State and Dignity of the Church and See of Rome. Which things although he doth not here rehearse *animus expostulandi*, yet he doth not but be judged, weighed in the balance of any indifferent mans judgement, shall be thought to be of that weight and value, as that he hath justly deserved to have some mutual correspondency of kindness to be shewed unto him at the Popes hands: especially in the maintenance of Justice, and in so reasonable and just cause as this is, and not thus to have his most rightful Pension rejected and denied, because he will not follow his desire and appetite in revoking of such Acts, as he here make and pulled for the weal and commodity of his Realm and Subjects.

Thus ye have heard how instantly the King had laboured by the means of the French King, to the Pope being, then in France, for Right and Justice to be done

for the diffultation and nullity of his first pretended Matrimony with his Brothers wife. Which when it could not be attained at the Popes hands, unless the King would re-compence and require the same, by revoking of such Statutes as were made and enacted here in the High Court of Parliament, for the surety of Succession and establishment of the Realm; what the King thereto answered again, ye heard, declaring that to be a far unequal recompence and satisfaction for a thing which ought of right and justice to be ministered unto him, that a King thereto should revoke and undo the Acts and Statutes passed by a whole Realm contrary to his own honour and weal of his Subjects, &c.

Where is moreover to be understood, how that the Pope with all his Pupils, and the French King also, and peradventure *Stephen Gardiner* too, the Kings own Embassador, had ever a special eye to disprove and disannul the Kings Succession by Queen Anne, whom they knew all to be a great enemy unto the Pope, thinking thereby that if that succession were diminished, the Popes Kingsdom might long be restored again in England. But yet for all their upbraid and craking practice, they were through Gods Providence frustrate of their desired purpose. For although they brought this up to the next year following, to advance the Order of that Succession by a contrary Parliament, yet neither did they to adhibit it, but that both King *Edward* followed, yea, and also the same Succession afterward by the said King and other Parliaments was restored again, and yet God be praised, hath in this reigned, and shall yet flourish in the Realm of England.

Now, as we have declared the Kings doings in the Realm of Scotland and of France proceeding further in the Kings proceedings with other Princes; let us see how the King defended himself and his cause before the Emperor, lending his Embassador unto him, using these words before his Majesty, as here followeth.

#### The Oration of the Kings Embassador before the Emperor in Defence of his Cause.

*Sir, my King my Master, taking and repeating you say: The Oath: I, his perfect Friend, Confederate and Ally, shall not be wanting, but you remembering the ancient kindness, I have been your times past, will how you self must be content to be of such mind and disposition, as Justice, Truth, and Equity shall require, hath willed me by his Letters, to open and to declare unto you, what he hath done, and in what ways he hath proceeded concerning his Marriage as by many years was supposed to have been between your Ans and his Grace. In which matter there, Dilection being two principal Points specially to be regarded and considered: that is to say, the justice of the Cause, and the order of the Process therein, his Highness hath so well done in both, as no man may rightly complain of the same.*

For as touching the justice of the Cause, that is to say, of that marriage between him and your said Ans, which he might, and of no woman, no effect, but against the will of God, Nature, and Man, and unjustifiable by the Pope, and in no wise establishable in his Highness heart, there is as much as becomes him for discharge of his Conscience, and hath found so certain, so evident, so manifest, so open and approved truth, as whereunto his Majesty ought of good conscience to give place, and which in all other might to be allowed and received, not as a matter doubtful, disputable, or depending in question and ambiguity; but as a plain determined and difficult verity of the true understanding of Gods Word and Law, which all Christian men must follow and obey, and before all other worldly respects prefer and execute in attaining the knowledge whereof; if his Highness had used only his own particular judgement and sentence, or the mind only and opinion of his own natural subjects (although the same might in his Conscience have justified) it would not much have been required, if some other had made difficulty and objection to him in this form, will further discussion had been made thereupon. But now, for as much as besides his own certain understanding, and the agreement of his whole Clergy to the same in

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The Papal tribute of their Pope.

The Oath: I, his perfect Friend, Confederate and Ally, shall not be wanting, but you remembering the ancient kindness, I have been your times past, will how you self must be content to be of such mind and disposition, as Justice, Truth, and Equity shall require, hath willed me by his Letters, to open and to declare unto you, what he hath done, and in what ways he hath proceeded concerning his Marriage as by many years was supposed to have been between your Ans and his Grace. In which matter there, Dilection being two principal Points specially to be regarded and considered: that is to say, the justice of the Cause, and the order of the Process therein, his Highness hath so well done in both, as no man may rightly complain of the same.

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their hands, departed home, and returned to his Master again.

There dwelt not far off a certain Doctor, that had been an old Chancellor before a Bishop, who had been of old familiar acquaintance with Master Tindal, and also favoured him well. Unto whom Master Tindal went and opened his mind upon divers questions of the Scripture: for to him he was wont to be bold to disclose his heart. Unto whom the Doctor said, *Do you not know that the Pope is very Antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life: and fad moreover, I have been an Officer of his but I have given it up, and left him and all his works.*

It was not long after, but Master Tindal happened to be in the company of a certain Divine, reckoned for a learned man, and in communing and disputing with him, he drew him to that issue, that the fad great Doctor, burnt out into these blasphemous words, and said, *We were better to be without Gods Laws than the Pope.* Mr. Tindal hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied again, and said, *I defy the Pope, and all his Laws;* and further added, *That if God spared him life, ere many years he would carry a Boy that forbids the Plough to know more of the Scripture than he did.*

After this, the grudge of the Priests increasing fill more and more against Tindal, they never ceased brawling and rating at him, and laid many things fine to his charge, saying, *That he was an Heretic in Scripture, an Heretic in Logic, an Heretic in Divinity;* and said moreover to him, *That he have himself bold of the Gentlemen there in that Country's but notwithstanding, shortly he should be otherwise talked withal.* To whom Master Tindal, answering again, thus said, *That he was contented they should bring him into any Country in all England, giving him ten pence a year to live with, and binding him to no more, but to teach children, and to preach.*

To be honest, Master Tindal being so molested and vexed in the Country by the Priests, was constrained to leave that Country, and to seek another place; and to coming to Mals Wiche, he desired him of his good will that he might depart from him, saying on this wife to him, *Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry long here in this Country, neither shall you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the Spirituality; and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth, for the which I should be right sorry.* So that in fine, Master Tindal, with the good will of his Master, departed, and tidings came up to London, and there preached a while, according as he had done in the Country before, and specially about the Town of Bristol, and also in the fad Town in the common place called St. Stephens Green. At length he be thinking himself of Culbert Tindal then Bishop of London, and especially for the great commendation of Erasmus, who in his Annotations do extol him for his learning, thus call with himself, that if he might attain unto his service, he were a happy man. And to coming to Sir Henry Gifford, the Kings Controller, and bringing with him an Oration of Ikerates, which he had then translated out of Greek into English, he desired him to speak to the fad Bishop of London for him; which he also did, and willed him moreover to write an Epistle to the Bishop, and to go himself with him. Which he did likewise, and delivered his Epistle to a servant of his, named William Heblinwair, a man of his old acquaintance. But God, who wisely disposeth the course of things, saw fit that he not the best for Tindal's purpose, nor for the profit of his Church, and therefore gave him to find little favour in the Bishops fight. The answer of whom was this, *That his house was full, he had more than he could well find, and advised him to seek in London abroad, where he said he could lack no service, &c.* And so remained he in London, the space almost of a year, beholding and marking with himself the course of the World, and especially the demeanour of the Preachers, how they boasted themselves, and set up their authority and Kingdom; beholding also the pious of the Prelates, with other things more, which greatly afflicted him. Inasmuch that he was

derisive not only there to be no room in the Bishops house for him to translate the New Testament; but also that there was no place to do it in all England. And therefore, finding no place for his purpose within the Realm, and having some aid and provision by Gods Providence ministered unto him by Humphy Marmont, above recited, (as you may see before) and certain other good men, he took his leave of the Realm, and departed into Germany. Where the good man, being inflamed with a tender care and zeal of his Country, refused no travel nor distance, how by all means possible to reduce his Brethren and Countrymen of England, to the fad tale and understanding of Gods holy Word and verity, which the Lord had indited him withal.

Whereupon he considering in his mind, and partly also conferring with John Frith, thought with himself no way more to conduce thereto, than if the Scripture were sent into the vulgar speech, that the poor people might at last read and see the fad plain Word of God. For first, he wiledly calling in his mind, perceived by experience, how that it was not possible to establish the lay-people in that right, except the Scripture were so plainly laid before their eyes in their Mother Tongue, that they might see the process and meaning of the Text: for the what-forever truth should be taught them, their enemies of the truth would quench it again, either with apparent reasons of sophistry and traditions of their own making, founded without all ground of Scripture; or else juggling with the Text, expounding it in such a fad, as impossible it were to gather of the Text, if the right process, order and meaning thereof were seen.

Again, right well he perceived and considered, this only, or most chiefly to be the cause of all mischief in the Church, that the Scriptures of God were hidden from the peoples eyes; for so long the abominable doctrine, and idolatries maintained by the Purifical Clergy, could not be spied, and therefore all their labour was with right and main to keep it down, so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right sense with the Mist of their Sophistry, and to entangle them with rebuked or despised their abominations with arguments of Philosophy, and with worldly similitudes, and apparent reasons of natural wisdom; and with wretling the Scripture unto their own purpose, contrary unto the process and meaning of the Text; would so delude them in defeating upon it with allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in many fadnelled before the unlearned lay people, that though thou felt in thy heart, and wert sure that all were false that they said, yet couldst thou not false their fadil riddles.

For these and fad other considerations this good man was moved (and no doubt stirred up of God) to translate the Scripture into his Mother Tongue, for the public utility and profit of the simple vulgar people of the Country: first setting in hand with the New Testament, which he first translated about the year of our Lord 1527. After that he took in hand to translate the Old Testament; finishing the five Books of Moses, with fadmy most learned and godly Prologues prefixed before every one, most worthy to be read and read again of all good Christians, as the like also he did upon the New Testament.

He wrote also divers other Works under fadmy Titles, amongst the which is that most worthy Monument of his, entitled, *The obedience of a Christian man*, wherein with singular dexterity he instructed all men in the office and duty of Christian obedience; with divers other Treatises, as *The swicken Mammon*, *The practice of Prelates* with Explications upon many of the Scripture; and other Books also, answering to Sir Thomas More, and other adversaries of the truth, no less defensible, than also most fruitful to be read; which partly before being unknown unto many, partly also being almost abolished and worn out by time, the Printer hereof (good Reader) for conferring and restoring fad singular treasures, hath collected and set forth in Print the same in one general Volume all whole together, as are to be seen, most fadicial and profitable for thy reading.

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The Books of William Tindal being compiled, published, and sent over into England, it cannot be spoken without a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole English Nation, which before were many years shut up in darkness.

At his first departing out of the Realm he took his journey into the further parts of Germany, as unto Saxony, where he had conference with Luther, and other learned men in those Quarters: and after that he continued his journey, he came down from thence into the Netherlands, and had his most abiding in the Town of Antwerp, until the time of his apprehension: whereof more shall be said (God willing) hereafter.

Amongst his other Books which he compiled, one Work he made use of for the declaration of the Sacrament (as it was then called) of the Altar; the which he kept by him, considering how the people were not as yet fully persuaded in other matters tending to superstitious ceremonies and godly Idolatry. Wherefore he thought as yet that was not come to put forth that Work, but rather that it should hinder the people from other justifications, supposing that it would seem to them odious to hear any such thing spoken, or set forth at that time, founding against their great Goddels Diana, that is, against their Mals, being had everywhere in great estimation, as was the Goddess Diana amongst the Ephesians, whom they thought to come from Heaven.

Wherefore Master Tindal, being a man both prudent in his doings, and no less zealous in the fecting forth of Gods holy truth, after such sort as it might take most effect with the people, did not think of putting forth of that work; but doubting but by Gods merciful grace a time should come to have that abomination utterly declared, as it is at this present day, the Lord Almighty be always praised therefore, Amen.

These godly Books of Tindal, and especially the New Testament of his Translation, did they begin to come into mens hands, and to spread abroad, as they wrought great and singular profit to the godly; so they grieved and disdaining that the people should be any thing wiler than they, and again, fearing left by the fadning bones of truth, their fadile hypocrite and works of superstition should be discovered, began to stir with no small ad, like as at the birth of Christ Herod and all Jerusalem was troubled with. But especially Satan the Prince of Darkness, maligning the happy cause and success of the Gospel, felt to his might also, how to fadpach and hinder the blessed travels of that man; as by this, and also by fadmy other ways may appear. For at what time Tindal had translated the fifth Book of Moses called Deuteronomium, minding to Print the same at Hamborough, he failed thitherward; where by the way upon the Coast of Holland, he suffered Shipwreck, by the which he lost all his Books, Writings and Copies, and so was compelled to begin all again anew, to his hindrance and doubling of his labours. Thus having lost by that Ship, both Myny, his Copies and time, he came in another Ship to Hamborough, where at his appointment, Master Overdake carried for him, and helped him in the translating of the whole five Books of Moses, from Esther till Deuteronomium, in the house of a worshipful Widow, Mistress Margaret Van Emmenlo, Anno 1529. a great fadvertising Sackens being the same time in the Town. So having dispatched his business at Hamborough, he returned afterward to Antwerp again.

Thus as Satan is, and ever hath been an enemy to all godly endeavours, and chiefly to the promoting and furtherance of Gods Word, as by this and many other experiments may be seen, to his Ministers and Members, following the fad quality of their Masters, he was altogether idle for their purses; as also by the Popes Chaplains and Gods enemies, and by their cruel handling of the fad Mr. Tindal the same time, both here in England and in Flanders, may well appear.

When Gods will was that the New Testament in the common tongue should come abroad, Tindal the Translator thereof added to the later end a certain Epistle, wherein he desired them that were learned to amend, it ought were fadmed amiss. Wherefore if any fad default had been, deserving correction, it had been the part of courteous and gentlemen, for men of knowledge and

judgment to have fadvised their learning therein, and to have redressed that which was to be amended. But the spiritual Fathers then of the Clergy, being not willing to have that Book to prosper, fadvised on the contrary, leaving men in hand, that there were a thousand Heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly to be fadpelled. Some fadid it was not possible to translate the Scripture into English; some that it was not lawful for the lay people to have it in their Mother-tongue; some that it would make them all Heretics. And to the intent to induce the temporal Rules also unto their purpose, they made matter, and fadid that it would make the people to rebel and rise against the King. All this Tindal himself, in his own Philosophy before the first Book of Moses declared, and added further, shewing what great pain was taken in examining that Translation, and comparing it with their own imaginations and terms, that with less labour, he supposed, they might have translated themselves a great part of the Bible: shewing moreover, that they fadmed and examined every title and point in the fad Translation, in such sort, and so narrowly, that there was not one i therein, but if it lacked a prick over his head, they did note it, and numbered it into the ignorant people for an Heretic. So great were then the fadward likes of the English Clergy (who should have been the Guides of light unto the people) to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the Scripture, which neither they would translate themselves, nor yet aside it to be translated of others; to the intent (as Tindal fadith) that the Word being kept full in darkness, they might fit in the Conferences of the people through an fadplicit on and fadile Doctrine, to fadpiche their lusts, their ambition and unfadtable covetousness, and to exalt their own honour, above King and Emperor, yea and above Gods own self, &c.

The Bishops and Prelates of the Realm, thus (as ye have here been informed and influenced in their minds, although having no cause, against the Old and New Testament of the Lord newly translated by Tindal, and conspiring together with all their Heads and Councils, how to repeat the same, never to be contented. By reason thereof, a great dissension did ensue, between the Clergy and the people, in all parts thereof, which was fadpelled under the name of public authority, but no just reason fadded, that the Testament of Tindal's Translation, with other works more, both of his and of other Writings, were inhibited and abandoned, as yehend before. Which was about the year of our Lord 1527. And yet not contented herewith, they proceeded further, how to intangle him in their Nets, and to bereave him of his life. Which how they brought to pass, now it remaineth to be declared.

In the Register of London it appeareth manifestly, how that the Bishops and Sir Thomas More having any poor man under Curam, to be examined before them, namely such as had been at Antwerp, most faduciously would search and examine all things belonging to Tindal, where and with whom he lodged, whereabouts fadid the house, what was his fadture, in what apparel he forth under what reft he had, &c. All which things when they had diligently learned (as may appear by the Examination of Simon Smith and others) then began they to work their feats, as you shall hear by the relation of his own House.

William Tindal being in the Town of Antwerp, was fadid long lodged about one whole year; in the House of an English Merchant, who kept there an House of English Merchants. About which time came thither one out of England, whose name was Henry Philips, his Father being Customor of Pad, a carefully follow him as he had been a Gentleman, having a fervent with him, but wherefore he came, or for what purpose he was sent thither, no man could tell.

Master Tindal divers times was desired forth to Dinner and Supper amongst Merchants; by the means whereof this Henry Philips became acquainted with him, so that within short space Master Tindal had a great familiarity with him, and brought him to his Lodging in the House of Thomas Pouters, and had him also once or twice with him to Dinner and Supper, and fadid entered fad friendship with him, that through his procurement

[The first Observation of the Pope's Heresies, which were then the People's]

[The cause why the English Clergy should not only have been the Guides of light unto the people, but also to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the Scripture, which neither they would translate themselves, nor yet aside it to be translated of others; to the intent (as Tindal fadith) that the Word being kept full in darkness, they might fit in the Conferences of the people through an fadplicit on and fadile Doctrine, to fadpiche their lusts, their ambition and unfadtable covetousness, and to exalt their own honour, above King and Emperor, yea and above Gods own self, &amp;c.]

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he lay in the fame House of the said *Pointz*; to whom he shewed moreover his Books and other treasures of his study, so little did *Tindal* then mistrust this Traytor.

But *Pointz*, having no great confidence in the fellow, asked *Master Tindal* how he came acquainted with this *Philips*. *Master Tindal* answered, that he was an honest man, handsomely learned, and of a free heart. Then *Pointz*, perceiving that he bare such favour to him, said no more, thinking that he was brought acquainted with him by some friend of his. The said *Philips* being in the Town three or four days, upon a time desired *Pointz* to walk with him forth to the Town to shew him the commodities thereof, and in walking together without the Town, had communication of divers things, and some of the Kings affairs; by the which talk *Pointz*, as yet suspected nothing, but after, by the sequel of the matter, he perceived more what he intended. In the mean time this he well perceived, that he bare no great favour either to the letting forth of any good thing, or to the proceedings of the King of England. But after, when the time was past, *Pointz* perceived this to be his mind, to feel if he could perceive by him, whether he might break with him in the matter, for sake of money, to help him to his purpose; for he perceived before that he was minded, and would that *Pointz* should think no less; but by whom it was unknown. For he had desired *Pointz* before to help him to divers things, and such things as he minded, he required might be of the best, for said he, I have money enough; but of this talk came nothing, but that men should think he had more things to do; for nothing else followed of his talk. So it was to be suspected, that *Philips* was in doubt to move this matter for his purpose, to any of the Kings Officers of the Town of *Antwerp*, for doubt it should come to the knowledge of some Englishmen, and by the means thereof *McTindal* should have had warning.

The Pope will fasten on this faith that nation's enterprise

Philips was minded by the English Bishop.

So *Philips* went from *Antwerp* to the Court of *Brussels*, which is from thence twenty four English miles, the King having there no Embassadors; for at that time the King of England and the Emperor were at a controversy, for the question betwixt the King and the Lady *Katherine*, which was Aunt to the Emperor, and the discord grew so much, that it was doubted lest there should have been War between the Emperor and the King, so that *Philips* as a Traytor both against God and the King, was there the better retained, as also other Traitors more besides him; who after he had betrayed *McTindal* into their hands, shewed himself likewise against the Kings own person, and there for forth things against the King. To make short, the said *Philips* did so much there, that he procured to bring from thence with him to *Antwerp*, that Procurator General, which is the Emperors Attorney, with certain other Officers, as after followeth. The which was not done with small charges and expences, from whomsoever it came.

Within a while after, *Pointz* sitting at his door, *Philips* came came unto him, and asked whether *Mr. Tindal* were there, and said, his Matter would come to him, and so departed. But whether his Matter *Philips* were in the Town or not, it was not known; but at that time *Pointz* heard no more, neither of the Matter nor of the Man. Within three or four days after, *Pointz* went forth to the Town of *Barrow* being eighteen English Miles from *Antwerp*, where he had business to do for the space of a Month or six Weeks, and in the time of his absence *Philips* came again to *Antwerp* to the house of *Pointz*, and coming in, spake with his Wife, asking her for *Mr. Tindal*, and whether he would dine there with him, saying, *What good meat shall we have?* She answered, *such as the Market will give.* Then went he forth again (as it is thought) to provide, and let the Officers which he brought with him from *Brussels*, in the street, and about the door. Then about Noon he came again, and went to *Master Tindal*, and desired him to lend him forty fillings; for (said he) I lost this Purse this morning, coming over at the passage between this and *Brussels*. So *Master Tindal* took him forty fillings, the which was able to be had of him, if he had it, for in the wily faculties of this World he was simple and unexpert.

So *Philips* traytor and betrayer of his Master *Tindal*.

The English Bishop.

Then said *Philips*, *Master Tindal* you shall be my *Guest here to day, Next Master Tindal says to day to dinner, and you shall go with me, and be my Guest, where you shall be welcome.* So when it was Dinner time, *Master Tindal* went forth with *Philips*, and at the going out of *Pointz* house, was a long narrow Entry, so that two could not go in a frow, and *Philips* would have put *Philips* before him, but *Pointz* would in no wise, but put *Master Tindal* afore, for that he pretended to shew great humanity. So *Master Tindal*, being a man of no great stature, went before, and *Philips* a tall comely person followed behind him; who had let Officers on either side of the Door upon two fears, which being there might see who came in the Entry; and coming through the fame Entry, *Philips* pointed with his finger over *Master Tindal*'s head down to him, that the Officers which sat at the door might see that it was he whom they should take, as the Officers that took *Master Tindal*, afterward told *Pointz*, and said to *Pointz* when they had laid him in Prison, *That they pined to see his simplicity when they took him.* Then they took him and brought him to the Emperors Attorney, or Procurator General, where he was desired. Then came the Procurator General to the House of *Pointz*, and sent away all that was there of *Master Tindal*'s, as well his Books as other things, and from thence *Tindal* was led to the Castle of *Filford*, eighteen English Miles from at *Filford*, *Antwerp*, and there he remained until he was put to death.

How Tindal was betrayed of into his enemies hands.

Letters sent from King to the Lord Council and others in the City of Brussels.

Then incontinent, by the help of English Merchants, were Letters sent in the favour of *Tindal* to the Court of *Brussels*. Also not long after, Letters were directed out of England to the Council at *Brussels*, and sent to the Merchant Adventurers to *Antwerp*, commanding them to see that with speed they should be delivered. Then such of the chief of the Merchants as were there at that time, being called together, required the said *Pointz* to take in hand the delivery of those Letters, with Letters also from them in the favour of *Master Tindal*, to the Lord of *Barrow* and others; the which Lord of *Barrow* (as it was told *Pointz* by the way) at that time was departed from *Brussels*, as the chieftest Conductor of the eldest Daughter of the King of Denmark, to be married to the Palegrave, whose Mother was Sister to the Emperor, the being chief Princess of Denmark. Who, after he heard of his departure, did ride after the next way, and overtook him at *Dehon*, where he delivered to him his Letters. The which when he had received and read, he made no direct answer, but forsooth saying, *Id, There were of their Countrymen that were buried in England not long before; as indeed there were Anabaptists buried in Smithfield, and so Pointz* said to him; *Howbeit*, said he, *whatsoever the crimes was, if thy Lordship or any other Nobleman had written, requiring to have had them, he taught they should not have been denied.* Well, said he, *I have no leisure to write, for the Princess is ready to ride.*

Then said *Pointz*, *If it shall please your Lordship, I will attend upon you into the next bathing place, which is at Maftrich.* If you so do, said the Lord, *I will advise myself by the way what to write.* So *Pointz* followed him from *Dehon* to *Maftrich*, the which are fifteen English Miles asunder, and there he received Letters of him, one to the Council there, another to the company of the Merchant Adventurers, and another also to the Lord Council in England.

So *Pointz* rode from thence to *Brussels*, and then were delivered to the Council the Letters out of England, with the Lord of *Barrow*'s Letters also, and received eleven answers into England of the same by Letters, which he brought to *Antwerp* to the English Merchants, who required him to go with them into England, and he very desirous to have *McTindal* out of Prison, let not to take pains, with loss of time in his own business and occupying, and diligently followed with the said Letters, which he there delivered to the Council, and was commanded by them to carry until he had other Letters, of the which he was not dispatched thence in a Month after. At length the Letters being delivered him, he returned again, and delivered them to the Emperors Council at *Brussels*, and there tarried for answer of the same.

When

The fall of Philip and Master Tindal.

When the said *Pointz* had tarried three or four days, it was told him of one that belonged to the Chancery, that *Master Tindal* should have been delivered to him according to the tenour of the Letters; but *Philips* being there, followed the Suit against *Master Tindal*, and hearing that he should be delivered to *Pointz*, and doubting lest he should be put from his purpose knew

none other remedy but to accuse *Pointz*, saying, *That he was a dweller in the Town of Antwerp, and there had been a succourer of Tindal, and was one of the same Opinion, and that all this was only his own labour and pain, to have Master Tindal at liberty, and no means left.*

The Martyrdom of Master William Tindal in Flanders, by Vibord castle.



Pointz attached by Philips.

Pointz examined.

Thus upon his information and accusation *Pointz* was attached by the Procurator General, and Emperors Attorney, delivered to the keeping of two Sergeants at Arms; and the same Evening was sent to him one of the Chancery, with the Procurator General, who minuted unto him an Oath, that he should truly make answer to all such things as should be inquired of him, thinking they would have had no other examinations of him but of his message. The next day likewise they came again, and had him in examination, and so five or six days one after another, upon not so few as an hundred Articles, as well of the Kings affairs, as of the message concerning *Tindal*, of his orders, and of his Religion. Out of the which examinations, the Procurator General drew twenty three or twenty four Articles, and declared the same against the said *Pointz*, the Copy whereof he delivered to him to make answer thereto, and permitted him to have an Advocate and Proctor, that is, a Doctor and Doctor in the Law; and order was taken, that eight days after he should deliver unto them his answer, and from eight days to eight days, to proceed till the Proctors were ended. Also that he should send no messenger to *Antwerp* whereas his house was, being twenty four English Miles from *Brussels*, where was Prisoners, nor to any other place, but by the Post of the Town of *Brussels*, nor to lend any Letters, nor any to be delivered to him, but written in Dutch, and the Procurator General, who was party against him, to read them, to peruse and examine them thoroughly, contrary to all right and equity, before they were sent or delivered; neither might any be suffered to speak or talk with *Pointz* in any other Tongue or Language, except only in the Dutch Tongue, so that his Keepers, who were Dutch men might understand what the contents of the Letters or talk should be. Seeing that at some certain time the Provincial of the White Friars came to Dinner where *Pointz* was Prisoner, and brought with him a young Novice, being an Englishman, whom the Provincial after Dinner, of his own accord, did bid to talk with the said *Pointz*, and so with him he was licensed to talk. The purpose and great policy therein was calt to be perceived. Between

*Pointz* and the Novice was much pretty talk, as of Sir *Thomas More*, and of the Bishop of *Rochester*, and of their putting to death, whose death he reckoned greatly to lament, especially dying in such a quarrel, worthy (as he said) to be accounted for Marys; with other noble Doctrine, and deep learning in Divinity, next to feed Swine withal. Such blindness then in these days reigned amongst them. After this *Pointz* delivered up his answer to the Procurator General, and then after, at the days appointed, went forth with Replication duplicate, with other answers each to other in writing, what they could.

As the Commissioners came to *Pointz*, *Philips* the Traytor accompanied them to the Door in following the Process against him, as he also did against *Master Tindal*, for so they that had *Pointz* in keeping, desired him, *That Pointz* for *Master Tindal* was fore troubled, and long kept in Prison; but at length, when he saw no other remedy, by night he made his escape, and avoided their hands. But good *Tindal* could not escape their hands, but remained in Prison still, who being brought unto his answer, was offered to have an Advocate and a Proctor; for in any criminal cause there, it shall be permitted to have Counsel, to make answer in the Law. But he refused to have any such, saying, *That he would answer for himself; and so he did.*

At last, After much reasoning, when no reason would serve, although he desired no death, he was condemned by virtue of the Emperors Decree, made in the Assembly at *Augsburg* (as is before signified) and upon the same brought forth to the place of Execution, where there tied to the Stake, and then strangled him by the Hangman, and afterwards with fire consumed in the morning at the Town of *Filford*, Anno 1536, crying thus at the Stake with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice, *Lord open the King of England's Eyes.*

Talk of Thomas More, and of the Bishop of Rochester.

Pointz was asked for Mr. Tindal.

The condemnation of McTindal, the Martyrdom of McTindal.

The Province of McTindal.

Such was the power of his Doctrine, and sincerity of his life, that during the time of his imprisonment (which endured a year and a half) it is said, he converted his Keeper, his Daughter, and others of his household. Also the rest that were with him conversant in the Castle reported of him, that if he were not a good Christian man, they could not tell whom to trust.

The Procurator General, the Emperors Attorney, being there, left this testimony of him, that he was *Homo doctus, pium & bonum*, that is, a learned, a good and a godly man.

The same Morning in which he was had to the fire, he delivered a Letter to the Keeper of the Castle which the Keeper himself brought to the House of the forefard *Point in Antwerp*, shortly after which Letter with his Examinations and other his Disputations, I would might have come to our hands; all which I understand did remain, and yet perhaps do, in the hands of the Keepers Daughter. For so it is of him reported, that as he was in the Castle Prisoner, there was much writing, and great Disputation to and fro, between him and them of the University of *Louvain* (which was not past nine or ten Miles from the place where he was Prisoner) in such sort, that they all had enough to do, and more than they could well wield, to answer the authorities and testimonies of the Scripture, whereupon he most pitifully grounded his Doctrine.

Of *Judas* that betrayed Christ it is written, *That he returned the Money again to the Pharisees, and afterwards hanged himself.* So Philip this miserable Traitor, after he had him received of *Tindal*, and borrowed money of him, and yet betrayed him and purified him to death; albeit he rejoiced a while after that he had done it, yet the saying to goeth, that he not long time after enjoyed the price of innocent blood, but was consumed at last with Lice.

The worthy virtues and doings of this blessed Martyr, who for his painful travels, and singular zeal to his Country, may be called in these our days, an Apostle of *England*, it were long to relate. Among many other, this because it seemeth to me worthy of remembrance, I thought not in silence to omit, which hath unto me been credibly testified by certain grave Merchants, and some of them also say as were present the same time at the fact, and men yet alive. The Story whereof is this.

There was at *Antwerp* on a time, amongst a company of Merchants, as they were at Supper, a certain Jugler, which through his Diabolical Incantments of Art Magical, would fetch all kind of Vizards, and Wine from any place they would, and set it upon the Table incontinent before them, with many other such like things. The fame of this Jugler being much talked of, it chanced that as *Matter Tindal* heard of it, he desired certain of the Merchants, that he might also be present at Supper, to see him play his parts.

To be brief, the Supper was appointed, and the Merchants with *Tindal* were there present. Then the Jugler, being required to play his feats, and to show his cunning, after his wonted boldness began to utter all that he could do, but all was vain. At the last with his louds, swearing and toying, would he say that nothing would go forward, but that all his enchantments were void, he was compelled openly to confess, that there was some man present at Supper, which disturbed and letted all his doings. So that a man, even in the Martyrs of these our days, cannot lack the Miracles of true faith, if Miracles were now to be desired.

As concerning the Words and Booles of *Tindal*, which extended to a great number, thou wast to have, loving Reader, how the Printer heretofore minded, by the Lords leave, to collect them all in one Volume together, and put them out in Print. Wherefore it shall not greatly at this time be needful to make any several rehearsal of them.

As and touching his Translation of the New Testament, because his enemies did to much carp at it, pretending it to be full of Heresies, to answer thereto with their flandersous tongues and long lips, thou shalt hear and understand, what faithful dealing, and sincere Confidence he used in the fame, by the testimony and allegation of his own words written in the Epistle to *John Frith* as follow-

eth, *I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give our reckoning of our doings.* *That I never altered one syllable of Gods Word against my dealing or conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in Earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given me.* &c.

And as ye have heard *Tindal's* own words this protesting for himself, now let us hear likewise the faithful testimony of *John Frith*, for *Tindal* his dear companion and Brother, thus declaring in his answer to *Matter More*, as followeth:

#### The Testimony of John Frith in his Book of ile Sacrament, concerning William Tindal.

AND TINDAL I trust liveth, well content with such a poor Apostles life, as God gave his Son Christ, and his faithful Ministers in this World, which is not fure of so many mines, as ye be yearly of pounds, although I am fure that for his learning and judgment in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted than all the Bishops in *England*. I received a Letter from him, which was written since *Christmas*, wherein among other matters he writeth this, *I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of Gods Word against my Conscience, nor would I this day, if all that is in Earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches might be given me.*

Moreover, I take God to witness to my Conscience, that I desire of God for my self in this World, no more than that, *whereby which I cannot keep his Laws, &c.* Judge, Christian Reader, whether these words be not spoken of a faithful car innocent heart. And as for his behaviour, it is such, that I am fure no man can remove him any far, howbeit no man is innocent before God, which becometh the heart. Thus much out of *Frith*.

And thus being about to conclude and finish with the life and story of *William Tindal*, it shall be requisite now that the Reader do hear something likewise of his supplications made to the King and Nobles of the Realm, as they are yet extant in his works to be read, and worthy all eyes to be looked, the tenor whereof readeth to this effect as followeth.

#### Tindal's Supplication to the King, Nobles and Subjects of England.

I beseech the Kings most Noble Grace, well to consider all the ways, by the which the Cardinal, and our holy Bishops have led him since he was first King, and to see whereunto all the pride, pomp and vain boast of the Cardinal is come, and how God hath refilled him and our Prelates in their wiles.

We, having nothing to do at all, have medled yet with all matters, and have spent for our Prelates causes, more than all *Christendome*, even unto the utter beggering of our selves, and have gotten nothing but rebuke and hate among all Nations, and a mock and a scorn of them whom we have most holpen. For the *Frenchmen* (as the saying is) of late days made a Play, or a Disputing at *Paris*, in which the Emperor danced with the Pope, and the French King, and wearied them the King of *England* sitting on a high Bench, and looking on. And when it was asked what he thought was answered that he sat there but to pay the *Ministris* their wages. As who should say, we paid for all mens dancing. We moved the Emperor openly, and gave the French King double and treble secretly, and to the Pope also. Yea, and though *Ferdinand* had many feet open to blind the World withal, yet the saying is through all *Danmarks*, that we sent money to the King of *Pole*, &c.

Furthermore, I beseech His Grace also to have mercy of his own soul, and not to suffer Christ and his holy Testament, to be persecuted under his name any longer, that the sword of the wrath of God may be put up again, which for that cause, no doubt, is most chiefly drawn.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, My Petition is to his Grace, to have compassion on his poor subjects, that the Realm utterly perill on with the wicked counsel of our pretence Prelates. For if to his Grace, which is but a man, should die, the Lords and Commons not knowing who hath most right to enjoy the Crown, the Realm could not but stand in great danger.

My fourth lull and exhortation is to all the Lords Temporal of the Realm, that they come and fall before the Kings Grace, and humbly desire his Majesty to suffer it to be used, who of right ought to succeed; and if he be the fall, who next, and who third. And let it be proclaimed openly; and let all the Lords Temporal be sworn thereto, and all the Knights, and Squires and Gentlemen, and the Commons above fourteen years old, that there be no strife for the Succession, if they try it by the sword, I promise them, I live so other likelihood, but it will cost the Realm of *England*, &c.

Further, of all the subjects of *England* this I crave, that they repent. For the cause of evil rulers is the fin of the subjects, as testifieth the Scripture. And the cause of false Preachers is, that the people have no love unto the truth, faith *Paul*, in the second Chapter of the Epistle to the *The Galatians*. We be all sinners an hundred times greater than all that we suffer. Let us therefore each forgive other, remembering the greater sinners, the more weal if we repent, according to the similitude of the righteous *Son*, *Luke*, 16. For Christ died for sinners, and is their Saviour, and his blood their redemptor, to pay for their sin. He is that fatted calf which is slain to make them good cheer whil, if they will repent and come to their Father again, and his merits is the goodly raiment to cover the naked deformities of their sins.

Finally, if the persecution of the Kings Grace, and other Temporal persons conspiring with the Spiritually, be of ignorance, I doubt not but that their eyes shall be opened shortly, and they shall see and repent, and God shall then them mercy. But if it be of a false justice against the truth, and of a grounded hate against the Law of God, by the reason of a full consent they have to it, and to walk in their old ways of ignorance, whereunto being now past all repentance, they have utterly yielded themselves, to follow with full heart without bidde or flatter which iseth in against the Holy Ghost, then ye shall see how shortly, that God shall turn the point of the sword, wherewith they now shed Christs blood homeward to shed their own again, after all the examples of the Bible.

These things thus discoursed pertaining to the story and doings of *Tindal*, finally it remaineth to inter certain of his private Letters and Epistles, wherein among divers other which have not come to our hands, two special he wrote to *John Frith*, one properly under his own name, another under the name of *Jacob*, but in very deed was written and delivered to *John Frith*, being prisoner then in the Tower, as ye shall further understand by the sequel hereafter. The Copy and tenour of the Epistles lates followeth.

#### A Letter sent from Tindal, unto Matter Frith, being in the Tower.

THE Grace and Peace of God our Father, and of Jesus Christ our Lord be with you, Amen. Dearly beloved *John*, I have heard you, how the hypocrites now that they have overcome that great ship, which brother John, or at the least way have brought it to a Bay, they return to their old nature again. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which be hath ordained to be ere the world was made, that come, and his glory reign over all. Dear beloved, however the matter be, I will myself wholly, and only unto your most loving Father and most kind Lord, for men that threat, you shall men that speak fairly, that shall men that is true of promise, and able to make his word good. Your cause is Christs Gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood of faith. The lamp must be dried and filled daily, and that of poured in every evening and morning, that the light go not out. Though we be sinners, yet is the cause right. If when we be buffeted for Gods word, we suffer patiently and endure, that is acceptable to God. For to that end we are called. For Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should fol-

low his steps, who did no sin. Hereby have we purchased love, that he laid down his life for us, therefore we ought to lay down our lives for the Brethren. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven. For we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified with him: *Mat*, 5. who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby Phil. 3. by he is able even to subvert all things unto him.

Dear beloved, be of good courage, and comfort your soul with the hope of your high reward, and bear the image of Christ in your mortal body, which may at his coming be made like to his immortality, and follow the example of *Baldred* of all your elder dear Brethren, which chose to suffer in hope of a better Resurrection. Keep your conscience pure and undefiled, and say against that nothing. Stick at necessary things, and remember the blasphemies of the enemies of Christ, saying, they find none true, that will adhere rather to them, than follow the extremity. Moreover, the deaths of them that come again after they have once denied, though it be accepted with God, and all that believe, yet it is no glorification, for the hypocrite say, he must needs die, denying himself. But might it be so, they would have denied five hundred times, but seeing it would not help them, therefore of pure pride and malice register, that they speak with their mouths that their conscience knoweth false. If you give your self, call your self, yield your self, commit your self wholly and only to your loving Father, then shall his power be in you and make you strong, and so you shall find that you shall feel no pain, which shall be to another present death, and his spirit shall speak in you, and teach you how to answer, according to his promise: to God, he shall fit out his truth by you wonderfully, and work for you above all that your heart can imagine, you are to look for yet dead, though the hypocrite all, with all that they can make, have sworn they shall, *Alas* what will man be able to do? To look for no man help, bringeth the help of God to them that seem to be overcome in the eyes of halting. The hypocrite: yes, it shall make God to carry you thorough thick and thin, for his truth shall be in you, and he will not let him of his truth. There shall be no bar till his hour be come, and when his hour is come, necessarily carryeth so hence though he be not willing. But if we be willing, then have we a reward and thank.

For now the straitening therefore, neither be overcome of sweet words, with which twain the hypocrite shall assail you. Neither let the persuasions of worldly wisdom *Mat*, 22. bear rule in your heart, no, though they be your friends, that counsel you. Let Bilney be a warning to you, let not your wisdom beguile your eyes. Let not your body faint. He that endureth to the end shall be saved. If you be above your strength, remember, *Whosoever* ye shall ask in my name, I will give it you. And pray to your Father in that name, and he shall ease your pain, or shorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you, Amen.

William Tindal.

TWO have suffered in *Antwerp*. In die sancte Crucis, unto the great glory of the Gospel, four at *Ry-bourch*, five at *Flinders*, and at *Lille* hath been one at the least *Martyrs* suffered, and all the same day. At *Rouen* in France, they persecuted. And at *Paris* are fifteen taken for the Gospel. See, you are not alone cheerful and remember that among the hard hearted in *England*, there is a number ready by Grace for whose sake, if need be, you must be ready to suffer. See, if you may write, how pure they are, be, forget it not that we may know how it goeth with you, for your hearts ease. The Lord be yet again with you with all his plentifulness, and fill you that you find over, Amen. If when you have read this, you may find it to Adrian, do I pray you, that be may know how that our hearts is with you.

George Joy at Candless being at *Batrow* printed two leaves of Genesis in a great Form, and sent one Copy to the King, and another to the new Queen, with a Letter to the King, and desired them, and to preserve it, that he might so go through all the Bible. Out of this it grew, the way of the new Bible, and out of that is the great seeking for English Books at all Printers and Book-binders in *Antwerp*, and for an English Priest that should print.

Thus



This chanced the ninth day of May, your wife is well content with the will of God, and would not for her sake have the glory of God hindered.

William Tindal.

Another notable and worthy Letter of Master William Tindal, sent to the said John Frith, under the name of Jacob.

The Grace of our Saviour Jesus, his patience, meekness, humbleness, clemency, and wilfulness, be with your heart, Amen.

Early beloved Brother Jacob, mine hearty desire in our Saviour Jesus, is that you arm your self with patience, and be cold, sober, wary, and circumspect, and that you keep you a low by the ground, avoiding high questions, that pass the counsel of Moles to condemn all flesh, and prove all men sinners, and all deeds under the Law, before mercy have taken away the condemnation thereof, to be sin damnable, and then as a faithful Minister, to be able the mercy of our Lord Jesus, and let the wounded consciences drink of the water of life, then shall your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites, and the Spirit of God shall work with you, and all consciences shall bear record to you, and feel that it is so. And thus shall that catholic's work, you, and feel that it is so. And thus shall that catholic's work, you, and feel that it is so.

By the presence of Christ, I have no division among us. Barnes will be for, and there appear no division among us. Barnes will be for, and there appear no division among us.

By the presence of Christ, I have no division among us. Barnes will be for, and there appear no division among us. Barnes will be for, and there appear no division among us.

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thousand parts so much for your learning, and what other gifts you have, as these, you will carry along by the ground, and walk in the things that the conscience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain: in fear, and not in boldness: in open necessary things, and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or things that neither help nor hinder, whether it be so or no. In unity, and not in divisions opinions: in simplicity that if you be sure you know, yet in things that may abide leisure you will defer, or say (till other agree with you) Methinks the Text requires this (and so understanding. Ten, and if you be sure that your part be good, and another hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh it off as it pass, and refer the thing to other men, and jiffy you shall and humbly in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you be persuaded even so of me: for I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings; that I never altered one syllable of God's Word against my conscience, nor would this day, if it was in the Earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience, that I defer of God to my self in this world, no more than that without which I cannot keep his Law.

Finally, if there were in me any gift that could help at hand, and aid you if need required, I promise you I would not be far off, and commit the end to God. My soul is not faint, though my body be weary. But God hath made me evil favoured in this world, and without grace in a goodly way, speechless and rude, dull and slow witted: your words shall be to supply what lacketh in me: remembering, that as lowliness of heart shall make you high into the world, even so meekness of words shall make you high into the hearts of men. Nature giveth age authority, but meekness is the glory of youth, and growth the honour. Abundance of words maketh me exceed in babbling.

Sir, as concerning Purgatory and many other things, if you be demanded, you may say, if you err, the Spiritually hath so led you, and they have taught you in delusion as you do. For they preached you all such things out of God's Word, and alleged a thousand Texts, by reason of which Texts you believed as they taught you, but now you find them lies, and that the Texts mean no such things, and therefore you can believe them no longer; but are as yet were before they taught you, and believe no such thing: howbeit you are ready to believe, if they have any way to prove it: for without proof you cannot believe them when you have found them with so many lies. If you perceive wherein we may help, either in being still or doing somewhat, let us know word, and I will do most utterly. My Lord of London hath a fervent called John Titen, with a red beard, and a black-redhead beard, and was once my Scholar: he was seen in Antwerp; came not among the Englishmen: whether he is gone an Ambassador, I know not.

The mercy God of Jacob be with you, to supplant his enemies, and give you the favour of Joseph, and the wisdom and the spirit of Stephen, be with your heart, and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answer to all things. He is our God, if we deliver him in our selves, and trust in him: and live in the glory, Amen.

William Tindal.

I hope our Redemption is nigh.

This Letter was written Anno. 1533, in the month of January. Which Letter, although it do pretend the name of Jacob, yet understood (good Reader) that it was written in very deed to John Frith, as is above told thee. For the more proof and evidence whereof, read Frith's Book of the Sacrament, and there thou shalt find a certain place of this Epistle repeated word for word, beginning thus, I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's Word against my conscience, &c. Which Epistle John Frith himself himself that he received from Tindal, as in his testimony above appeareth.

Brother Jacob, beloved in my heart, there liveth not in whom I have so good hope and trust, and in whom my heart rejoiceth, and my soul comforteth her self, as in you: not the

### The death of Lady Katharine, and of Queen Anne.

THE same year in which William Tindal was banished, which was the year of our Lord and 1536, in the beginning of the year, first died Lady Katharine Princess Dowager, in the month of January. After whom the same year also in the month of May next following, followed the death also of Queen Anne, who had now been married to the King the space of three years. In certain Records thus we find, that the King being in his Jails at Greenwich, suddenly with a few persons departed to Westminster, and the next day after Queen Anne his wife was laid to the Tower, with the Lord Rochford her Brother and certain others; and the nineteenth day after was Beheaded. The words of this worthy and Christian Lady at her death were these.

Good Christian people, I am come hither to die, for according to the Law, and by the Law I am judged to die, and therefore I will shut nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I am accused and condemned to die, but I pray God save the King, and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler, or a more merciful Prince was there never: and as to me, I was a very good, a gentle, and a Sovereign Lord. And if any person will meddle of my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the world, and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. O Lord have mercy on me. To God I commend my soul. And to the blessed dove, saying, To Christ I commend my soul: Jesus receive my soul. Repenting the grave dives times, till at length the stroke was given, and her head was stricken off.

And this was the end of that godly Lady Queen. Godly I call her, for sundry respects, whatsoever the cause was, or quarrel objected against her. First, her last words spoken at her death declared no less her sincere Faith and trust in Christ, than did her quiet modesty utter forth the goodness of the cause and matter, whatsoever it was. Besides that, to such as wisely can judge upon cases as occur, this also may seem to give a great clearing unto her, that the King the third day after was married in his whites unto another. Certain this was, that for the rare and singular gifts of her mind, so well instructed, and given countenance, with such a fervent desire unto the truth and fighting forth of sincere Religion, joined with like gentleness, modesty, and pity toward all men, there have not many such Queens before her born the Crown of England. Principally this one commendation the life behind her, that during her life, the Religion of Christ most happily flourished, and had a right prosperous course.

Many things might be written more of the manifold virtues, and the quiet moderation of her mild nature, how lowly the would have been, not only to be admired, but also of her own accord would require her Chaplains plainly and freely to tell whatsoever they saw in her amity. Also how bountiful the was to the poor, pulling not only the common example of other Queens, but also the revenues almost of her estate: in which she the Aims which she gave in three quarters of a year, in distribution, is found to the number of fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds. Besides the great piece of money which her Grace intended to impart unto four hundred quarters of the Realm, as for a flock there to be employed to the behoof of poor artificers and occupiers. Again, what a zealous defender the was of Christ's Gospel, all the world doth know, and her acts do and will declare to the worlds end. Amongst which other her acts this one, that the placed Master Hugh Latimer in the Bishoprick of Worcester, and also preferred Doctor Shaxton to his Bishoprick, being then accused by the Germans. Furthermore, what a true friend a good Lord, this one example may stand for many: for that when King Henry was with her at Woodstock, and there being kind of an old blind Prophetie, for the which she

ther he nor other Kings before him durst bring in the said Park of Woodstock, nor enter into the Town of Oxford, at last through the Christian and faithful counsel of that Queen, he was forced against all indebitly, that both he hunted in the forest Park, and also entered into the Town of Oxford, and had no harm. But because touching the memorable virtues of this worthy Queen, partly we have said something before, partly because more also is promised to be declared of her virtuous life (the Lord God permitting) by other who then were about her: I will cease in this matter further to proceed.

This I cannot but marvel at, why the Parliament holden this year, that is, the twenty eighth year of the King (which Parliament three years before had established and confirmed this Marriage as most lawful) should now so suddenly and suddenly the said Marriage again as unlawful, being so lawfully before contracted. But more I marvel, why the said Parliament, after the illegitimation of the Marriage enacted, not contented with that, should further proceed, and charge her with such carnal detest of her body, as to mislead her self with her own natural Brother, the Lord Rochford, and others, being so contrary to all nature, that no natural man will believe it.

But in this Act of Parliament (no doubt) some great mystery, which here I will not stand to discuss, but only that it may be suspected some secret practise of the Papists here not to be lacking, considering what a mighty flop was to their purposes and proceedings, and on the contrary side, what a strong Bulwark the Religion for the maintenance of Christ's Gospel. By reason whereof they then in no case could abide. By reason whereof it may be easily conceived, that this Christian and devout Deborah, could lack no enemies amongst faithful, number of Palatins, both within the Realm, and without.

Again, neither is it unlikely, but that Stephen Winchester, being then abroad in Embassage, was not altogether absent. The supposition whereof may be the more conjectural, for that Edmund Bonner Archdeacon of Leicester, and then Bishop of Exeter, (succeeding after Stephen Winchester, did manifestly detect him of plain Papistry, and the sequel of their Stories, when we come to the time, more amply (the Lord granting) shall be expressed.

And as touching the Kings mind and affect, although at that time, through crafty flatters on, he seemed to be well content, yet he burnt both against the Queen, and to the differing of his own Daughter: yet unto that former Will of the King, which he therein expressly and by name he did accept, and by plain ratification did allow the succession of his Marriage to stand good and lawful.

Furthermore, to all other finer judgments and opinions, whatsoever can be conceived of man against that virtuous Queen, I object and oppose again (as instead of answers) the evident demonstration of Gods favour, in maintaining, preserving, and advancing the off-spring of her body, the Lady Elizabeth. For now the Queen, whom the Lord hath so marvelously preserved from manifold dangers, so Royally hath exalted, so happily hath blessed with such virtuous patience, and with such a quiet Reign hitherto, that neither the Reign of her Brother Edward the Sixth, nor of her Sister Mary the Second, can be compared, whether we consider the number of years of their Reigns, or the peaceableness of their fate. To whole Royal and flourishing Regiment we have to behold not so much the natural disposition of her Mothers qualities, as the secret judgment of God in preserving and magnifying the fruit and off-spring of that godly Queen.

And finally, as for the blasphemous mouth both of Cardinal Paul, and of Paulus Jovius, that Popish Cardinals, who measuring better other women by his Curiares of Rome, so impudently abused his pen in lying and railing both against this noble Queen. To answer again in defence of her cause to that Italian, I object and oppose the confidence and judgment of so many noble Protestants and Princes of Germany, who being in League before with King Henry, and being no less bound to have made him the Head of their Confederation, afterward hearing of the death of this noble Queen, utterly brake from him, and testified him only for the latter cause.

But







enjoy such possessions, profits, and emoluments, as grow of the said houses, to the maintenance of their untimely life, than you your natural Prince, Sovereign Lord and King, which doth and hath spent more of our own in your defences, than fit times they be worth?

As touching the Act of Utes, we marvel what madnes is in your Brain, or upon what ground ye would take authority upon you to cause us to break those Laws and Statutes which by the noble Kings and Gentlemen of this Realm (whom the same chiefly touched) have been granted and assented to, seeing in no manner of things it toucheth you the said Commons of our Realm.

Also, the grounds of all those Utes were false, and never admitted by Law, but imposed upon the Prince, contrary to all Equity and Justice, as it hath been openly both disputed and declared by all the well learned men in the Realm of England, in Westminster-Hall: Whereby ye may well perceive how mad and unreasonable your demands be, both in that and the rest, and how unmeet it is for us, and dishonourable, to grant or assent unto, and let me meet and decent for you in such a rebellious sort to demand the same of your Prince.

As touching the Fifteen which you demand of us to be released, which we be so faint hearted, that perforce of one Shire (we have a great many more) and compels us with your unfavourable and false promises to remitt the same? Or think you that any man will or may take to be true Subjects, that first make and shew a loving King, and then perforce would compel your Sovereign Lord and King to release the same? The time of payment thereof is yet come, yes, and seeing the same will not countervail the tenth penny of the charges which we have and daily do sustain for your tuition and safeguard, make you sure by your occasions of these ingratitude, unthankfulness, and unkindness to us now administered, ye give us cause (which have always been so much dedicate to your wealth, as ever you shall) not to forego to let our study for the setting forward of the same, seeing how unkindly and untruly ye deal now with us, without any cause or occasion: And doubt ye not, though ye have no grace nor naturalness in you to consider your duty of Allegiance to your King and Sovereign Lord, the rest of our Realm (we doubt not) hath such eyes, that shall look on this cause, that we will it that to your confusion, if according to your former Letters you submit not your selves.

As touching the First Fruits, we let you to wit, it is a thing granted us by Act of Parliament also, for the supportation of part of the great and excessive charges, which we support and bear for the maintenance of your wealths and other our Subjects: And we have known also that ye our Commons have much complained also in times past, that the most part of our Goods, Lands, and possessions of this our Realm, were in the spiritual mens hands, and yet bearing us in hand that ye be loving Subjects to us as may be, ye cannot find in your hearts that your Prince and Sovereign Lord should have any part thereof (yet it is nothing prejudicial unto you our Commons) but do Relieve and unlawfully Receive against your Prince, contrary to the duty of Allegiance and Gods Commandment. Sirs, remember your follies and Traitorous demeanours, and shame not your native Country of England, nor offend no more so grievously your doubled King and natural Prince, which always hath shewed himself most loving unto you, and remember your duty of Allegiance, and that ye are bound to obey us your King, both by Gods Commandment and Law of Nature.

Wherefore we charge you estoons, upon the foreaid Bonds and Pains, that you withdraw your selves to your own houses every man, and no more to assent contrary to our Laws and your Allegiances, and to cause the provokers of you to this mischief, to be delivered to our Lieutenants take or cause, and you your selves to submit you to such condign punishment, as we and our Nobles shall think you worthy: For doubt you not else, that we and our Nobles will not be so well satisfied, if you by your hands unreverged, if ye give not to us place of our Sovereignty, and new your selves as bounden and obedient Subjects, and no more intermeddle your selves from henceforth with the weighty affairs of the Realm, the direction whereof only appertaineth to Us your King, and such No-

ble Men and Counsellors as we will to Elect and Choose to the ordering of the same.

And thus we pray unto Almighty God, to give you grace to do your duties, to use your selves towards Us like true and faithful Subjects, so as we have cause to order you thereafter: and rather obediently to consent amongst you to deliver into the hands of our Lieutenant, a hundred persons to be ordered according to their demerits, at Our Will and Pleasure, than by your obstinacy and unwillingness to put your selves, your Wives, Children, Lands, Goods and Chattels, beside the indignation of God, in the utter adventure of total destruction, and utter ruine, by force and Violence of the Sword.

After the *Lincolnshire* men had received this the Kings answer aforesaid, made to their Petitions, each submitting other who should be noted to be the greatest meddler, even very suddenly they began to shrink, and out of hand they were all divided, and every man at home in his own house in Peace: But the Captains of their Rebels except not all clear, but were after apprehended, and had as they deserved. *Ex Ed. Hist.*

After this, immediately within fix days upon the same, followed a new Insurrection in *Torkshire* for the same causes, through the Insatiation and lying tails of feditious persons, especially Mous and Prebys, making them believe, that their Silver Chaises, Croffes, Jewels, and ornaments, should be taken out of their Churches, and that no man should be married, or eat any good meat in his house, but should give tribute therefore to the K. But there especial malice was against *Cromwel* and certain other Councilors. The number of these Rebels were near 40000 having for their Badges the five wounds, with the sign of the Sacrament, and Jesus written in the middle.

This their devilish Rebellion they termed by the name of a *Holy Pilgrimage*, and they served a wrong and a naughty thing. They had also in the field their Streamers and banners, whereupon was painted *Christ* hanging upon the Croos on the one side, and a Chalice with a painted Cake in it on the other side, with other chaste Emblems of like hypocrite and fained faith, pretending thereby to fight for the Faith, and right of holy Church.

As soon as the King was certified of this new sedition, Insurrection, he sent with all haste the Duke of *Bedford*, Duke of *Stafford*, Marquess of *Exeter*, Earl of *Surrey*, *Buckingham*, and other with a great Army, forthwith to encounter with the Rebels.

The Noble Captains and Councilors thus well furnished with habilliments of War, approaching toward the Rebels, and understanding both their number, and how they were full bent to Battle, first with policy went about to assay and practise how to appeale all without bloodshedding: but the Northern men, stoutly and stoutly standing to their wicked cause and wretched enterprise, would in no case relent from their attempts. Which when the Nobles perceived, and saw no other way to pacifie their furious minds utterly for mischief, determined upon a Battle. The place was appointed, the day assigned, and the hour set, for the wonderful work of Gods gracious providence.

The night before the day of Battle came (as is testified *Edward Hall*) fell a small Rain, nothing to speak of, as yet, as it were by a great miracle of Gods, the weather was but a very small Gale, and that men, in manner the day before, might have gone dry-dryed, suddenly fell of such a height, deepness, and breadth, that the like no where there did inhabit could tell they never saw before, so that day, even when the hour of Battle should come, it was impossible for the one Army to come at the other.

After this, that the appointment made between both of the Armies being thus disappointed (as it is to be thought only) by Gods, who extended his great mercy, and had compassion on the great number of our persons that in that deadly slaughter had like to have been murdered) could take no place; then by the great wisdom and policy of the said Captains, a Communication was had, and a Parole of the Kings Majesty obtained for all the Captains, and chief doers of this Insurrection, and they promised that such things as they found themselves agreed with, they should gently be heard, and their reasonable Petitions granted, and that their Articles should be presented to the King, that by his Highness authority, and wisdom of his Council, all things should be brought to good

good order and conclusion: and with this order every man quietly departed, and those which before were bent as hot as fire to fight, being letted thereof by Gods, went now peaceably to their houses, and were as cold as water.

*A second Insurrection of the*

In the time of this ruffle in *Torkshire*, and the King lying in the same time at *Windsor*, there was a Butcher dwelling within five miles of the said Town of *Windsor*, which called a Priest to preach that all that took part with the *Torkshires*, whom he called Gods people, did fight in Gods quarrel; for the which both he and the Priest were apprehended and executed.

Others other Priests also, with other about the same time committing in like sort Treason against the Kings, suffered the like execution. Such a befuddled had the King then to rid the Realm from the servitude of the Romish yokes.

*Tanti molis erat Romanam eversionem sedem.*

But Gods hand did fill work evther, in upholding his Gospel and trodden Truth, against all seditions, Complots, Rebelions, and whatsoever was to the contrary, as both by the Stories afore said, and by fact also as hereafter follow, may notoriously appear.

The next year after this, which was of the Lord 1537, after the great execution had been done upon certain rebellious Priests, and a few other Lay men, with certain Noble persons also and Gentlemen, amongst whom was the Lord *Derby*, the Lord *Huffy*, Sir *Robert Comfable*, Sir *Thomas Percy*, Sir *Francis Bygon*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, Sir *John Bulmer*, and his Wife, *William Lowley*, *Nicholas Temples*, *Gerney*, and of *Rivers*, &c. In the month of October, the same year following, was born Prince *Edward*, the second of the name, after which his mother, the short day after, died in Childbed, and left the King again a Widower, which he continued the space of two years together. Upon the death of which Queen, *Jane* was crowned Queen of Prince *Edward* her Son, these two Verses were made which follow.

*Phœnix Janc facit nata Phœnicem, dolendum Scœla Phœnicis nulla tulisse diem.*

Here by the way it to be understood, that during all this faction, first time that the King of England had rejected the Popes out of the Realm, both the Emperors, the French King, and the King of *Scots*, with other foreign Potentates (which were yet in subjection unto the Pope) bare him no great good favour inwardly, whatsoever outwardly they pretended. Neither was here lacking privy letters on, nor secret working among themselves how to compass ungracious mischiefs, if God by contrary occasions had not stopped their intended devices. For first the Pope had sent Cardinal *Pool* to the French King, to stir him in War against the Realm of England.

Secondly, whereas the French King, by Treaty of perpetual Peace, was bound yearly to pay to the King of England at the first days of May, and November, about 50000 Crowns of the Sun, and odd money, and over that ten thousand Crowns at the said two terms, for recompence of that, as the Treaties thereto did require, that pension remained now unpaid four years and more.

Furthermore, the Emperor, and the French King both, retained *Granvelle* a Traitorous Rebel against the King, and condemned by Act of Parliament, with certain other Traitors more, and yet would not deliver him unto the King at his commandment, nor require him to the Treaty, made Alliance with the Bishop of *Rome*, *Clement*, in marrying the Dauphine to his Niece, called *Katherine de Medices*.

The said French King moreover, contrary to his contract made, married his Daughters to the King of *Scots*. All which were prejudicial (and put the King no doubt in some fear and perplexity (though otherwise a stout and valiant Prince) to the Pope, the Emperor, the French King, and the King of *Scots* to be against him.

And yet all this notwithstanding, the Lord still defended the justness of his cause against them all. For although the French King was so set on by the Pope, and so inclined in marriage with the *Scots*, and lacked nothing now but only occasion to invade the Realm of England, yet notwithstanding he hearing now of the birth of Prince *Ed-*

ward the Kings Son by Queen *Jane*, and understanding also by the death of the said Queen *Jane* that the King was a Widower, and perceiving how easy it was to be that the King would join in marriage with the *Germanes*, began to wax more calm and cold, and to give much more courteous, labouring to marry the Queen of *Navarre* his Sister to the King.

The Embassadors resident then in France for the Kings, were *Stephen Gardiner*, with *Doctor Thirley*, &c. Which *Stephen Gardiner* who he wrought fiercely for the Popes devotion, I have not expelly to charge him. Whether he did, or what he did, the Lord knoweth all. But this is certain, that when Doctor *Bonner*, Archbishop then of *London*, was sent into France by the King (through the means of the Lord *Cromwel*) to succeed *Stephen Gardiner* in Embassy, which was about the year of our Lord 1538, he found fact dealing in the said Bishop of *Worcester*, as was said to be trusted, beside the unkind parts of the said Bishop against the fore-aid *Bonner*, coming then from the King and Lord *Cromwel*, as both by the Stories afore said, and by fact also as hereafter follow, may notoriously appear.

Long it is to recite from the beginning, and few men perpendure would believe the brawling matters, the privy complaints, the contentious quarrels and bitter diffusions between these two, and especially what despitful countenances Doctor *Bonner* received at the hands of *Worcester*. For understand good Reader, that this Doctor *Bonner* all this while remained yet, as he termed, a good man, and was a great furtherer of the Kings proceedings, and a favourer of *Luthers* Doctrine, and was advanced only by the Lord *Cromwel*. Whole promotions here to rehearse: first he was Archdeacon of *Leicester*, Parson of *Bledon*, of *Derham*, *Chesham*, and *Cheriton*. Then he was made Bishop of *Hereford*, and at last preferred to be Bishop of *London*. The chief of which promotions and dignities were conferred upon him only by the means and favour of the Lord *Cromwel*, who was then his chief and only Patron. And letter up, as the said *Bonner* himself in all his Letters doth manifestly protest and declare. The Copies of which Letters I could here reproduce and exhibit, but for prolonging my Story with superfluous matter. Yet that the world and all posterity may see, how the coming up of Doctor *Bonner* was only by the Gospel (howsoever he was after unkind unto the Gospel) this one Letter of his, which I will here infer, written to the Lord *Cromwel* out of France, may stand for a perpetual testimony, the tenour whereof here eneth.

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Here by the way it to be understood, that during all this faction, first time that the King of England had rejected the Popes out of the Realm, both the Emperors, the French King, and the King of *Scots*, with other foreign Potentates (which were yet in subjection unto the Pope) bare him no great good favour inwardly, whatsoever outwardly they pretended. Neither was here lacking privy letters on, nor secret working among themselves how to compass ungracious mischiefs, if God by contrary occasions had not stopped their intended devices. For first the Pope had sent Cardinal *Pool* to the French King, to stir him in War against the Realm of England.

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W. Healer  
one month  
so kindle.

Tell me one thing, quoth he; that you want. One thing, quoth I? Marry amongst many things that I want, I want *Napery*. That shall ye not need, quoth he, here in this Country: And here he began to tell a long tale.

I shall tell you, quoth he, for the Kings sake ye may  
look to have; but for your own sake ye get nothing.  
Well, quoth I, then having nothing, I will give no thanks  
at all, and having any thing, I shall give thanks to the  
King.

The stomach  
of Sirp.  
Gardner  
against Bes-  
ner.

*Doctor Bonner's Declaration against Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester* 21

Why then, quoth he, being you have here divers things of *M. Thirlichis*, and all other things *ae paradisi* perfection, which you have, you may make thereby good provision for your self. That is truth, quoth I, and that can I and I hope shall do for you. For I have now almost all things of you, and afore this had provided at a little things necessary, if ye without needily had not made that great haste to depart thence, enforcing me thereby to follow you. And yes, quoth I, one thing may I tell you yet, and as delicious as any thing that I have seen, as I perceive in that you have taken away at *Lyon*, where that *Francis* had provided for me, and also your fervant *Adam* having an horse to sell, and knowing my need, by the way he hath sold his horse to my stranger, rather than he would sell him to any other man, and I have come to have of you, and taking away that provision which I make, and go about to make: you well desires how

I cannot tell, quoth he, but this was openly revealed by *Matteo Briani* servants at my Table. Ye see, was? quoth I. Ye marry was it, quoth he. Now, by my Troth, quoth I, then was the fare that was bestowed upon them very well callt away, for of my Fidelity, that *Week* that that *Matteo* was at my Table, *Matteo* was with us at *France*, it cost my companion *Matteo* twenty five Pounds in the Charges of the House. This thert fore he sayd. Ye a, quoth I, and therein they lyte. And here I shewed him, that being well settled at *Nice*, and having made there good and honest provision, to our no little contentment, *My* wife would not tell till he had gotten us to *Villa Franca*, where we were, that he had gotten us to *Haimi*, he was right well content to take of us twenty Shillings by the day. Which was not during ten days' where at his coming to us to *Nice*, himself and all his servants, and then tarrying with us two days, we took not one penny of him. And moreover, at the departing of *Matteo* to *Villa Franca*, he took of us twenty Pounds, he returned our felves, our Servants, all *Matteo* and his servants, to the number of sixteen, all at *Matteo*'s acquaintance, which Dinner and Supper continually came to some, sometimes twelve, sometimes ten, and when they were left, six or eight, and for this had not one penny of *Matteo* *Wyrt*, and for this coming from *Barcelone*, where we tarried about eight days, we took of us twenty Pounds, twenty eight Pounds, and to his Servants five Pounds, by the way. Shillings that privately I gave to some being of gentle condition, out of mine own Purse: so that I told him, was neither *Matteo Wyrt*, nor *Matteo*, that found us out, and our names, but he was a spy, that found us out, when he thert came to us, to have all the charge, and other men to have all the thanks,

The Bishop when he heard this was amazed, and stood still, finally saying, By my Troth, quoth he, I tell you as was told me, and Master Doctor here can tell whether it was so or no. Yea, and I will tell you more, quoth he; they said that Master *Hayns*, would have been more liberal a great deal, if you had not been. Now by my Troth, quoth I, I shall therein make Master *Hayns*, himself judge thereof, who can best tell what communication hath been between him and me therein.

## Thinking







### The Oath of Doctor Edmund Bonner, when he was made Bishop of London, against the Pope of Rome.

**Y**E shall never consent nor agree that the Bishop of Rome shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of Authority, Jurisdiction, or Power within this Realm, or any other the Kings Dominion, but that you shall resist the same at all times, to the uttermost of your power; and take the oath from henceforth ye shall accept, receive, and take the Kings Majesty to be the only Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England, and to your ownings, wits, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue mean, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the whole effects and contents of all and singular Acts and Statutes made and to be made within this Realm, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the Bishop of Rome, and his Authority, and other Acts and Statutes made and to be made in Reformation, Head in Corroboration of the Kings Power of Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England; and this ye shall do against all manner of Treasons, of what Estate, Dignity, Degree, or Condition they be, and in no wise do nor attempt, nor to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly: any thing or thing, privately or openly, to the hindrance, damage, or derogation thereby, to or of any part thereof, by any manner of Means, or for any manner of pretence; and in case any Oath be made, or hath been made by you or any person or persons in maintenance or favour of the Bishop of Rome, or his Authority, Jurisdiction, or Power, ye repeat the same again and administer: So help you God, &c.

In fidem premissorum ego Edmundus Bonner, decessus & confirmatus Londoniensis Episcopus, huc presentem Chartæ subscripsi.

### Ecclesiastical matters, Anno 1538.

**Y**E shall never consent nor agree that the Bishop of Rome shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of Authority, Jurisdiction, or Power within this Realm, or any other the Kings Dominion, but that you shall resist the same at all times, to the uttermost of your power; and take the oath from henceforth ye shall accept, receive, and take the Kings Majesty to be the only Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England, and to your ownings, wits, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue mean, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the whole effects and contents of all and singular Acts and Statutes made and to be made within this Realm, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the Bishop of Rome, and his Authority, and other Acts and Statutes made and to be made in Reformation, Head in Corroboration of the Kings Power of Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England; and this ye shall do against all manner of Treasons, of what Estate, Dignity, Degree, or Condition they be, and in no wise do nor attempt, nor to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly: any thing or thing, privately or openly, to the hindrance, damage, or derogation thereby, to or of any part thereof, by any manner of Means, or for any manner of pretence; and in case any Oath be made, or hath been made by you or any person or persons in maintenance or favour of the Bishop of Rome, or his Authority, Jurisdiction, or Power, ye repeat the same again and administer: So help you God, &c.

### Articles devised by the King.

**I**N the Contents of which Book, first he set forth the Articles of our Christian-Creed, which are necessarily and expressly to be believed of all Men. Then with the Kings Preface going before, followeth the Declaration of three Sacraments, to wit, of Baptism, of Penance, and of the Sacrament of the Altar. In the tractation whereof

altereth nothing from the old trade received heretofore from the Church of Rome.

Further then, proceeding to the order and cause of our Justification, he declareth, That the only Mercy and Grace of the Father promised freely unto us for his Sons sake Jesus Christ, and the Merits of his Passion and Blood, be the only sufficient and worthy causes of our Justification: yet good Works with inward Conversion - Hope, and Charity, and all other Spiritual Graces and Motions, be necessarily required, and must needs concur also in Remission of our Sins: that is, our Justification: and afterward we being Justified, must also have good Works of Charity, and Obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling curwardly of his Laws and Commandments, &c.

As touching Images, he willeth all Bishops and Preachers of Masses to teach the People in such sort as they may know how they may use them faithfully in Churches, and not abuse them to Idolatry, as thus: That they be representations of Vertue and good Example, and also by occasion may be flures of Mens minds and make them to remember themselves, and to lament their sins, and so far be permitted them to stand in Churches. But otherwise, for avoiding of Idolatry, he chargeth all Bishops and Preachers diligently to instruct the People, that they commit no Idolatry unto them, in setting of them, in kneeling and offering to them, with other like worshippings, which ought not to be done, but only to God.

And likewise for honouring of Saints, the Bishops and Preachers be commanded to inform the People how Saints here departed ought to be revered and honoured, and how not. That is, that they are to be praised and honoured as the Elect Servants of Christ, or rather Christ to be praised in their for their excellent Vertues planted in them, and for their good Example left us, teaching us to live in Vertue and in Goodness, and not to fear to die for Christ, as they did. And also as advances of our Prayers in that they may, but yet no confidence, nor any such honour to be given unto them, which is only due to God: And so forth charging the said Spiritual Persons to teach their flock that all Grace and Remission of Sins and Salvation, can no otherwise be obtained but of God only, by the Mediation of our Saviour Christ, who is only a merciful Mediator for our sins; that all Grace and Remission of sin, must proceed only by the Mediation of Christ and no other.

From that he cometh forth to speak of Rites and Ceremonies in Christs Church, as in having Vestments used in Gods Service, sprinkling of Holy Water, giving of Holy Bread, bearing of Candles on Candlemas-day, taking of Ashes, bearing of Palms, creeping to the Cross, setting up the Sepulchre, hallowing of the Font, with other like Customs, Rites, and Ceremonies: all which old Rites and Customs the foresaid Book doth not by and by repeal, but so far admitteth them for good and laudable, as they put Men in remembrance of Spiritual things: but so, that the People withal must be instructed, how the said Ceremonies contain in them no such power to remit sin, but only that to be referred unto God, by whom only our sins be forgiven us.

And concluding with Purgatory he maketh an end of our Book, thus saying thereof: That because the Book of Machabees alloweth praying for Souls departed, he therefore doth not say that to laudable Custom, so long continued in the Church. But because there is no certain place named, nor kind of pains expressed in Scripture, he therefore thinketh necessary such abuses clearly to be put away, which under the name of Purgatory, by the Bishop of Rome, Pardons, or by Masses said at Santa Casa, or otherwise, in any place, or before any Image, Souls might be delivered out of Purgatory, and from the pains thereof, to be sent straight to Heaven, and such other like abuses, &c.

And these were the Contents of that Book of Articles devised, and passed by the Kings Authority, a little before the time of Lancelotus and Yorkshire. Wherein although there were many and great imperfections and untruths not to be permitted in any true reformed Church: yet notwithstanding, the King and his Council, to bear witness to the weaklings which were newly weaned from their Mothers Milk of Rome, thought it might serve somewhat

### The Kings Injunctions.

**W**hat for the time, in stead of a little beginning ill better come. And for conference, not long after these Articles thus set forward, certain other Injunctions were also given out about the same year 1536, whereby a number of Holy-days were abrogated: and especially such as fell in the Harvest-time: The keeping of which redounded greatly to the hindrance of gathering in their Corn, Hay, Fruit, and other such like necessary commodities. The Copy and Tenor of which Injunctions I have also heretofore annexed, as under followeth:

### The Kings Injunctions.

**O**ur growth as the number of Holy-days is so excessively grown, and yet daily more and more by Mens Devotion, rather Superstition, was like further to increase, that the same was and should be not only prejudicial to the Commonwealth, by reason that it is so laden with so much sloth and idleness, the very nature of Thieves, Vagabonds, and of divers other untruthfulness and inconveniences, as of decay of good Mynties and Arts, profitable and necessary for the Commonwealth, and loss of Mans God, many times being clean destroyed through the Superstitious observance of the said Holy-days, in not taking the opportunity of good and serene weather offered upon the same time in Harvest, but also penitential to the Souls of many Men, which (being induced by the licentious variation and liberty of those Holy-days) do upon the same commonly use and practise more excess, riot, and therefore ought to give place to the necessity and behoof of the time, whereofever that shall occur, much rather than any other Holy-day Injunction by Man: It is therefore by the Kings Highness Authority, as Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England, with the common assent and consent of the Prelates and Clergy of this Realm, in Convocation lawfully Assembled and Congregated amongst other things, Decreed, Ordained, and Established, That the Feast of the Dedication of Churches fall in all places throughout this Realm, be Celebrated and kept on the first Sunday of the Month of October for ever, and upon none other day.

Item, That the Feast of the Patron of every Church within this Realm, called commonly the Church-Holy-day, shall not from henceforth be kept and observed as a Holy-day, as heretofore have been used; but that it shall be Lawful to all and singular Persons resident or dwelling within this Realm, to go to their works, occupation or mystery, and the same truly to exercise and occupy upon the said feast, as upon any other work-day, except the said Feast of Church-Holy-day be such as must be else universally observed and kept as a Holy-day by this Ordinance following.

Also that all those Feasts or Holy-days which shall happen to fall or occur either in the Harvest-time, which is to be accounted from the first day of July, unto the twenty ninth day of September, or else in the Term-time of Westminster, shall not be kept or observed from henceforth as Holy-days, but that it may be lawful for every Man to go to his work or occupation upon the same, as upon any other work-day, except always the Feasts of the Apostles, or of the blessed Virgin, and of St. George, and also such Feasts as wherein the Kings Highness Judges at Westminster do not use to lit in Judgment. All which shall be kept Holy and Solemnly, as every Man as in time past have been accustomed. Provided always, that it may be Lawful unto all Priests and Clerics, as well Secular as Regular, in the foresaid Holy-days now abrogated to sing or say their accustomed Service for those Holy-days, in their Churches: so as they do not the same Solemnly, nor do sing to the same, after the manner used in high Holy-days, he do command or indict the same to be kept or observed as Holy-days.

Finally, That the Feasts of the Nativity of our Lord, of Easter-day, of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and of St. Michael the Archangel, shall be from henceforth counted, accepted, and taken for the four general Outing-days.

And for further Declaration of the Premises, be it known that Easter beginneth always the nineteenth day after Easter, reckoning Easter-day for one, and endeth the Monday next following the Ascension-day.

Trinity Term beginneth always the Wednesday next after the Ascension of Trinity Sunday, and endeth the eleventh or twelfth day of July.

Michaelmas Term beginneth the ninth or tenth day of October, and endeth the 28th or 29th day of November.

Hilary Term beginneth the twenty third or twenty fourth day of January, and endeth the twelfth or thirteenth day of February.

In Easter Term, upon the Ascension-day, in Trinity Term, upon the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, in Michaelmas Term, upon Allhallows-day, in Hilary Term, upon Candlemas-day, the Kings Judges at Westminster do not use to lit in Judgment, nor upon any Sunday.

After these Articles and Injunctions thus given out by the King and his Council, then followed moreover a time ferred, other Injunctions more, concerning Images, Relicks, and blind Miracles, and for abrogating of Pilgrimages, devised by Superstition, and maintained for lucres sake, also for the Pater-Noster, Creed, and Gods Commandments, and the Bible to be had in English, with divers other points more, necessary for Religion: The words of which Injunctions here also enlie:

### Other Injunctions given by the Authority of the Kings Highness, to the Clergy of this his Realm.

**I**N the Name of God, Amen. In the year of our Lord God 1536, and of the most Noble Reign of our Sovereign Lord Henry the Eighth, King of England, and of France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of England, and in the Earth Supreme Head of the Church of England, the twenty eighth, &c. Thomas Cromwell, Knight, Lord of the Privy Seal of our said Sovereign Lord the King, and Vicegerent to the same, for and concerning all his Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical within this Realm, to the glory of Almighty God, to the Kings Highness Honour, the publick Weal of this Realm, and increase of Vertue in the same, have appointed and assigned these Injunctions ensuing to be kept and observed of the Dean, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and Stipendiaries, resident or having cure of Souls, or any other Spiritual Administration within this Deanry, under the pains hereafter limited and appointed.

**T**HE first is, That the Dean, Parsons, Vicars, and other having cure of Soul any where within this Deanry, shall faithfully keep and observe, and as far as in them may lie, shall cause to be kept and observed of all them that are under their cure, all the Statutes, Constitutions, other, all the singular Laws and Statutes of this Realm, made for the abolishing and extirpation of the Bishop of Rome pretended and usurped Power and Jurisdiction within this Realm, and for the Establishment and Confirmation of the Kings Authority and Jurisdiction within the same, as of the Supreme Head of the Church of England, and shall to the uttermost of their Wit, Knowledge, and Learning, purely, sincerely and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and openly, by the space of one quarter of a year now next ensuing, on every Sunday, and after the least twice every quarter of a year, in their Sermons and other Collations, that the Bishop of Rome, usurped Power and Jurisdiction, having no establishment nor ground by the Law of God, was for most just causes taken away and abolished, and that therefore they owe unto him no manner of obedience or subjection, and that the Kings power is within his Dominion the Highest Potentate and Power under God, to whom all Men within the same Dominion, by Gods Commandment owe most Loyalty and Obedience afore and above all other Potentates in Earth.

Item, Whereas certain Articles were lately devised and put forth by the Kings Highness Authority, and concluded unto by the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm

**The Kings  
Articles to  
be read to  
the People.**

**Taxes abolished.**

**Pilgermay  
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And to the intent that learned Men may hereafter improve the more, for the executing of the said Premises, every Parson, Vicar, Clerk, or Beneficed Man within the Deanry, having yearly to spend in Benefices or other promotions of the Church, an hundred pounds, shall give competent exhibition to one Scholar, and for as many hundred pounds more as he may dispense, to so many Scholars more than like exhibition in the University of Oxford or Cambridge, or some Grammar-School, which after they have profited in good learning, may be partners of their Patrons Cure and charge, as well in preaching as otherwise.

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crives, to declare the Word of God without any reluctance or contradiction.

**Pilgrimage and Image abolished.**  
Item, If ye have heretofore declared to your Parishioners any thing to the extolling and letting forth of Pilgrimages to feigned Reliques or Images, or any such superstitions, you shall now openly afore the same recant and reprove the same, shewing them, as the truth is, that ye did the same upon no ground of Scripture, but as being led and seduced by a common error and abuse crept into the Church through the suffrance and aviance of such as felt profit by the same.

**The word of God to be preached.**  
Item, If ye do or shall know any within your Parish, or elsewhere, that is a Letter of the Word of God to be read in English, sincerely Preached or of the execution of these Injunctions, or a factor of the Bishop of Rome pretended power, now by the Laws of this Realm fully rejected and extirped: ye shall detest the same to the Kings Highness, or his Honourable Council, or to his Vicegerent as before, or to the Justice of Peace next adjoining.

**Register book for every Parish.**  
Item, That you and every Parson, Vicar, or Curate, within this Diocese, shall for every Church keep one Book of Register, wherein ye shall write the day and year of every Wedding, Christening, and Burying, made within your Parish for your time, and so for every Man succeeding you likewise, and also therein set every person unto, for that shall be so Wedded, Christened or Buried, and for the like keeping of the same Book, the Parish shall be bound to provide their common charges one sure Coffin with two Locks and Keys; whereof the one to remain with you, and the other with the Wardens of every such Parish wherein the said Book shall be layed up; which Book ye shall every Sunday take forth, and in the presence of the said Wardens or one of them, write and record in the same, all the Weddings, Christenings and Burials, made the whole week before: and that done, to lay up the said Book in the said Coffin as afore, and so every time the same shall be opened, the party that shall be in the fault thereof, shall forfeit to the said Church three Shillings four Pence, to be employed on the reparation of the same Church.

Item, That ye shall once every quarter of a year, read these and the other Kings Injunctions given unto you by authority of the Kings Highness, openly and deliberately before all your Parishioners, to the intent that both you may be the better admonished of your duty, and your said Parishioners the more incited to enlive the same for their part.

**Tithes to be paid.**  
Item, Fortified as by a Law established, every Man is bound to pay his Tithes, no Man shall by colour of duty omitted by their Curates, detain their Tithes, and so redouble one wrong with another; and be his own judge, but shall truly pay the same as hath been accustomed to their Parsons and Curates without any reluctance or diminution: and such lack and default as they can justly find in their Parsons and Curates, to call for reformation thereof, at their Ordinaries and other Superiors hands, who upon complaint and due proof thereof, shall reform the same accordingly.

**Weeks day abolished.**  
Item, That no Parson shall from henceforth alter or change the order and manner of any Fastings day that is commanded: nor indicted by the Church, nor of divine Prayer, nor of Service, otherwise than is specified in the said Injunctions, until such time as the same shall be so ordered and transported by the Kings Highness authority: the Evens of such Saints, whose Holy-days be abrogated, only excepted, which shall be declared henceforth to be no fasting days, except all the Commemoration of Thomas Becket sometimes Archbishop of Canterbury, which shall be kept as heretofore, and in lieu thereof, the usual Service used.

**Killing of beasts abolished.**  
Item, That the killing of the Aves after Service and certain other times, which hath been brought in and begun by the pretence of the Bishop of Rome Parson, henceforth be left and omitted, lest the people do hereafter trust to have Pardon for the slaying of their Aves between the said killing, as they have done in times past.

**Suffrage of Saints to be left.**  
Item, Where in times past, Men have used in divers places in their processions, to sing, *Ora pro nobis*, to so many Saluts, that they had no time to sing the good things following: as *Pere nobis Domine*, and *Libera nos*

**Kings.**  
Domine, it must be taught and preached, that better it were to omit *Ora pro nobis*, and to sing the other suffrages being most necessary and effectual. All which singular Injunctions, I minister unto you, and to your Parishioners by the Kings Highness authority to be committed in this part, which I charge and command you by the same authority to observe and keep, upon pain of deprivation, sequestration of your fruits, or such other coercion as to the King or his Vicegerent for the time being shall be seen convenient.

**The King letter de- serving the name of the great pre- sence of the Pope.**  
By these Articles and Injunctions thus coming forth one after another, for the necessary instruction of the people, it may appear, how well the King then deserved the title of his supreme Government; given to him over the whole of his Kingdom of England: by the which then and advancing of this Church and Religion here in England, in these three years, than the Pope, the great Vicar of Christ, with all his Bishops and Prelates had done the space of three hundred years before. Such a vigilant care was then in the King and in his Council, how by all ways and means to redress Religion, to reform Errors, to correct corrupt customs, to help ignorance, and to reduce the misleading of Christs Flock drowned in blind Popery, Superstition, Customs, and Idolatry, to some better form of more perfect reformation. Whereunto he provided not only these Articles, Precepts, and Injunctions above specified, to inform the rude people; but also procured the Bishops to help forward in the same cause of decayed Doctrine, with their diligent preaching and teaching of the people, according as ye heard before, how that in the year 1534 during the whole time of Parliament, there was appointed every Sunday a Bishop to Preach at Pauls Crois, against the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome.

**The King letter de- serving the name of the great pre- sence of the Pope.**  
Amongst which Bishops, John Longland Bishop of Lincoln, the Kings Confessor, and a great reformation of the poor Flock of Christ (as is before sufficiently recited) made a Sermon before the King, upon Good-Friday, this present year 1538 at Greenwich, seriously and effectually preaching on the Kings behalf, against the usurped Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, the Contents of whose Sermon wholly to express were too long, and tedious. So much as may suffice for our purpose. I thought therefore so return to the posterity, beginning at his Theme, which when he took in hand to intreat upon, written in the thirteenth Chapter to the Hebrews, as follows.

#### The Sermon of John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, on Good-Friday, before the King at Greenwich.

**The King letter de- serving the name of the great pre- sence of the Pope.**  
The words of the Apostle are these, *Habemus altare de quo edere non habent pastorem qui tabernaculo deservimus. Quorum enim antiquissimum sacrificium sanguis pro peccato in sancta per pontificem, bonorum corpora cremantur extra castra, Propter quod & Jesu extra portam pulvis est. Exequamur igitur ad eam extra castra imperprimus qui portamus.*

**The King letter de- serving the name of the great pre- sence of the Pope.**  
These are the words of the Apostle: Many things contained in few words, and the English thereof is this. We have an Altar, we have an Altar (saith the Apostle) in an Altar, and a Sacrifice upon this Altar. And they that serve at the Tabernacle may not eat of this Altar, may not eat of this Sacrifice, that is offered upon this Altar. For the Apostle here (Per metonymiam) doth put the Altar for that is Sacrifice upon the Altar. The blood of those Beasts that were slain for the Sacrifice was brought into the holy least high place of the Temple where the Ark was between the high Altar, (as we will say) and the veil by the Bishop, and there offered up for the sin of the people. The bodies of the Beasts that were burned without the Porticoes or Tents for the sin of the Priests, quod, for which, for the fulfilling of which mystery. Also to verifie and fulfil the figure, and that the thing figured might be correspondent to the figure, Jesus suffered without the Gate, no sanctified the people by his blood. Let us go out therefore and suffer with Christ, bearing his opposites and rebukes. Tude be the words of the Apostle now taken.

I will

**KING.**  
I will by the help of our Lord God declare these words in order, even as they do stand. Here is an Altar, here is a Sacrifice, here is a Bishop which did offer this Sacrifice, here is a Tabernacle, a serving of the Bishop for the Blood of the Sacrifice which was offered by the Bishop for the sins of the people, in the most holy place of the Temple, and the bodies of the Beasts (whose blood was offered) were burned without the Tent. And this was done the Tenth day of the seventh Month. Ye hear now the words of the Apostle, wherein appeareth the manifest figure of the passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which we this day do honour.

**1538.**  
In these words the Apostle toucheth the figure of the Law, and bringeth in a spiritual understanding: For it was commanded in the Law, in the Book of Numbers, the Tenth day of the seventh Month, in the Feast that was called the Feast of the propitiation of mercy of remission, or the Feast of Purgation, when the people were purged. At which time they should take a Goat and a Kid, and lay there: whose blood the only Bishop should bring in *sanctum* (sanctum), into the most holy, solemn, and secret place of the Temple, wherein the Bishop never came unless he brought with him Blood to offer in Sacrifice. *Quia omnia fere in sanguine secundum legem mundantur, & sine sanguine offitium non fit remissionis* saith the Apostle. Almost all things after the Law, or in the Law, were cleansed in Blood, and by Blood, and without the effusion of Blood was no remission: and in that place of the Temple called *sanctum* (sanctum), the Bishop prayed and offered for the People. The Flesh and Corps of the Sacrifice was burned without the Tents, without their pavilions. And it was not lawful to any that did serve the Tabernacle to eat of the Flesh of that Sacrifice.

Here is a manifest figure (as I said) of the passion of our Saviour Christ. The Altar that was consecrated and hallowed in this solemnity of the Blood of the eternal Testament, was that holy Crois that Christ suffered on. Which as on this day he did consecrate, hallow, dignify, and dedicate, and did adorn and deck the same with the Members of his most precious Body, more gloriously than if it had been unadorned and adorned with precious stones. For as Gold which is the most precious Metal is made more precious when it is set with precious Stones, and is dignified therefore, whether it be Altar, Image, Crown, Ring or Orich: so was the Altar the holy Crois beautified, dignified, adorned, and made precious with the Members of that most precious Stone Christ, which is as Peter saith, *Lapis vivans, ab hominibus reprobatus, a Deo electus, probatus angularis, & preciosus*. This Christ is (saith the Apostle) the lively stone, which men did reprove, which God did elect for the approved stone, for a Corner stone, for the chief stone in the building of his Church, for the stone that joyeth the Walls of the Church together, for the stone whereupon the Faith of Christ and his Church is builded. A precious stone, a stone of price, a stone of high value, far passing in the estimation of a good Christian Man all other precious stones: the world. This precious stone Christ, with the members of his most precious body, did deck, adorn, and make precious this Altar of the Crois, when his body was by the Jews, with violence, extremely strained upon the same, that all his bones (as testifieth the Prophet) might be numbered. Upon this Altar was the great Sacrifice of the World offered, Christ. He offered up himself to God his Father, for the sin of Man: *Christi semetipsum immolavit Deus, ut sanctificet se faceret iniquitates*, saith the Apostle. He offered himself a pure, clean, immaculate Host to God, to redeem the world, to sanctify sinners, to justify man.

**1538.**  
This Christ the Bishop of good things to come (as the Apostle witnesseth) entered once into the place called *sanctum* (sanctum), not only of the Temple, but in *sanctum* (sanctum), into the holy place of places, into Heaven. He entered with Sacrificed Blood like a Bishop. Not with the Blood of Goats or Calves, not with the Blood of Rams or Bulls, but with his own precious Blood. For if the Blood of Goats and Bulls, and the ashes of the burned Calf purified abroad, were sufficient to the making clean of the Body, how much more then is the Blood of Christ, who by the Holy Ghost did offer up himself to God, a most pure, most clean, and immaculate Sacrifice, able to purge,

cleans, and make fair our Consciences from the works of Death, and to live in the living God.

This is our great Bishop, as the Apostle saith, *Habemus pontificem magnum qui generavit celos Jesum Filium Dei*. We have a great Bishop, which did penetrate the Heavens, whose name is Jesus the Son of God. This is our great Bishop, our high Bishop, our universal Bishop. This is the head Bishop of all Bishops and of all the world, named God (as the Apostle saith) to be our great Bishop, properly called *Summus Pontifex*, the highest Bishop, the Bishop of Bishops. For this is he only that is, *Summus, maximus, & universalis Pontifex*.

The Bishop of Rome therefore ought herein to be the greatest, abashed, amazed, and to abhor his own pride. For in that he so outrageously doth offend God, and blasphemeth him, in that he pretumeth to take this high Name from our Bishop Christ in that he taketh away, as much as he will in him, the glory of Christ, the majesty appertaining unto Christ; in that he taketh upon him his names appropriate only to Christ, *Summus Pontifex, maximus Pontifex, universalis Pontifex*, the highest Bishop, the greatest Bishop, the universal Bishop, the Bishop of all the world. Imuch marvel we have dare he to bold to usurp and take these great names upon him. Greater Blasphemy cannot be, than to take from God that that naturally be length unto him: to take from God his glory and his honour: than to vindicate and take upon him such high names, as becometh no Christian Man to usurp. God said by his Prophet, *Non das gloriam meum alteri*, I will give him the glory away to any, to any creature. He doth reverse the glory, that laud and honour that becometh only unto him, unto himself: no Man may attempt to say, no Man may take himself upon him.

Peter, Peter, thou shalt once Bishop of Rome, and the first Bishop of Rome: Didst thou ever take this Name upon thee, *Summus, Maximus, Universalis* No, no, no. And why? for the Holy Ghost was in thee. Thou wouldst take no more upon thee than God gave thee. Thou wilt not desire the desire of worldly glory. All that thou thoughtest for, was for the glory of God: as all that will read thy Sermons, thy Epistles, and thy Life, shall feel perceive. Look a great number of Bishops that next followed Peter in the same See: what were they? Holy Martyrs, Holy Lives, which never attempted this great fault, his high folly, his unlawful usurpation, his unrighteous preemption, and humble himself to Christ and God his great Bishop. Would God he would reform himself, would God he would keep himself within that compass of his authority, and encrease no more upon other Mens jurisdictiones, but diligently keep and overlook his own Diocese and be content with that: would God he would look upon his predecessor Saint Gregory in his Register, which was a Bishop of Rome, a holy Man. Let him learn there how he did rebuke *Johannes*, that time the Bishop of Constantinople, for taking on him so highly, in such names: universal Bishop, highest Bishop, greatest Bishop: and how he moved it to be against the Law of God. He saith there in this that proud Bishop *Johannes*, What hast judgment to Christ the head of the Universal Church, that goest about to have subiect unto thee all the Members of Christ, by taking on thee the name of Universal Bishop? In another place again in the same Book he saith unto him, who art thou that dost presume to usurp a new name unto thee, the name of Universal Bishop, contrary to the Statutes of the Gospel and Decrees?

God forbid that ever this Blasphemy should come in the hearts of Christian people. In the which the honour of Christ himself is taken away, when a Man shall rashly and arrogantly take that name upon him. Let this Bishop of Rome therefore humble himself unto our great Universal Bishop Christ, humble himself under the mighty hand of God, and know what the Apostle doth write of the honour and power which he doth give to our great Bishop. He is (he saith) *Pontifex, iudex, sacerdos, fidelis, potens, magnus, humilis, generans calum, compatiens infirmitatibus nostris, offensus Deus & sacrificia pro peccatis nostris, condensius is qui ignorat & errant: Qui potest saluare facere a morte, effugere peccata & supplicium*. E e 2

mem. He is *sacrosanct*, a holy Bishop, and willeth us to be  
holy in our conversation, applying our selves unto godli-  
ness, to the service of God, to live like Bishops, like  
Priests, pure, clean, chaste, devout, studious, faithfully labour-

2

ing in his Word, praying, doing Sacrifice, and ever to be godly and virtuously occupied.

He is Innocent, an Innocent. He never finned, he never offended in word, thought, nor deed. Innocent, any-thing no creature, proving all fables, merely following adventures, cyphers, rages, rebukes, and reproaches without ground or contradiction. Innocent & simple; a simple fine place. An innocent, without plot or wrinkle, without error or doubleness, without hypocrisy or dissimulation, without flattering or gloating, without flattery or deceit; not serving the Body nor the World, but God. In this we ought also to follow our heavenly Bishop.

Impassible. He was undefiled. He lived clean without spot or blot, without venin or stain. No immundities in him, no uncleanness nor filthiness; but all pure and clean, chaste and immaculate, all bright and shining in grace and godliness. Inasmuch that he was segregated a peccatoribus, clean segregated from all kind of uncleanness, from all manner of sins, and from all finners. Segregate from them, not from their company; for as Matthew writeth, Publicani et peccatores cum eo cenabant and drank with him and his Disciples in the House of Levi. And he also came as a Physician to heal the sinner. And yet he was segregated from them, *Quantum ad participationem cum eis in peccato* as touching their ill livings, not being participant with them in sin, but came only to heal them, and to rid them from fin and fore of the fault. He entered the Heavens, not with the blood of Kid nor Goat, but with his own proper blood. For which, and for holiness and perfectness, *Excellens cunctis sanctis suis*. He is exalted and exalted above all Angels and beatitudes above all the Heavens, sitting on the right hand of the Father. Whom all the heavenly Creatures do worship, honour, and do reverence unto. Where he prayeth for his people, and is Mediator in his manhood to his Father for us.

This our Bishop purgeth our confidence (as writeth the Apostle) he cleaveth the Scales, he maketh us inwardly beauteous and fair. The Bishop of Rome lacketh many of these notable virtues. He hath few or none of these properties, few or none of these qualities. He is as we of these are finners) a finner. To whom this *Magnus*, great, is not convenient, may be in him any man verified. For he cannot forgive him as our Bishop doth, nor justify as he doth, neither enter in *sancta sanctorum*, with his own blood, as he did. How can he then be called a great Bishop, that is, (as we all finners) a finner, a learner of the Laws of God, and daily doth, or may fall and sin? And for that cause the Law commanded that every Bishop and Priest should first offer Holts and Sacrifice for his own sins, and afterward for the sins of the people. How can he therefore be called a great Bishop or Priest?

Our Bishop we speak of is the very great Bishop. No dole, no fraud, no guile was ever found in his mouth. And when the Prince of the World, the Devil, came to him, he could find no point of sin in him. Wherefore Gabriel the Archangel shewing his Nativity unto Mary his Mother said, *Hic nascitur Filius altissimi coelestis*. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of God. And again it is written of him, *Propheta magnus surrexit inter nos*. A great Prophet is risen among us. Sin maketh a Man small and little, little in reputation before God and Man. Virtue maketh Man great and of high reputation. Shew me one place in Scripture where you have read, that a finner was called great; I trow it shall not be found. Will you hear who were called great in Verse? It is written of Isaac, *Quod prefecit, & fuit eius magnus vir*. He proved great in Virtue, and was made great, great in reputation of the world. Moses was called Magnus, Great for his Virtue. Abraham and John Baptist likewise. Now Jesus our Bishop, is called Magnus Episcopus, magnus Sacerdos. And after him never Bishop called magnus in all Scripture, neither in the reputation of Man, unless it be in comparison one of another (and so Saints and holy lives are called great in respect of finners, or other mean lives) But where Christ our Bishop cometh, there he, not in comparison of others, but simpliciter, by his own magnitude and greatness, and of himself ever was and is great, of whom it is written, *A summo celo egressus ejus &*

*accursus ejus usque ad summum ejus*. And as the Apostle KING I think also proveth in many places by exprets word. But now there is no Bishop or Priest in this world that may worthily of himself be called great, nor ought to take this name Magnus upon him.

This is therefore of whom it is written, *Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus suis*. The great Bishop above all Levites. And as he is called, and in very deed is, *Pater peccatorum, Pontifex pontificum, Propetia prophetarum, Sanctus sanctorum, Dominus dominorum*. *Reus verum*; *in & Magnus magnorum ejus*. And as he is called the Headman of Headmen, the Bishop of Bishops, the Prophet of Prophets, the Holy of Holies, the Lord of Lords, the King of Kings; even to be called, and verily is *Episcopus magnus*. Therefore the Prophet did add; *Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus suis*. The great Bishop or Priest. Great of himself, great in virtue and power: great of himself, and great in comparison above all other. And therefore the Apostle said, *Habemus Pontificem magnum, qui peccatores calos, Jesum Christum Dei*. We have a great Bishop which did penetrate the Heavens, Jesus the Son of God.

Here may ye now see, how the Bishop of Rome doth wrongfully incoach upon our great Bishop, Jesus Christ, to take from him not only this name Magnus and is not with that name yet contented, but addeth more, *viz. Maximus, Summus, Sanctissimus, Universalis, Unicus*, and the such other. The Greatest, the Highest, the Mightiest, the Blessed and Universal, in the superlative Degree, and yet there is no great Bishop but Christ only, no supreme Bishop but he only, none Holy, none Blessed, none Universal Bishop but only he. The Bishop of Rome and all other Bishops are but Underlings and unworthy Suffragans unto this Bishop Christ.

This our Christ (as witnesseth the Apostle) is *Pontifex* *maximus confessorum*, The Bishop whom we do confess to be our Great Bishop, our High Bishop, our Supreme Bishop, our Holy Bishop, Blessed and Universal Bishop. Which names are reserved only unto Christ, and to no Earthly Bishop. Not to the Bishop of Rome, not to the Bishop of Jerusalem, not to the Bishop of Antioch, nor of Constantinople, nor to any other Bishop. No Earthly Bishop may presume to take upon him these high and holy Names, only to God appropriate.

God of thy goodness thou mayest, and I trust wilt: once make this Van-glorious Bishop of Rome first to know and acknowledge this Son Christ to be the only Supreme and Universal Bishop of the World. Secondly to know himself, his weakness, his frailty, and his presumption: To know his Office and bounden duty unto thee: To know his own Diocess, and to usurp no further: Thirdly, to have a low, humble, meek heart and stomach, to fear the God, and thy judgments, to knowledg his own faults and usurpations, and to redress the same.

Now to return unto our matter, it followeth in the Letter first taken: *De quo odore non habent perfumam qui Tabernacula deferuntur*, &c. And thus much out of John Longlands Sermon against the Pope.

You heard before by the Kings Injunctions above expressed, and directed out Anno 1538, how such Images and Pictures which were abused with Pilgrimage offerings of any Idolatry were abolished: By virtue of which Injunctions, divers Idols, and Images of the most notorious Stocks of Idolatry, were taken down the same year, 1538. As the Images of Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester, the Lady Images of Wilsdon, Thomas Becket, with many more, having Engines to make their eyes to open and roll about, and other parts of their body to stir, and many other false things, as the blood of Heyle, and fish lake, wherewith the simple People a long time had been deceived. All which were epied out, and destroyed.

Among divers other of their foul Idols, there went also the same reckoning a certain old Idolatrous Image in Wales, named *Darvel Gathern*: which in the Month of May, in the year above mentioned, was brought up to London, and burned in Smithfield. With the which Idol also burnt the same time and hanged for Treason, Friar Forreth, of whom fore mention was partly touched before in the Story of Cardinal Wolsey.

Frier

KING I think

Frier Forreth.

John Forreth was a learned man, and had secretly in Conferences declared to many of the Kings Subjects that the King was not supreme Head; and being there accused and apprehended, he was examined how he could say that the King was not supreme Head of the Church, when he himself had sworn to the contrary? He answered, That he took his Oath with his outward man, but his inward man never confessed thereto. And being further accused of divers damnable Articles, and thereupon convicted, he gladly submitted himself to the gentleness of the Church. Upon this submission, having more liberty than before he had to talk with whom he would, he became as far from his submission as ever he was. And when his Abjuration was sent him to read, he utterly refused it, and ultimately persevered in his Errors: wherefore he was justly condemned, after hanged, & buried in Chains upon a Gallows quick, by the middle and armholes, and fire was made under him, and so was he consumed and burnt to death.

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The History of the worthy Martyr of God John Lambert, otherwise named Nicolson, with his Troubles, Examinations and Answers, as well before the Archbishop of Canterbury, Warham, and other Bishops: as also before King Henry the Eighth, by whom at length he was condemned to death, and burned in Smithfield, in Anno 1538.

Immediately upon the ruin and destruction of the Monasteries, the same year, and in the month of November, followed the famous trial, and condemnation of John Lambert, the faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, and Martyr of blessed memory. This Lambert being born and brought up in Norfolk, was first converted by the Gospel, and studied in the University of Cambridge. Where after that he had sufficiently profited both in Latin and

Greek, and had translated out of both Tongues sundry things into the English-Tongue, being informed at last by violence of the time, he departed from thence to the parts beyond the Seas, to *Tindall* and *Priss*, and there remained the space of a year and more, being Brethren and Chaplain to the *English-House* at *Antwerp*, till he was dispatched by Sir Thomas More, and by the Accusation of one *Barlow*, was carried from *Antwerp* to *London*: where he was brought to Examination first at *Lambeth*, then at the Bishops House at *Osney*, before *Warham* the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other Admirers, having five and forty Articles minuted against him, whereunto he rendered Answer again by writing. The which Answer forthwith was taken in great learning, and may give some light to the better understanding of the common causes of Religion now in controversy, I thought here to exemplify the same, as they came right happily to our hands. The Copy both of the Articles, and also of his Answers, here in order followeth.

Articles to the number of five and forty laid to Lambert.

1. Whether thou wast suspect or infamous of Heresy? Whether ever thou hadst any of *Latens* books, and namely, since they were condemned, and how long thou keptst them, and whether thou hast spent any study on them?

2. Whether thou wast constituted Priest, and in what Diocess, and of what Bishop, and whether thou wast consecrated, and whether a Priest in open safe be bound by the Law of God to marry a wife?

3. Whether thou believest that whatsoever is done of man maketh it to be good or ill, cometh of necessity?

4. Whether the Sacrament of the Altar be a Sacrament necessary unto Salvation, and whether after the consecration of the Bread and Wine done by the Priest, as by the Minister of God, there is the very Body and Blood of Christ, in likeness of Bread and Wine?

5. What opinion thou holdest touching the Sacrament of Baptism, whether thou dost believe that it is a Sacrament of the Church, and a necessary Sacrament unto Salvation, and that a Priest may Baptize, and that the Order of Baptizing ordained by the Church, is necessary and wholesome?

6. Item, Whether thou believest that Matrimony be a Sacrament of the Church necessary to be observed in the Church, and that the Order appointed by the Church for the same solemnizing thereof, is allowable and to be holden?

7. Item, Whether thou dost believe Orders to be a Sacrament of the Church, and that saying of Mass ordained by the Church is to be observed of Priests; whether it be deadly sin or not, if it be omitted or contemned, and whether the crime of Priesthood were invented by mans policy solemnizing thereof, is allowable and to be holden?

8. Item, Whether Penance be a Sacrament of the Church, and necessary unto Salvation, and whether according to the Sacramental Confession is to be made unto the Priest, or is necessary unto Salvation; and whether thou believest that a Christian is bound, before receiving the Sacrament of the Eucharist, to be confessed unto a Priest, and not unto any Layman, he be never so good and devout; and whether thou believest that a Priest in cases permitted to him may absolve a Sinner (being contrite and confessed) from his sins, and enjoin him whosoever Penance?

9. Item, Whether thou dost believe and hold, that the Sacrament of Confirmation and extreme Unction be Sacraments of the Church, and whether that they do profit the Souls of them which receive them; and whether thou believest the foreaid seven Sacraments to give Grace unto them that do truly receive them?

10. Whether all things necessary unto Salvation are put within in holy Scripture, and whether things only there put be sufficient, and whether some things upon necessity of Salvation are to be believed and observed, which are not expressed in Scripture?

13. Whether















that surely intendeth for the love of Christ to help the  
Poor with all that he may. *Voluntas reputatur pro fa-*  
*cto;* The will is accepted for the deed, as is common-  
ly said. And this saying both of *Jame*, and also of

And (to tell the truth) I suppose the Priests should rather have persuaded the people to pure fasting by instant preaching of the Word of God, and faithfully exhortations, than by ordering of food for a multitude of laws and constitutions: for the nature of man is well defined by these sayings, *Natura est carnalis, concupiscentia carnalis*. I therefore will be forth, that what we have always count the thing that be denied us. And in another Proverb, *Tantiis plus aqua tenuis transmittit, The more water is poured, the more it is carried off*. According to this I find a good old Father in *Bartholomew*. I remember that in the first days of his coming into England, when a Legate came into *England* at a time, and he, with certain Bishops, had ordained, that the dedication of all Churches through *England* (as I remember) should be kept holy and solemnized upon one day, and Priests

For that word which came from the breast of Christ himself, and was written of other that wrote and spake by the suggestion of his Spirit, the Holy Ghost, sheweth

Ensamble of this we have in the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, where is shewed, that when *Peter* and *John* had done a miracle upon a man that had been lame from his nativity (whom by the power of *Christ* they healed, and



God, that adjuvants  
Necessity do  
Take upon



variation<sup>2</sup>

vation, and also to the discharge of their duty, and which God most highly of Priests do require (I mean, that they of his Gospel) whereas they themselves should be spiritually nourished, and thereafter should feed Christs flock, the Congregation of his people, according to the saying of our Saviour in *John 1.* (quoth he) *as the door, whoever shall come in by me, shall both come in, and go out, and find good pasture of peace; that is to say, Whofover shall enter to be a Pastor or Minister in Christs Church or Congregation by Christ, shall both come in into contemplation of Gods glory, declared abundantly in Scripture, and after go forth and shew the same abroad to other for their wealth and edifying.*

To this accordeth that is written in *Luke*, whereas our Saviour (speaking to all his Church figured in the person of St. Peter, Peter, quoth he, *I have prayed that thy faith should not fail, and thou being converted, go thou about to confirm thy brethren.* So that he would have Peter established first in faith of his true Doctrine, and then to go forth as he did, to teach other to be grounded in the same likewise. And thus ought all Priests to be called *Presbyters*, which will be Ministers in the Church; for so biddeth St. Peter in his first Epistle, in the last Chapter, saying thus, *I select the Presbyters, quoth he, rise ye up, many you, Lay left being a Priest, and a witness, bearer of Christs afflictions, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed, fee that you with all diligence do feed the flock of Christ, taking care of the same, not as if under threat, but willingly, not desiring filthy lucre, but with a loving mind, neither as men exercising dominion over the children or inheritors of God, but so that you be patterns or exemplars to the flock. See how he requireth of Priests, that they should spend all their diligence to feed Christs flock, and to their good example of living, making no mention of long tithes-paying, which then were not mentioned nor spoken of.*

According to this, it is written in your Decrees after this form; ignorance, faith the Law (mark it well I beseech you all) is the mother of all errors. Which ought to be cherished especially of Priests, that among the people of God have taken upon them the office of preaching, Priests are commanded to read Holy Scriptures, as faith Paul the Apostle to Timothy, *Give heed to reading, exhortation, and teaching, and continue always in the same.* Let Priests therefore know Holy Scripture, and let all their labour be in preaching and teaching, and let them edify all men both in knowledge of Faith, and in Discipline of good words.

There be the words of the Law in the Decrees, *Dif. 38.* Wherefore you fee how the Law lamenteth ignorance in all persons, for it is the original of all errors. God feed us therefore the knowledge of his true Gospel. It biddeth that ignorance should be utterly destroyed, and principally of Priests, and labour and diligence should be bestowed all in reading of Scripture, and preaching the same, bringing in for the same purpose the saying of the Apostle, which wellets in it like manner.

Moreover, it requireth that Priests should give all their study to edify other in faith and virtuous living. Whereof I do gather both by the saying of the Prophet, that willets us to be studious in the Law of God day and night, and by the saying of the Apostle, which would have Timothy to be occupied ever in reading and teaching, and by the report of your own Law, which faith likewise, that a Priest ought to bestow all his labour in reading and preaching; so that a Priest feeth thus truly to study, that he may flabish himself in the faith of Christs Doctrine, intending after to help other with true preaching of the same; good other like deeds of charity, aligned in the Law of God, shall not offend deadly, if for tending his me, oneth to say Matins, which is an Ordinance of men.

Nevertheless, concerning the huge multitude of such as be now made Priests by negligent admission of Bishops and your own precept, that labour to be made Priests before they be any Clerks, and ere they know what is the very office of a Priest, do not fear to take upon them, if they may attain thereto, to be a Curate, they recke not of how many, so they may get a good lump of money, never minding after that the study of Scripture, after they are come to *Dominion* (as you say) for such I do think long Matins to be needful, to refrain them from other enormities that they should cleave into. Of which you may

be weary to see the experience thereof daily saying. Yea, and if such would be content to admit it, I would ever one Matins were as long as ten, except they could bestow their time better.

In the fix and twentieth where you do ask, whether I believe that the Heads or Rulers by necessity of fable are bound to give unto the people Holy Scripture in their Mother-language? I say that I think they are bound to feed that the people may truly know Holy Scripture, and do not know how that may be done if you, as by giving it to them truly translated in the Mother-tongue, that they may have it by them at all times to peruse the time godly, whenever they have leisure thereto, like as they have in France under the French Kings privilege, and also the privilege of the Emperor, and so I know that they have had it these fifty four years in France at the least, and it was translated at the request of a King called, I trow, *Levius*, as appeareth by the privilege put in the beginning of the Book.

In like manner have they it in Flanders, Printed with the privilege of the Emperor. In *Almain* also and *Italy*, and I suppose through all Nations of Christendom. Like-wise hath it been in *England*, as you may find it in the *English* folke called *Polychronicon*. There it is shewed, how when the Saxons did inhabit the Land, the King at that time, which was a *Saxon*, did himself translate the *Alster* into the Language that was then generally used. Yea I have seen a Book at *Conward-Ashby*, which is kept there for a Relique, the Book is called *Sant Gualtherus* *Wider*, and I weene verily it is a Copy of the same that the King did translate, for it is neither *English*, *Latin*, *Greek*, *Hebrew*, nor *Dutch*, but somewhat tending to our *English*, and as I have perceived from the time I was left there, being at *Antwerp*, the *Saxon* Tongue doth sound likewise after, and it is to ours partly agreeable. In the same story of *Polychronicon* is also shewed, how that Saint Bede did translate the Gospel of *John* into *English*, and the Author of the same Book premised that he would translate into *English* all the Bible, yea and psalms; but that I (we not know if it cometh to pass) all such things be kept away. They may not come to light, for there are some walking privily in darkness, that will not have their dogmatism. It is no ye that is spoken in the Gospel of *John*, *Omnis qui male agit, alius lucem*: *All that do*

*naughtily hateth the light, and will not have their dogmatism*. And therefore they keep down the light strongly; for that opened and generally known, all wrongful conveyance should anon be disclosed and removed, yea, and none should feare anon, whereas those that hold against unrighteousness, being therefore sometime horribly informed and fandered, named Heretics and Schismatics, were in deed as they be called or not.

Yea moreover, I did once see a Book of the New Testament, which was not unwritten by my estimation on this hundred years, and in my mind right well translated after the example of that which is read in the Church in *Latin*. But he that shewed it me said, he durst not be known to have it by him, for many had been persecuted aforesaid for keeping of such, and were convicted thereof of Heretic.

Moreover, I was at *Pauls* Cross, when the New Testament long since lay beyond the Sea, to wit, first foretold, and truly my heart lamented greatly, to hear a great man preaching against it, which shewed forth certain things that he noted for hideous errors to be in it, that I, yea, and not I, but likewise did many other think verily to be none. But (alack for pity) malice cannot say well. God help us all, and amend it.

So that to conclude, I think verily it were profitable and expedient, that the Holy Scriptures were delivered, by authority of the Head-rulers, unto the people, truly translated in the vulgar Tongue, in like manner as it is in all other Countries. And whereas you ask, whether they will be bound by necessity of salvation to deliver it to the people, I will not so narrowly touch that point now; but I say that they are bound by right and equity to cause it to be delivered unto the people in the vulgar Tongue, for their edifying and consolation, which the people by Gods grace should gather thereof, that now it is like they want, and are destitute of.

¶ In

(KING) 1. Thus I have said.

In the seven and twentieth, where you do demand, Whether it be lawful for the Rulers for some cause, upon their reasonable advisement, to ordain that the Scripture should not be delivered unto the people in the vulgar language? All men may here see, that whatsoever devised these questions, thought not contrary (whatsoever they will yet say) but that it is good for the people to have the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and that they thought that I would say that could not be well reprov'd, and therefore are layed out all these additions, as it were to snare and trapme in: Whether the heads be bound, and that by necessity of lawfulness, to deliver it to the People; and whether, for opportunity of time, they may ordain to refrain it for some cause, and by some reasonable advisement of them taken.

*Secundum jacobus reus ante oculos peccatorum*; But withouten you can say *I spread the Net before the eyes of the Birds*, or *Fowls*. I trow you plainly, that notwithstanding all these things, in mine opinion it was not well done to inhibit it, and worse, that the Bishops have not firily amended it, if so they could, that the People might have it to use and occupy verily.

And here I will add one reason. The Scripture is the spiritual food and sustenance of mans soul. This is the true meat in many places of Scripture; like as other corporal meat is the food of the body. Then if he be an unkind Father that keepeth bodie meat away the space of a week, or a month from his children; it should seem that our Bishops be no gentle Fathers or Fathers, that keep away the food of mens souls from them, especially when they do offer the same both months, years, and ages. Neither do I see any opportunity of time or reasonable advisements that should cause it to be withdrawn and taken away, but the contrary rather, for it is reasonable, convenient, and needful for men to eat their meat ever in their hearts, right hungry, and blind as they that hunger and thirst after the word of God, which teacheth to know him and to do his pleasure at all times; for that we do crave every day in our *Pater Noster*, saying, *Give us Lord our daily bread*.

In the eight and twentieth, where you do ask, Whether I believe that Consecrations, Hallowings and blessings used in the Church are to be praised? I say that I know not of all, and therefore I will not dispute them, neither can I therefore over much speak of them, allying I know them not; such as are the hallowing of Bells, the hallowing of Pilgrims when they shoold go to *Rome*, the hallowing of Beads, and such like: But those which I am advised of, and do remember, be in mine opinion good; such as is this: When the Priest hath consecrated Holy Bread, he sayeth, *Lord bless this creature of bread, as thou shalt bless the five loaves in desert*, that all persons eating thereof may receive health, &c. Which I would every man might say in English, when he shoold go to meat, I like it so well.

Also this is right good one, that is said over him that shall read the Gospel; the Lord be in your heart, and in your mind and mouth, to pronounce and shew forth his blessed Gospel. Which is also spoken over a Preacher taking Benediction when he shall go into a Pulpit. And such good things I like very well, and think them commendable, willing therefore that all people might know what they mean, that they with joy of heart may pray joyfully, and delight in all good things, which should be, if they were uttered in English, according to the mind of S. Paul, 1 Cor. 14. where he willeth, rather to speak five words in the Church heartily with understanding, wherefore they might have instruction, than ten thousand words in a tongue unknown. Yea, to say truth and truth is it.

And that I shall say a good thing, the further the virtue thereof (freedness, and cooth) in mens hearts and remembrance. God feed therefore the blind to feed, and the ignorant to have knowledge of all good things. Thus I conclude: That consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the Church (so far forth as I remember and know) be commendable. Of other I can give no sentence, willing even as a true man that once I come to pass, that all good things may be said and spoken in our vulgar tongue.

In the nine and twentieth, where you do ask, Whether I believe that the Pope may make Laws and Statutes

to bind all Christian men to obedience, of the same under the pain of deadly sin, so that such Laws and Statutes be not contrary to the Law of God? I say, that if it is true that is written in the Decrees, that is to wit, *Laws* which are never confirmed until they be approved by common laws of men, that shall use them, then cannot the Pope make Laws bind all Christian men, for the Greeks and the *Barbarians* will (as you do know full well) never admit of them, but do refuse them utterly; so that I do not find that his Laws may bind all Christian men.

Finally, I cannot see that he hath authority to make Laws, binding men to the observance of them under pain of deadly sin, more than hath the King or the Pope. And to say forth, I say, (as I have said before) I think verily that the Church was more full of virtue before the Decrees or Decretals were made (which is not verily long ago, but in the time of Constantine, if it be true that is reported in the Decrees, *Dif. 15*, *Cap. Canonis generalium*) than it hath been since; God repair it, and restore it again to the ancient purity and perfection.

In the thirtieth, where you do ask, Whether I believe that the Pope and other Prelats and their deputies in spiritual things, have power to Excommunicate Priests, and Lay people that are incident and faulty from entering into the Church, and to suspend or lict them from participation of the Sacraments of the same? I think that the Pope and other Prelats have power to Excommunicate both Priests and Lay men, such as be rebellious against the Ordinance of God, and disobedient to his Law: For such are furnished from God, above the Prelats do give sentence, by reason of their high and contumacy, according as it is said in *Isaiah* by Almighty God: *Ten times shall I curse him, who maketh himself a brother, yea, and me, and the Prelats by right judgment, should pronounce of sinners as they do find them, so that it is to pronounce such to be Excommunicate of God, and unworthy to Minister any Sacraments, or to be conversant with Christian folk that will not amend.* For this I have said before, *1 Cor. 5.* *any man, if you called a brother, shall be a Whoremonger, a Covetous person, or a worshipping of Images or Idols, or a Rayer, or a Drunkard, or an Extortioner, fee that with such you eat no meat. Such ought to be put out of the Church, and not to be suffered to come within it.*

I am not certain that Prelats have any such power: A doubtful matter. And though they had, I doubt whether charity should permit them to thrust forth and execute it without singular care and discretion. For in Churches ought the word of God to be declared and preached, through the which the word of God should come forth and bearing it, might from benighted men with Compunction and Repentance, and thereupon conversion, come to amendment. This confirmeth well a Law made in the Council of *Carthage*, which is this: A Bishop ought to prohibit no person to come into the Church, and to hear the Word of God, whether he be *Gentile* or *Jew*, or Heretic, until the Mass time of them that are called *Catechumens*. *De Conf. 8. diff. 1.*

Moreover, where you speak of Priests Deputies, I think they be but little becomable to Christs flock. They were neither faithful and right, as the Prelats themselves will have the Revenues, Tithes, and Oblations of their Benefices; they themselves should labour and teach diligently the word of God therefore, and not to theft the labour from one unto another till all be left (pity it is) undone. Such doth St. Jacob call *Falses & Idlers*. *Thieves and Idolaters*, although they make never so goodly a worldly way outward, and bear a stout port.

This I say, that the Pope and other Prelats have power to Excommunicate rebels against Gods Ordinance, and to suspend them from receiving or ministering the Sacrament: But I am not sure that they have power to suspend them from our Churches, especially when Gods word is preached, though the sinners be to fore desperate, that they for them the same. And I would that every Prelate, after receiving his living of Benefices, should himself work in the same, specially in true preaching of Christs Doctrine, without envying his own neck out of the yoke, and charge therein which other called Deputies or Vicars, charged with such like. For God would have every man to get his living





ut of the preacher, as is sup-  
bert, was brought from the Prison with a Guard of Armed Men, even as a Lamb to Fight with many Lyons, and placed right over against where the Kings Royal Seat was,  
ly



so that now they tarried but for the Kings coming to that place.

At the last the King himself did come as Judge of that great controversy, with a great guard, clothed all in White, and covering by that colour and defending severity of all bloody Judgment.

On his right hand sat the Bishops, and behind them the famous Lawyers, clothed all in Purple, according to the manner. On the left hand sat the Peers of the Realm, the Gentlemen of the Kings Privy Chamber. And this was the manner and form of the Judgment, which albeit it was terrible enough of it self to abash any innocent, yet the Kings look, his cruel countenance, and his brows bent unto severity, did not a little augment this terror, plainly declaring a round full of indignation far unworthy such a Prince, especially in such a matter, and against so humble and obedient a subject.

When the King was set in his Throne he bade *Lambert* with a stern countenance, and then turning himself unto his Counsellors, he called forth Doctor *Day*, Bishop of *Chichester*, commanding him to declare unto the People the causes of this present Assembly and Judgment.

The whole effect of his Oration tended in a manner to this purpose. That the King in this Session would have all States, Degrees, Bishops, and all other to be admonished of his will and Pleasure, that no Man should conceive any sinister Opinion of him, that now the Authority and Name of the Bishop of *Rome* being utterly abolished, he would also extinguish all Religion, or give liberty unto Heretics to persecute and trouble the Churches of *England*, without punishment, whereof he is the Head. And moreover, that they should not think that they were assembled at that present, to make any Disputation upon the Heretical Doctrine; but only for this purpose, that by the industry of him and other Bishops, the Heresies of this Man here present (meaning *Lambert*) and the Heresies of all such like should be refuted or openly condemned in the presence of them all.

When he had made an end of this Oration, the King standing upon his Feet, leaning upon a Cushion of White Cloth of *Tissue*, turning himself toward *Lambert* with his Brows bent, as if they were threatening some grievous thing to him, said these words: Ho, good Fellow what is thy name? Then the humble Lamb of Christ humbly kneeling down upon his Knee, said, My name is *John Nicolson*, although of many I be called *Lambert*. What (said the King) have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, although you were my Brother.

*Lambert*. O most noble Prince, your Bishops forced me of necessity to change my name. And after divers Prefaces and much talk had in this manner, the King commanded him to go unto the matter, and to declare his Mind and Opinion, what he thought as touching the Sacrament of the Altar.

Then *Lambert*, beginning to speak for himself, gave God thanks, which had so incensed the heart of the King, that he himself would not disdain to hear and understand the controversies of Religion; for that it happeneth oftentimes, through the cruelty of the Bishops, that many good and innocent Men in many places are privily Murdered and put to Death without the Kings knowledge.

But now forasmuch as the hearts of all Princes, King of Kings, in whose hands are the High and Eternal, hath inspired and stirred up the Kings mind, that he himself will be present to understand the causes of his Subjects, especially when God of his Divine goodness hath so abundantly enriched with so great gifts of judgment and knowledge, he doth not mistrust but that God will bring some great thing to pass through him, to the fetching forth of the Glory of his Name.

Then the King, with an angry voice, interrupting his Oration, I came not hither, said he, to hear mine own praises thus pointed out in my presence, but briefly go to the matter, without any more circumstance. Thus he spake in *Latin*.

But *Lambert* being abashed at the Kings angry words, contrary to all Mens expectation, stayed a while, considering whether he might turn himself in these great straits and extremities.

But the King being hasty, with anger and vehemency said, Why standest thou still? Answer as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, whether dost thou say, That it is the Body of Christ, or wilt deny it? And with that word the King lifted up his Cap.

*Lambert*. I answer with *St. Augustine*, That it is the Body of Christ, after a certain manner.

The King. Answer me neither out of *St. Augustine*, neither by the authority of any other, but tell me plainly, whether thou faith it is the Body of Christ or no? These words the King spake again in *Latin*.

*Lambert*. Then I do deny it to be the Body of Christ. The King. Mark well, for now thou shalt be condemned even by Christs own words, *Hoc est corpus meum*.

Then he commanded *Thomas Cressmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* to refute his assertion; who first making a short Preface unto the Hearers, began his Disputation with *Lambert*, very modestly, saying, Brother *Lambert*, let this matter be handled between us indifferently, that if I am your adversary this your Argument to be false, by the Scriptures, you will willingly refute the same; and if you shall prove it true by the manifest Testimonies of the Scripture, I do promise, I will willingly embrace the same.

The Argument was this, taken out of that place of the *Acts* of the *Apollus*, where at Christ appeared unto *St. Paul* by the way, disputing out of that place, that it is not disagreeable to the Word of God, that the Body of Christ may be in two places at once, which being in Heaven was seen of *St. Paul* the same time upon Earth; and if it may be in two places, why by the like reason may it not be in many places.

In this manner the Archbishop began to refute the second Argument of *Lambert*, which, as we have before said, was written and delivered by the said *Lambert* unto the Preacher: for the King had first Disputed against his first Reason.

*Lambert* answered unto this Argument, saying, That the *Minor* was not thereby proved, that Christs Body was dispersed in two places, or more, but remained rather full in one place, as touching the manner of his Body. For the Scripture doth not say, that Christ being upon the Earth did speak unto *Paul*; but that suddenly a light from Heaven did shine round about him, and he falling to the ground heard a voice, saying unto him, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? I am Jesus whom thou persecutest*, &c. Here this place doth nothing tell but that Christ, sitting in Heaven, might speak unto *Paul*, and be heard upon Earth: for they which were with *Paul* verily heard the voice, but did not see his Body.

The Archbishop on the contrary part said, *Paul* himself doth witness, *Acts* the fix and twentieth, that Christ spake, did appear unto him in the same Vision.

But *Lambert* again said, that Christ did witness in the same place, That he would again appear unto him, and the *Scripture* deliver him out of the hands of the Gentiles: Notwithstanding we read in no place that Christ did corporally appear unto him.

Thus, when they had contended about the Conversion of *St. Paul*, and *Lambert* fo answered for himself, that the King seemed greatly to be moved therewith, and the Bishop himself that disputed, to be intangled, and all the Audience amazed, then the Bishop of *Winchester*, which was appointed the fifth place of the Disputation, fearing the Argument should be taken out of his mouth, or rather being drowned with malice against the poor Man, without the Kings commandment, observing no order, before the Archbishop had made an end, unadvisedly kneeling down to take in hand the Disputation, alleged a place out of the twelfth Chapter of the *Corinthians*, in which *St. Paul* faith, *Here I am first taken? And again in the fifteenth Chapter: He appeared unto Cephalus, and afterwards unto James, then to all the Apostles, but last of all he appeared unto me as born out of dust time.*

Hereunto

Hereunto *Lambert* answered, he did nothing doubt but that Christ was seen, and did appear, but he did deny that he was in two or in divers places, according to the manner of his body.

Then *Winchester* again, abusing the Authority of *Paul*, repeated the place out of the Second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and the Fifth Chapter, *And if so be we have known Christ after the flesh, now henceforth know we him in no more*, &c.

*Lambert* answered, That this knowledge is not to be understood according to the sense of the body, and that it appeared sufficiently by *St. Paul*, which speaking of his own Revelation, faith, that, *I know one, whether in his own Revelation, which was believed to dwell in the body or without, God knoweth*. Whereby, even by the testimony of *St. Paul*, a Man shall easily gather, that in this Revelation he was taken up in spirit into the Heavenly, and did see those things, rather than that Christ came down corporally from Heaven, to them who unto him: especially, for that it was said of the Angel, *That even so he ascended into Heaven, so he should come in like manner*. And *St. Peter* faith, *Whom as he loved to dwell in the Heaven*. And moreover, appointing the measure of time he saith, *Even until that all things be reformed*, &c. Here again, *Lambert*, being taunted and rebuked, could not be suffered to prosecute his purpose.

After the Bishop of *Winchester* had done, *Tynfall* Bishop of *Durham* took his course, and after a long Preface, wherein he spake much of Gods Omnipotency, at the last he came to this point, saying, That if Christ could perform that which he spake, touching the converting of his Body into Bread, without doubt he would speak nothing, but that he would perform.

*Lambert* answered, That there was no evident place of Scripture, wherein Christ doth at any time say, That he would change the Bread into his Body: and moreover, that there is no necessity why he should do so. But this he would change the Bread into his Body: and moreover, that there is no necessity why he should do so. But this he would change the Bread into his Body: and moreover, that there is no necessity why he should do so.

Now it remaineth to be marked, whether we shall judge all these, after the words pronounced, to be faithfully changed into another nature. Then again began they to rage afresh against *Lambert*, so that if he could not be overcome with Arguments, he should be vanquished with rebukes and taunts. What should he do? he might well hold his peace like a Lamb, but bite or bark again he could not.

Next orderly stepped forth the valiant Champion *Stokely* Bishop of *London*, who afterward, lying at the point of death, rejoiced, boasting, that in his life time he had burned fifty Heretics. This Man amongst the multitude promised to prove, that it was not only a Miracle of Divine Work, but also that it did nothing at all abhor from Nature. For it is nothing difform from Nature, the substance of like things (faith he) to be often times changed one into another.

So that notwithstanding the accidents do remain, albeit the substance it self, and the matter, should be changed. Then he declared it by the example of Water boiling long upon the Fire until all the substance thereof be evaporate. Now (faith he) it is the Doctrine of the Philosopher, that a substance cannot be changed but into a substance: wherefore if we do affirm the substance of the Water to pass into the substance of the Air; notwithstanding the quality of the Water, which is moistness, remaineth after the substance is changed; for the Air is moist even as the Water is.

When this Argument was heard, the Bishops greatly rejoiced, and suddenly their countenance changed, as if they were offering themselves of a certain triumph and victory by the Philosophical transmutation of Elements, and like as it had been of more force than *Christippus* argument, which puffed all manner of solution.

*Lambert*'s answer was long looked for here of all Men. Who as soon as he had obtained Silence, and liberty of speech, first of all denied the Bishops attempt, that the

moisture of the Water did remain after the substance was altered. For albeit (faith he) that we do grant with the Philosopher, the Air to be naturally moist; notwithstanding it hath one proper and a divers degree of moisture, and the Water another. Wherefore, when as the Water is converted into the Air, there remaineth moisture, as you do say, but that is not the moisture of Water, but the proper and natural moisture of the Air. Whereupon there is another Doctrine amongst the Philosopher, as a qualities and accidents in natural things should remain in their own proper nature, without their proper substance.

Then again the King and the Bishops raged against *Lambert*, informing that he was not only forced to declare, but also might have been taken into a cage, if his Enemies Water is converted into the Air, there remaineth moisture, as you do say, but that is not the moisture of Water, but the proper and natural moisture of the Air. Whereupon there is another Doctrine amongst the Philosopher, as a qualities and accidents in natural things should remain in their own proper nature, without their proper substance.

There were appointed ten in number, for the purpose of forming of this Tragical, for his ten Arguments, which as before we have declared, were delivered unto *Taylor*, *Lambert* the Preacher. It were too long in this place to repeat the Reasons and Arguments of every Bishop; and no less superfluous were it to do so, especially forasmuch as they were all but common reasons, as nothing incredible and such as by the long use of disputation have been beaten, and had little in them either worthy the hearer or the reader.

*Lambert* in the mean time being compelled in with *Lambert* to many and great perplexities, vexed on the one side with checks and taunts, and persecuted on the other side with the authority and threats of the personages; and partly being amazed with the Majesty of the place in the presence of the King, and especially being wearied with long speaking standing, which continued no less than five hours, from twelve of the Clock, until five at night, being brought in despair, that he should nothing prove in this purpose, and being no hope at all in speaking, was at this point, that he chose rather to hold his peace.

Whereby it came to pass, that these Bishops, which last of all disputed with him, spake what they listed without interruption, have only that *Lambert* would now and then allege somewhat out of *St. Augustine* for the defence of his cause; in which Author he seemed to be very prompt and ready. But for the most part (as I said) being overcome with weariness and other grieves, he held his peace, defending himself rather with silence than with Arguments, which he saw would nothing at all prove.

At the last, when the day was passed, and Torches being lit to be lighted, the King minding to break up this present Disputation, said unto *Lambert*: in this wise, What fault thou now (quoth he) with all their great labours which thou hast taken unto thee, and all the Reasons and Instructions of thy learned Men? Art thou not yet fastidious? Wilt thou live or die? What fault thou? Thou hast yet free choice.

*Lambert* answered, I yield and submit my self wholly unto the Will of your Majesty. Then, said the King, come make thy way unto the hands of God, and unto mine own.

*Lambert*. I commend my Soul unto the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield and submit unto your Majesty's Clemency. Then said the King, If you commit your self unto my Judgment, you must die, for I will not be of Christ a Patron unto Heretics; and by and by turning himself to *Cromwell*, he said, *Cromwell*, read the Sentence of condemnation against him. This *Cromwell* was at that time the chief friend of the Gospelless. And here it is said much to be marvelled at, to see how unadvisedly it pleased him to pass in this matter, that through the petulencies and crafty counsel of this one Bishop of *Winchester*, Satan (which oftentimes doth rule up one Brother to the destruction of another) did here perform the Condemnation of this *Lambert* by no other Ministers, than *Cromwell*, speller themselves, *Taylor*, *Barnes*, *Cressmer* and *Cromwell*, who afterwards, in a manner, all suffered the like for the Gospel's sake; of whom (God willing) we will speak more hereafter.

This



The crafty face of Sir. Wm.

The fine face of John Lambert.

The face of a good Prince that do.

This undoubtedly was the malicious and crafty subtilty of the Bishop of Winchester, which desired rather that the sentence might be read by *Cromwell*, than by any other: so that if he refused to do it, he should likewise have incurred the like danger. But to be short, *Cromwell*, at the Kings commandment taking the Schedule of Condemnation in hand, read the same: wherein was contained the burning of Heretics, which either false or wrote any thing, or had any Books by them, repugnant or disagreeing from their Papistical Church and tradition touching the Sacrament of the Altar: also a Decree that the same should be set upon the Church-Porches, and be read four times every year in every Church throughout the Realm; whereas the worshipping of the Bread should be the more firmly fixed in the hearts of the People. And in this manner was the condemnation of *John Lambert*. Wherein great pity it was and much to be lamented, to see the Kings Highness that day to oppose and let his power and strength so fiercely and vehemently, in assisting so many proud and furious adventures against that one poor silly Soul, to be devoted, whom his Majesty with more honour might rather have aided and supported, being so on every side oppressed and compassed about without help or refuge, among so many Wolves and Vultures, especially in such a cause tending to no derogation to him nor his Realm, but rather to the necessary reformation of sinners Truth and Doctrine decayed. For therein especially, consisteth the honour of Princes, to pity the miserable, to relieve the oppressed, to refuse the wrongs of the poor, and to tender and respect the weaker part, especially where right and truth standeth with him: which if the King had done that day, it had been, in my mind, not so much for the comfort of that poor persecuted Creature, as it would have redounded to the immortal renown of his Princesy else to all posterity.

But thus was *John Lambert*, in this bloody Session, by the King judged and condemned to death; whose judgment now remaineth with the Lord against that day,

when as before the Tribunal Seat of that great Judge both Princes and Subjects shall stand and appear, not to judge, but to be judged, according as they have done and deserved. *Ex testimoniis oculorum nostrorum, A. G.*

And thus much hitherto of *Lambert's* Articles, Answers, Disputations, and his condemnation. Alas. Now to proceed further to the Story of his Death.

Upon the day that was appointed for this holy Martyr of God to suffer, he was brought out of the Prison at Eight of the Clock in the morning into the House of the Lord *Cromwell*, and so carried into his inward Chamber, whereas it is reported of many, that *Cromwell* desired of him forgiveness, for that he had done. There at the last, *Lambert* being admonished that the hour of his death was at hand, he was greatly comforted and cheered, and being brought out of the Chamber into the Hall, he saluted the Gentlemen, and fate down to breakfast with them, shewing no manner of sadness or fear. When as the breakfast was ended, he was carried straightway to the place of Execution, where he should offer himself unto the Lord a Sacrifice of sweet favour, who is blessed in his Saints, for ever and ever, Amen.

As touching the terrible manner and fashion of the burning of this blessed Martyr, here is to be noted, that of all other which have been burned and offered up at *Smithfield*, there was yet none so cruelly and pitifully handled as he. For after that his Legs were confined and burned up to the humps, and that the wretched Torturers and enemies of God had withdrawn the Fire from him, so that but a small Fire and Coles were left under him, then two that stood on each side of him, with their Halberds piked him upon their Pikes, as far as the Chain would reach, after the manner and form as is described in the Picture hereunder following. Then he lifting up such Hands as he had, and his Fingers ends flaming with Fire, cried unto the People in these words, *None but Christ, none but Christ*, and so being let down again from their Halberds, fell into the Fire, and there ended his life.

The words which he spake at death.

The order and manner of the burning of the constant Martyr of Christ, *John Lambert*.



Thus ye have heard by what craft and subtilty this good Man was entrapped, and with what cruelty he was oppressed: so that now remaineth nothing but only his punishment and death, which the drunken rage of the Bishops thought should not be long protracted.

During the time that he was in the Archbishops Ward at *Lambeth*, which was a little before his Disputation be-

fore the King, he wrote an excellent Confession or Declaration of his Cause to King Henry.

Wherein he first mollifying the Kings Mind and Ears with a modest and sober Preface, declared how he had a double hope of Sobas laid up, the one in the most high and mighty Prince of Princes Gods, the other next unto God, in his Majesty, which should represent the Office and

Ministry

## A Treatise of the Sacrament by John Lambert to the King.

Ministry of that most High Prince in governing here upon Earth: and thus, proceeding in gentle words, he declared the cause which moved him to that which he had done.

And albeit he was not ignorant how odious this Doctrine would be unto the People, yet notwithstanding because he was not also ignorant how detestable the Kings mind was to search out the Truth, he thought no time unmeet to perform his Duty, especially forasmuch as he would not utter those things unto the ignorant multitude, for a voiding of offence, but only unto the Prince himself unto whom he might safely declare his mind.

After this Preface made, he entering into the Book contained his Doctrine touching the Sacrament by divers Testimonies of the Scriptures: by the which Scriptures he proved the Body of Christ, whether it stie, or ascended, or litted, or be conversant here, to be always in one place.

Then he, gathering together the minds of the Ancient Doctors, did prove and declare by sufficient Demonstration, the Sacrament to be a Mystical manner. Albeit he is called himself in such temperance and moderation, that he did not deny, but that the Holy Sacrament was the very Natural Body of our Saviour, and the Wine his Natural Blood; and that moreover his Natural Body and Blood were in those Mysteries, but after a certain manner, as all the Ancient Doctors in a manner do interpret it.

After this Preface thus made, he intertexteth the Sentence of his Confession, as here followeth:

## A Treatise of John Lambert to the King.

Christ is so ascended Bodily into Heaven, and his Holy Manhood thither so assumed, where it doth sit upon the right hand of the Father: that he is called Faithful there remanent and resident in Glory, that by the infallible Promise of God, it shall not or cannot from thence return before the general Doom, which shall be in the end of the World. And as he is no more corporally in the World, so can I not see how he can be corporally in the Sacrament, or his Holy Supper. And yet notwithstanding do I knowledge and confess, that the Holy Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood is the very Body and Blood in a certain manner, which shall be shewed hereafter with your Graces favour and permission, according to the words of our Saviour, justifying the same Holy Sacrament, and saying, *This is my body which is given for you*. And again, *This is my blood which is of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins*.

But now for approving of the first part, that Christ is so bodily ascended into Heaven, and his Holy manhood so thither assumed, &c. that by the infallible Promise of God he shall not, or cannot any more from thence bodily return before the general Doom, I shall for this allege first the Scriptures, following the Authorities of old Holy Men, and then one consent testifying with me. Besides this, I need not to tell, that the same is no other thing, but that we have taught to us in these Three Articles of our Creed, *He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead*. For Christ did ascend bodily, the Godhead which is infinite, un-circumscribable, replenishing both Heaven and Earth, being immutable, and unmovable, so that properly it can neither ascend nor descend.

## Scriptures affirming the same.

The Scriptures which I promised to allege for the confirmation of my said Sentence, be these: *He was lifted up into Heaven in their sight, and a cloud received him from their eyes: and when they were looking up into Heaven, they saw two men, &c.* Here is evidently shewed, that Christ departed and ascended in a visible and circumscriptible Body. That departing was visible and in a visible Body, these words do testify: *And when they were looking up, they saw two men here looking up into Heaven? And, even as ye have seen him, &c.* That Secondly it was in Body, I have afore proved; and moreover the Deity is not here, but is invisible, as appeareth:

To God only invisible, &c. And, *He dwelleth in the invisible light which no man hath nor may see, &c.* Therefore the Manhood and Natural Body was assumed, or did pertain manifestly in this: *First*, That his Ascension and Bodily departing caused them to look up, and stand still, as he was lifting up: that is to wit, from beneath or from above. And Thirdly, That a Cloud received him, whereas no Cloud was going up into Heaven. Here we see again, that Jesus is assumed, or taken away into Heaven. And then it must be from out of the World, according to that we read, *John 16. I went forth from the Father, and I came into the World. I leave the World again, and I go unto the Father*. That is not else, but as he came from the Father of Heaven into this World, in that he was incarnate and made Man, for his Godhead was never absent, either from Heaven, or yet from Earth: even to the Ascension, in that it is said, *So shall he come*, is plainly testified, that he is always, and now corporally absent.

Finally, It is shewed further, after what manner he shall come again, by these words, *Even as you have seen him going up into Heaven*. Which is not else, but as you did visibly see him ascend or go away to Heaven, a Cloud shall visibly see him ascend or go away to Heaven, as we read, *Mark 16. You shall see the Son of Adam sit upon the Clouds of Heaven*. And again, *Mark 14. Mat. 24. And ye shall see the Son of Man come in the Clouds with power and glory, and he shall send the Angels to gather his elect from the four winds, and from the ends of the Earth*. And of which I here shall briefly note some places, and pass over them, knowing that a little rehearsal is sufficient to your noble wisdom. The places be, *Mark 16. Luke 24. John 13. 14. 16. and 17. Rom. 8. Ephes. 1. and 2. and 1 Cor. 15. 5. 9. 10. and 12. and 1 Thess. 4. and 1 Pet. 4. Which all do testify, that Christ hath Bodily forsaken the World, departed from it unto his Father, ascending into Heaven, sitting still upon the right hand of the Father above all Dominion, Power and Principality, where he is perfect Advocate and Intercessor before his Father, and that he shall by Bodily coming again, like as he was seen to depart from hence.*

Nothing can better or more clearly testify and declare, what he contained in the Sacrament of Christs Holy Body and Blood, than do the words of the Scripture, whereby it was instituted. *Mark* doth agree with *Matthew*, so that in a manner he reciteth his very words, and marvel it is. For as the Doctors do say, The Gospel of *Mark* is a very Epitome or Abridgment of *Matthew*. I shall therefore write the relations of them touching as abide the Institution of this Sacrament together. The Relation or Testimony of *Matthew* is this: *At that time, when Jesus took Bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake and gave to his Disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my Body. And taking the Cup, and giving thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for this is my Blood of the New Testament which is shed for many for the remission of sins. And I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the Vine, until that day, that I drink it new with you in the Kingdom of my Father*.

The Testimony or Relation of *Mark* is this, *And as they did eat, Jesus took the Bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to them, and said, Take, eat, this is my Body. And he took the Cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, and they all drank of it, and he said unto them, This is my Blood of the New Testament which is shed for many. Verily, I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the Vine until that day that I drink it new in the Kingdom of God. Luke being the Companion of *Paul*, as appeareth in the Acts, and 2 Tim. 4. doth next agree with him in that relation of his Supper, and Holy Institution of the Sacrament.*





Lamb, and a door; *Ergo*, Chritis is natural Lyon, and a Lamb, or material Door. But the Sacrament of Chritis Body and Blood is therefore called his Body and Blood, and his Sacrament, because it is the sign, Sacrament, token, and confirmation of that which is signified in all things. Therefore faith is further expounded by another speech that he doth here consequently alledge of Baptism; *Sciet de ipso baptismo Apollidit dicti, &c.*

The Apollite, quoth Augustine, faith not, we have signified baptizing, but he saith utterly, we be burieth with Chrit. For else should all false Christians be burieth with Chrit, and so be damned in all things. Therefore faith *Augustine* immediately thereupon, he called therefore the Sacrament of fo great thing, by none other name than of the thing it self. Thus (*O* most gracious and godly Prince) do I contels and acknowledge, that the Bread of the Sacrament is truly Chritis Body, and the Wine to be truly his Blood, according to the words of the

by, according to the exposition of the Doctors before recited, and hereafter following. And to this exposition of the old Doctors am I informed, both by the Articles of my Creed, and also by the circumstances of the said Sacrament, as after full more largely appear. But by the same can I be assured, that the Sacrament is not only sacramentally, but rather abent, both from the Sacrament, and from all the world, collocate and remaining in Heaven, where he by promise must abide corporally, unto the end of the world.

The false holy Doctors, who thus answer *quoniam Panis, et uinum, sunt Machabaei esse iugenti admodum* *in tempore praesentis, quia ipse uisus natus Christianis licet* *in natura, ut asserunt uoluerunt* *quia pro tempore tunc Baptismo non accitatur* *quanto natus magis pro Baptismo Christi, pro Eucharistia Christi, pro signo Christi, etc.* *Ipse uero propter uisum grauit admiratione Machabaei,*

[illegible]

And more there was that *John Lamb* wrote to the King, but thus much only came to our hands.

*The death of Robert Paction.*

**A**Mong other acts and matters passed, and done this year, one which is of the Lord 1538, here is printed, to be flienced the unworthy and wretched death of *Robert Paction*, *Mercer of London*, whom death hath created by the enemies of Gods Word, and of all good people. The story is this. The fald *Robert Paction*, was

**A**Mong other acts and matters passed and done this present year, which is of the Lord 1538, here is not to be silenced the unworthy and lamentable death of *Robert Packington*, Mercer of London, wrought and caused by the enemies of Gods Word and of all good proceedings. The Story is this; The said *Robert Packington*, being

being a man of substance, and dwelling in *Chesfeld*, used every day at Five of the Clock, *Winter and Summer*, to go to pray at a Church then called *Saint Thomas of Acres*, but now named *Mercers Chapel*. And one morning amongst all others, being a great merry-morning, such as hath seldom been seen, even as he was crossing the street from his house to the Church, he was suddenly murdered with a Gun, which of the Neighbours was plainly heard, and by a great number of Labourers standing at *Super-Lane* end, he was both seen to go forth of his house, and the day of the Gun was heard, but the deed-door was a great while unopened and unknown. Although many in the mean time were suspected, yet none could be found faulty therein, the Murderer to covertly was conveyed, till at length by the confession of Doctor *Incent* Dean of *Pauls*, in his death-bed, it was known, and by him confessed, that he himself was the Author thereof, by hiring an *Italian*, for forty Crowns or thereabout, to do the feat. For the testimony whereof, and also for the repentant words of the said *Incent*, the names both of them were put in the *Prayers*, and of them which heard the witnesses report it, remain yet in memory, to be produced, if need required.

The cause why he was so little favoured with the Clergy, was this, for that he was known to be a man of great courage, and one that could both speak, and also would be heard: for at the same time he was one of the Burgees of the Parliament for the City of *London*, and had talked somewhat against the covetousness and cruelty of the Clergy, wherefore he was had in contempt with them, and was thought also to have loose talk with the King, for the which he was more had in disdain with them; and murdered by the said Doctor *Incent*, for his labour, as hath been above declared.

And thus much of *Robert Packington*, which was the Brother of *Angeline Packington* above mentioned, who deceived *John Smithfield*, in buying the new translated *Tifonius of Lincolne*. Whose pious manner although it was pious and fadden, yet hath it pleased the Lord not to keep it in darkness, but to bring it at length to light.

#### The burning of one Collins at London.

Neither is here to be omitted the burning of one *Collins*, sometime a Lawyer and a Gentleman, which suffered the fire this year in *Smithfield*, Anno 1538. Whom although I do not here recite as in the number of Gods professed Martyrs, yet neither do I think him to be clean sequestered from the company of the Lords loved Flock and Family, notwithstanding that the Bishop of *Rome* Church did condemn and burn him for an Heretic; but rather do recount him therefore as one belonging to the holy company of Saints. At leastwise this case of him and of his end may be thought to be such, as may well reprove and condemn their cruelty and madness, in burning without all discretion this man, being mad and without of his perfect wits, as he then was in this occasion as here followeth.

This Gentleman had a Wife of exceeding beauty and comeliness, but notwithstanding of his light behaviour and unchast conditions (nothing correspondent to the grace of her beauty) that the forsaking her Husband, which proved her industry, betook her self unto another Paragon. Which when he understood, he took it very grievously and heavily, more than reason would. At the last he overcome with exceeding dolour and heaviness, he fell mad, being at that time a Student of the Law in *London*. When he was thus ravished of his wits, by chance he came into a Church, where a Priest was saying Mass, and was come to the place where they use to hold up and shew the Sacrament.

*Collins* being beside his wits, seeing the Priest holding up the Host over his head, and shewing it to the people, he in like manner counterfeiting the Priest, took up a little Dog by the legs and held him over his head, shewing him unto the people. And for this he was by and by brought to Excommunication, and condemned to the fire, and was burned, and the Dog with him, the same year of our Lord, in the which *John Lambert* was burned, 1538.

#### The burning of Cowbridge at Oxford, Anno 1532.

With this forefaid *Collins* may also be adjoined the burning of *Cowbridge*, who likewise being mad and beside his right wits, was either the same or the next year following condemned by *Longland Bishop of Lincoln*, and committed to the fire by him to be burnt at *Oxford*. What his Opinions and Articles were whereof he was charged, it needeth not here to rehearse. For as he was then a man mad, and destitute of sense and reason, so his words and sayings could not be found. Yea rather, what wits man would ever collect Articles against him, which said, *He could not tell what*. And if his Articles were so horrible and mad as *Cope* in his Dialogues doth declare them, then was he in my judgment a man more fit to be sent to *Bellum*, than to be led to the fire in *Smithfield* to be burned. For what reason is it to require reason of a Creature mad or unreasonable, or to make Heretic of the words of a senseless man, not knowing what he affirmed?

But this is the manner and property of this holy Mother-Church of *Rome*, that whatsoever cometh in their hands and inquisition, to the fire it must. There is no other way; neither pity that will move, nor excuse that will serve, nor age that they will spare, nor any respect almost that they consider, as by these two miserable Examples, both of *Collins* and *Cowbridge* it may appear. Who rather should have been pited, and all ways convenient sought how to seduce the silly Wretches into their right minds again, according as the true Patrons of *Israel* be commanded by the Spirit of God, to seek again the things that be lost, and to bind up the things that be broken, &c. and not so extremely to bruise the things that be bruised before. But to end with this matter of *Cowbridge*, whatever his madness was, before or however erroneous his Articles were (which for the fond Phantasies of them I do not express) yet as touching his end, this is certain, that in the midst of the flame, lifting up his head to Heaven, liberally and discreetly called upon the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and so departed.

#### William Leiton and Puttedew, Martyrs.

About the same time and year, or not much before, was one *Puttedew* also condemned to the fire, about the parts of *Suffolk*, who coming into the Church, and merely telling the Priest, that after he had drunk up all the Wine alone, he afterward blessed the hungry people with the empty Chalice, was for the same immediately apprehended, and shortly after burned, leaving to us an example, that *Quam parum sit tutum vivere cum Sanctis*, as the saying was then; but rather, as we may see now, *Quam male tutum sit ludere cum impiis*.

To the other *William Leiton*, was a Monk of *Aye* in the County of *Suffolk*, and was burned at *Norwich*, for speaking against a certain Idol which was accustomed to be carried about the Processions at *Aye*; and also for holding that the Sacramental Supper ought to be administered in both kinds, about the year and time aforesaid.

KING  
L. 1538

#### Collins with his dogge burned at London.



N. Peke  
burned at  
Smithfield.

In the burning of another *Suffolk*-man, named *N. Peke*, dwelling sometime at *Earlethorpe*, and burnt at *Smithfield*, somewhat before the burning of the aforesaid, thus find it recorded and testified; That when as he being fast bound to a stake, and fast set on fire round about him, was so tormented, that he was so black as any foot, one Doctor *Reading* there standing before him with Doctor *Heyr* and Doctor *Springwell*, having a long white Wand in his hand, did knock him upon the right shoulder, and said *Peke* recant, and believe that the Sacrament of the Altar is the very Body of Christ, Flesh, Blood, and Bone, after that the Priest hath spoken the words of Consecration over it, and here have I in my hand to absolve thee for thy misbelief that hath been in thee, having a Scroll of Paper in his hand. When he had spoken these words, *Peke* answered, and said, *I defy it and thee also*, and with a great violence he spit from him very blood, which came by reason that his Veins brake in his body for extreme anguish. And when the said *Peke* had so spoken, then Doctor *Reading* said, *To as many as shall call a stick to the burning of this Heretic, is granted forty days of pardon by my Lord Bishop of Norwich*.

Then Baron *Curjon*, Sir *John Audley* Knight, with many others of estimation being there present, did rise from their Seats, and with their Swords did cut down boughs, and throw them into the fire, and so did all the multitude of the people.

Witness *John Ranney* and others, who did see this act.

In the year last before this, which was of the Lord, 1537, it was declared how *Pope Paul* the Third indicted a general Council, to be holden at *Mantua*. Whereunto the King of *England*, amongst other Princes being called, refused either to come or to send at the Popes call, and for defence of himself directed out a publick Apology or Protestation, rendering plain and sufficient matters, why neither he would, nor was bound to obey the Popes Commandment. Which Protestation is before to be read. This Council appointed to begin the three and twentieth day of *May*, the year aforesaid was then stopped by the Duke of *Mantua*, pretending that he would suffer no Council there, unless the Pope would fortifie the City with a sufficient Army, &c. For which cause the Pope prorogued the said Council, to be celebrate in the month of *November* following, appointing at the first no certain place. At length he named and determined the City

#### The burning of one Peke at Smithfield.



of *Vinence* (lying within the Dominion of the *Venezians*) to be the place for the Council. Wherunto when the King (the year next following, which is this present year of our Lord, 1538.) was requested by the Emperor and other States, to reform either himself, or to send; he again refusing (as he did before) sendeth this Protestation in way of defence and answer for himself, to the Emperor and other Christian Princes; the Copy and effect whereof hereunder followeth, and is this.

#### Henry the Eighth by the Grace of God, King of England and France, &c. sheweth the Emperor, Christian Princes, and all true Christian men, desiring Peace and Concord amongst them.

Whereas not long since, a Book came forth in our times, and all our Councils Names, which contained many causes why we refused the Council, then by the Bishop of *Rome* usurped Power, intitled at *Mantua*, 1538, to be kept the three and twentieth day of *May*, after prorogued to *November*, no place appointed where it should be kept; And whereas the same Book doth sufficiently prove, that our cause could take no hurt, neither with any thing done or decreed in such a company of men, addit to one Sect, nor in any other Council called by his usurped Power; we think it nothing necessary, for us to make new Protestations, as the Bishop of *Rome* and his Courts, by subtilty and craft, do invent ways of Councils, to mock the World by new pretended general Councils, which we owe unto Christs Faith and Religion, to add to this Epistle. And yet we protest that we neither put forth that Book, neither yet we would this Epistle to be sent before it, that thereby we should seem leis to desire a general Council than any other Prince or Potentate, but rather to be more desirous of it, so it were free for all Princes, Potentates, and people, to esteem and think that no Prince would more willingly be present at such a Council







and to a Bishop of Rome, maintainer of those Enormities, to procure the abrogation of the said Laws (whereby arise much trouble in this said Realm) and that his death, which they utterly called *Adversary*, hapned upon a Refuse made, and that (as it is written) he gave occasion to leave his husband, and to avoid the commotion of the people, risen up for that Refuse, and he not only called the one of them *Bawd*, but also took *Tracy* by the bosom, and violently shook him, and plucked him in his foolish manner, that he had almost everlastingly him to the pavement of the Church, so that upon this Fray, one of their company perceiving the same, frake him, and so in the Throng *Becket* was slain: and further, that this Canonization was made only by the Bishop of Rome, because he had been both a Champion to the Cause of the usurped Authority, and a bearer of the iniquity of the Clergy.

For these, and for other great and urgent causes, long to recite, the Kings Majesty, by the advice of his Council, hath thought expedient to declare to his loving Subjects, that notwithstanding the said Canonization, there appearing nothing in his life and exterior conversation, whereby he should be called a Saint, but rather esteemed to have been a Rebel and Traytor to his Prince.

Therefore his Grace (travailing charges and commandments, that from henceforth the said *Thomas Becket* should not be esteemed, named, reputed, and called a Saint, but *Bishop Becket*, and that his Images and Pictures shew of the whole Realm that be plucked down and avoided out of all Churches, Chappels, and other places, and that from henceforth the days used to be festive in his name, shall not be observed, nor the Service, Office, Antiphons, Collects, and Prayers in his name read, but raised and put out of all their Books: and that all their Festival days already abrogated, shall be in no wise solemnized, but his Graces Ordinances and Injunctions thereupon observed, to the intent his Graces loving Subjects shall be no longer blindly led and abused to commit idolatry, as they have done in times past, upon pain of his Majesties Indignation, and imprisonment at his Graces pleasure.

Finally, his Grace finally chargeth and commandeth, that his Subjects do keep and observe all and singular his Injunctions made by his Majesty, upon the pain therein contained.

### Here followeth how Religion began to go backward.

TO many which be yet alive, and can testify these things, it is not unknown, how variable the state of Religion doth in these days how hardly and with what difficulty it came forth, what chances and changes it suffered. Even as the King was ruled and gave ear sometimes to one, sometime to another, so one while it went forward, at another season as much backward again, and sometime clear altered and changed for a season, according as they could prevail which were about the King. So long as *Queen Anne* lived, the Gospel had indifferent success.

After that she, by sinister suggestion of some about the King, was made away the course of the Gospel began again to decline, but that the Lord then stirred up the Lord *Cromwell*, opportunitie to help, that he might be a good Catholic King, and much more had begun to perfection, if the pious Adversaries, maligning the prosperous glory of the Gospel, by contrary practising had not craftily undermined him and supplanted his virtuous proceedings. By the means of which Adversaries it came to pass after the taking away of the said *Cromwell*, that the state of Religion more and more decayed, during all the residue of the Reign of King *Henry*.

Among these Adversaries above mentioned, the chief Captain was *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, who with his Confederates and Adherents, disdaining at the late of the Lord *Cromwell*, and at the late marriage of the Lady *Anne of Cleve* (who in the beginning of the year of our Lord, 1540, was married to the King)

as also grieving partly at the dissolution of the Monasteries, and fearing the growing of the Gospel, fought all occasions to go to interrupt their happy beginnings, and to train the King to their own purpose. Now what occasion this wily *Winchester* found out to work upon, ye shall hear in order as followeth.

It happened the same time, that the Lord *Cromwell*, the occasion which was the cause of his death, devised a Marriage for the King, to be concluded between him and the Lady *Anne of Cleve*, which other Sister was already married unto the Duke of *Saxony*. By this Marriage it was supposed that a perpetual League of Amity and Alliance should be nouriished between this Realm and the Princes of *Germany*, and so thereby golly Religion might be made strong on both parts against the Bishop of *Rome*, and his tyrannical Religion. But the Devil, ever envying the Prosperity of the Gospel, had a stumbling-block in that clear way for the King to stumble at. For when the Parents of the Noble Lady were commended withall for the furtherance of the said Marriage, among others of her Friends whose good will was required, the Duke of *Saxony* her Brother in law mislaid the Marriage, partly for that he would have her beloved upon some Prince of *Germany* more nigh unto her Silesia, and partly for other causes, which he thought reasonable. Whereupon it followeth that the fackness of the Duke in that behalf being, epiced, craftily *Winchester*, taking good hold-fall thereon, so alienated the Kings mind from the Amity that seemed now to be grown between the Duke and the Kings, that by the occasion thereof he brought the King at length brought out of credit with that Religion and Doctrine, which the Duke had then maintained many years before.

This wily *Winchester* with his crafty fetches partly upon this occasion aforesaid, and partly also by other pious persuasions creeping into the Kings ears, caused not to seek all means how to work his feat, and to overthrow Religion, first bringing him in hatred with the German Princes, then putting him in fear of the Emperor, of the French King, of the Pope, of the King of *Spain*, and other foreign Powers to rise against him, but especially of civil Tumults and Commissions here within this Realm, which above all things he most dreaded by reason of Innovation of Religion, and dissolving the whole of Abbeys, and for abolishing of many, and other customs of the Church, ficking to fall in the mind of the people, that it was to be feared lest their hearts should be were or should be shortly stirred up against him, unless some speedy remedy were to the contrary provided: declaring moreover what a dangerous matter in a Commonwealth it is, to attempt new alterations of any thing, but especially of Religion. Which being so, he exhorted the King for his own safeguard, and publick quiet and tranquillity of his Realm, to be better advised, than if he would have himself flung and severe against the new Sectaries, Anabaptists, and Sacramentaries (as they called them) and would also set forth such Articles, confirming the ancient and Catholic Faith, as whereby he might recover again his Credence with Christian Princes, and whereby all the World besides might see and judge him to be a right and perfect Catholic. By this device and false crafty Suggestions the King being too much deceived and abused, began to withdraw his defence from the Reformation of true Religion, supposing thereby to please to himself more safety both in his own Realm, and to avoid such dangers which otherwise might happen to his Princes, especially fearing the late he had related to come to the general Council at *Vincennes*, being therein invited both by the Emperor, and other foreign Potentates, as ye have heard before. And therefore although he had rejected the Pope out of this Realm, yet because he would declare himself nevertheless to be a good Catholic Son of the Mother-Church, and a Withstander of new Innovations and Heresies (as the blind opinion of the World then did esteem them) first he stretched out his hand to the condemning and burning of *Lambert*, then after

he gave out those Injunctions above prefixed, and now further to increase this opinion with all men, in the year next following, which was of the Lord, 1540, through the device and practise of certain of the Popes Factors about him, he summoned a solemn Parliament to be holden at *Westminster* the eight and twentieth day of April, of all the States and Burgeses of the Realm: also a Synod or Convocation of all the Archbishops, Bishops, and other learned of the Clergy of this Realm, to be in like manner assembled.

### The Añ of the Six Articles.

In which Parliament, Synod, or Convocation, certain Articles, Matters, and Questions, touching Religion, were decreed by certain Prelates, to the number especially of six commonly called *The six Articles* (or *The Whip with six fringes*) to be had and received among the Kings Subjects in presence of Unity. But what Unity thereof followed, the growing heats of a great number, and also the cruel threat of divers both in the days of King *Henry*, and of Queen *Mary*, can so well declare, as I pray God never the like be hereafter.

The Doctrine of these wicked Articles in the bloody Act contained, although it be worthy of no memory among Christian men, but rather detestable to be bowed in perpetual oblivion, yet for that the office of History compelleth us thereto, for the more light of Posterity to come, faithfully and truly to compile things done in the Church, as well one as another: this shall be briefly to recapitulate the sum and effect of the foresaid Six Articles, in order as they were given out, and hereunder do follow.

#### The first Article.

The first Article in this present Parliament accorded and agreed upon, was, That in the most holy Sacrament of the Altar by the strength and efficacy of Christs mighty word (in being spoken by the Priest) is present really, under the form of Bread and Wine, the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conveyed of the Virgin Mary, and that after the Consecration there remaineth no substance of Bread or Wine, or any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and Man.

#### The second Article.

Secondly, That the Communion in both kinds is not necessary at all, by the Law of God, to all persons: and that it is to be believed, and not doubted of, but that in the Eucharist, under form of Bread, is the very Body, and with the Blood, under form of Wine, is the very Flesh as well apart, as they were both together.

#### The third Article.

Thirdly, That Priests, after the Order of Priesthood received as afore, may not marry by the Law of God.

#### The fourth Article.

Fourthly, That the Vows of Chastity or Widowhood, by men or women made to God advantage, ought to be observed by the Law of God: and that it excepteth them from other liberties of Christian people, which without they might enjoy.

#### The fifth Article.

Fifthly, That it is meet and necessary, that private Masses be continued and admitted in this English Church and Congregation: as whereby good Christian people, ordering themselves accordingly, do receive both body and blood of Christ, and thereby are made more ready to God's Law.

#### The sixth Article.

Sixthly, That Auricular Confession is expedient and necessary to be retained and continued, used and frequented in the Church of God.

After these Articles were thus concluded and confirmed upon, the Prelates of the Realm craftily perceiving that such a foul and violent Act could not take place or prevail, unless first and bloody Penalties were let upon them, they caused through their accustomed practice to be ordained and enacted by the King and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in the said Parliament, as followeth.

### The Penalties upon the six Articles.

That if any person or persons within this Realm of England, or any other the Kings Dominions, after the twelfth day of July next coming, by word, writing, printing, copying, or any otherwise, should publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue or hold any Opinion, that in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, under form of Bread and Wine (after the Consecration thereof) there is not present really the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, or that after the said Consecration there remaineth any substance of the Bread or Wine, or any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and man, or after the time above-said, publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue or hold Opinion, That in the Flesh, under the form of Bread is not the very Blood of Christ, or that with the Blood of Christ, under the form of Wine, is not the very Flesh of Christ, as well apart, as though they were both together: or by any of the means above-said, or otherwise, preach, teach, declare, or affirm the said Sacrament to be other substance than is above-said, or by any mean contentment, deprave, or despite the said blessed Sacrament: that then every such person so offending, their Aiders, Comforters, Counsellors, Countenances and Abettors therein (being thereof convicted in form under written, by the Authority above-said) should be deemed and adjudged Heretics, and every such offence should be adjudged murther: Herein, and that every such Offender and Offenders should therefore have and suffer judgment, execution, pain and pains of death by way of burning, without any Abjuration, benefit of the Clergy, or Sanctuary, or therefore permitted, had, allowed, or suffered: and if any should therefore forfeit and lose to the Kings Highness, his Heirs and Successors, all his or their Honours, Manors, Castles, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverendies, Services, Possessions, and all other his or their Hereditaments, Goods and Chattels, Farms and Freeholds, whatsoever they were, through any such offence or offences committed or done, or at any time after, as in any cases of High Treason.

### The Penalty of the last five Articles.

And as touching the other five Articles following, the Penalty devised for them was this, That every such person or persons that do preach, teach, ultimately affirm, uphold, maintain, or defend, after the twelfth of July the said year, any thing contrary to the same: or if any being in Orders, or after a Vow admittedly made, did marry, or make Marriage, or contract Matrimony, in so doing should be adjudged as Felons, and lose both life, and forfeit goods, as in case of Felony, without any benefit of the Clergy, or Privilege of the Church or of the Sanctuary, &c.

Item, That every such person or persons, which after the day aforesaid, by word, writing, printing, copying, or otherwise did publish, declare, or hold opinion contrary to the five Articles above expressed, being for any such offence duly convicted or attained, for the first time, besides the forfeit of all his Goods and Chattels, and Possessions whatsoever, should suffer imprisonment of his body at the Kings pleasure: and for the second time, being accused, presented, and thereof convicted should suffer as in case aforesaid of Felony.

Item, If any within Order of Priesthood, before the time of the said Parliament, had married or contracted Matrimony, or vowed Widowhood, the said Matrimony should stand utterly void and be dissolved.

Item,



the Divine nature; but there expounding himself, he declareth what he meant by that mutation, for that he expressly theweth the elements of Bread and Wine, notwithstanding, to remain fill in their proper nature, with other words, very plain to the sense, in effect. Unto the which words *Conversus* in the assembly at *Katibone* could not well answer, but stood affronted.

*Theodosius* likewise, speaking of the visible symbols, hath these words: *plures qui veri esse refugere videtur, et in quibusdam de his* (1.) After the sanctification they remain in their former Substance, figure, and form.

*Irenaeus* where he saith, *That the Bread broken, and the Cup mixed, after the vocation of God, cease to be common Bread any more, but are the Eucharist of the Body and Blood of Christ*; And Explicating his words more plainly, addeth, *that the Eucharist consisteth in two things, one being earthly which is Bread and Wine; the other heavenly, which is the Body and Blood of Christ*, &c. declareth in these words both his own Opinion plainly, and also teacheth us what was then the Doctrin of his time.

*Hefychius* also, who was five hundred years after Christ, where he speaketh of this mystery, *Quid fimo panis, & caro est* (1.) Which he saith to be both *Fish* and *Bread*; declareth thereby two Substances to be in the Sacrament. By the which we have to understand, that Transubstantiation in his age was not crept into the Church; and yet neither Heretic nor Treason therefore was ever laid to his charge for so saying.

*Emphusius*, comparing a man converted unto Christ by regeneration, unto the holy mysteries converted into the Body and Blood of our Lord, expresseth plainly, *Quid in exteriori nihil addimus est, & tamen in interiori mutatio est*: That is; That outwardly nothing is changed, and that all the change is inward, &c. Wherein (no doubt) he speaketh against this Article, and yet no man in all that age did accuse him therefore to be either Heretic or Traytor.

Here might be added the words of *Fulgentius*, *Hic calice est novum Testamentum*; (id est) *hic calice enim nobis tradit, novum Testamentum significat*. (1.) This Cup is the New Testament; That is, this Cup which I deliver unto you signifieth the New Testament.

*Bede* also, who lived about the year, 730. writing upon the one and twentieth Psalm, hath these words; *Edent pauperes, &c. pauperes, id est, mundi contemptores, et cetera quoniam redditis, id est Sacramenta refecturum, & latuuntur aeternitatis, qui intelligunt in pane & calice non nihil fieri prodest, in calice corpus verum, & sanguinem verum Domini, qui verus cibus & verus potus sunt, quo non ventris distenditur, sed mentis iugatur, &c.* That is, Poor men, to wit, despisers of the world, shall eat indeed ready to be referred unto the Sacraments, and shall be filled eternally, because they shall understand in Bread and in Wine, being visibly yet before them, a thing invisible, to wit, the true Body and true Blood of the Lord, which are true meat and true drink, wherewith not the belly is filled, but the mind is nourished.

And thus in these words of *Bede* likewise is to be understood, That no Transubstantiation as yet in his time was received in the Church of *England*.

Long it were to stand upon all particulars; Briefly to conclude; the farther the Church hath been from these our later days, the purer it was in all respects, and especially touching this barbarous Article of Transubstantiation. We will now draw more near our own time, coming to the age of *Bertramus* and of *Herman*, who were about the year of our Lord, 810. under *Carlema Magnus*.

By whose writing it is evident, that the Church was infected as yet no such fantastic of Transubstantiation, neither did any amongst them dream of taking away the Substance of Bread from the Sacrament. For although *Herman*, *Remigius*, *Rabanus*, and other which lived in that age, do attribute to the Sacrament, that honourable name, and reverence (as we also do) of the Lords Body and Blood; they exclude not from thence all Substance of Meat and Bread, and leave the bare accidents, as our new-come Catholics do, as by the words of *Herman* do

appear. Where he, following the words of *Bede*, sheweth also the cause, why it is so called by the name of the Lords Body; *Quia (saith he) panis corpus confirmatur, id est corpus Christi congruenter nuncupatur: Visum autem quia sanguinem operatur in carne, id est sanguinem Christi refertur*. That is, because Bread confirmeth the heart of man, therefore it is called conveniently the Body of Christ, and because Wine worketh Blood in the flesh of man, therefore it is referred to the Blood of Christ. What can be more effectually spoken to prove the Substance of Bread there to remain? For take away the Substance of Bread and Wine, what is in the accidents left, that can confirm man's heart, or ingender Blood in the flesh? And therefore seeing there must needs be something remaining, that must be referred to Christ's Body and Blood, it is evident, that either must be the Substance of Bread and Wine, or else it can be no Sacrament. And furthermore, speaking of the visible things which are sanctified, how and whereunto they be converted, he saith; that by the Holy Ghost they be purified to a Sacrament of the Lords Body.

And likewise the same *Herman* in another place, speaking of the fruits of the earth, that is, of Corn and Wine, he declareth, how our Saviour maketh of them an apt my-  
*terium, convertitque ita in a Sacrament of his Body and Blood*, &c. *Lib. 7. in Epist. 1.* That is, the Sacrament is one thing, and the virtue of the Sacrament is another thing. For the Sacrament is received with the mouth, but with the virtue of the Sacrament the inward man is fortified.

So after like manner, *Bertramus*, according to the same, thus writeth, *Id est panis, qui per Sacramentum fit, fime Christi corpus efficitur, alius exterius humanus, &c.* (1.) That is, the Bread, which by the ministry of the Priest is made the Body of Christ, doth import one thing outwardly to the faithful's ear, and another thing inwardly to the minds of the faithful. Outwardly it is Bread, the same it was before, the same form is pretended, the colour appeareth, the same taste remaineth. But inwardly there is another matter far more precious, and more excellent, because it is heavenly, which is the Body of Christ, that is seen, not with the outward eyes of the flesh, but with the sight of a faithful mind, &c.

We will not now proceed to the Testimony of *Rabanus Maurus*, Bishop of *Mentz*, and Scholar *Chancellor* of *Mentz*, who lived in *Paris*, an English man: who living also in the same age with *Herman* and *Bertramus* (which was eight hundred years after Christ) giveth the like Testimony of this Doctrine in his Book of Institutions: where he asking why the Lord would give the mystery of his Body and Blood then under such things as might be kept and reserved whole with great honour? thus he answereth again; *The Lord (saith he) would rather that the Sacraments of his Body and Blood should be received with the mouth of the faithful, and made to be their food, than that by the visible action the invisible effect might be shewed: For like as material meat outwardly nourisheth and quickeneth the Body, so also the Word of God inwardly nourisheth and strenghteneth the Soul. For man liveth not only by Bread, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.*

And after followeth; *For the Bread and drink signify the eternal Society of the Head and of the Members together.*

And again; *For the Sacrament is one thing, and the virtue of the Sacrament is another thing. The Sacrament is received with the mouth, with the virtue of the Sacrament the inward man is nourished. For the Sacrament is turned to the nourishment of the Body, but by the virtue of the Sacrament the dignity of eternal life is gotten.*

Wherefore

Wherefore like as the same is turned into us when we eat of it, so also, are we turned into the Body of Christ, when we live obediently and godly, &c.

Who feeth not by these words of this Bishop, what form of Doctrine was then in the Church received concerning this Article of the Sacrament, much diverse from this our gross opinion of Transubstantiation?

With the like *Rabanus* also accordeth another of the like standing and Doctrinall called *Christianus Drummarus*; who writing upon *Matthew*; *The Wine (saith he) doth cheer and cheerly the Blood, and therefore not inconveniently the Blood of Christ is figured thereby, & figuratively proceedeth from him to us, in cheerly as with true gladness, and increaseth all goodness unto us.*

And a little before the said *Drummarus* hath *The Lord gave to his Disciples the Sacrament of his Body to their remission of sins, and keeping of clarity, that they always remembering his doing, might do this in figure which he should do for them. This is my Body (saith he) that is, in Sacrament, This Drummarus lived also in the time of *Carulus Magnus*, as witnesseth *Abbas Spelmanius*.*

After *Bertramus* was *James Scutus*, or else, as some call him *James Frigius*, a man well accepted with *Carulus Calvus*, and afterward with *Lodovicus Balbus*, about the year of our Lord, 880. He wrote a Book, *De corpore & sanguine Domini*, to affirming therein, and teaching as he knew that *Bertramus* had taught a little before in *France*. This Book the Pope caused to be condemned in *Ferrellius Sydena*. Of the life and conversation of this *James* and also of his death, read before.

In the year of our Lord, 950. lived *Odo*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* in whose time it appeareth, in the Catholics own confessions, that many Priests then affirmed, that the Bread and Wine, after consecration, did remain in their former Substance, and that the said mysteries were only a figure of the Body and Blood of Christ, as we find it witnessed by *Oberne* himself, who did write the lives of *Odo*, *Dunstan* and *Egbertus*, at the bidding of *Lawfanc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as reported *Edmerus*, *Anselmus* Chaplain. The words of *Oberne* being these: *Hoc fere tempore, quidam Clerici, maligne erroris seducti, offerebant cibum, panem & vinum quasi in altari ponitur, post consecrationem in prius substantiam, & figuram tantummodo esse corporis & sanguinis Christi*, &c. That is, About this time (saith *Odo*, writing in the days of *Lawfanc*) certain of the Clergy, being seduced by wicked error, did hold and maintain that Bread and Wine, which are set upon the Altar, after the Consecration do remain in their former Substance, and are but only a figure of the Body and Blood of Christ, &c. And no doubt but at that time the common opinion of most of the Clergy was so, that the Sacrament was the Body and Blood of Christ, and that the Substance of Bread and Wine, notwithstanding, were not Transubstantiated, as the Romish Catholics do now teach. But this is the guise of these men, that in their Writings and Stories, fill they diminish the better number, whereby their Faction may seem ever to be the bigger, and therefore to extenuate the common Opinion then received in the Church, he inferreth necessity of certain of the Clergy, &c.

And as he faileth in the number of these Clergy men, which he hold against Transubstantiation, he upholdeth the same with as lying a miracle. Which miracle he is minded to bring forth, for the conversion of the said Clergy men by the Blood dropping out of the Host at Mass, as *Odo* was breaking the Host over the Chalice. At the light whereof, his left Ode himself (saith he) wept for joy, seeing his petition accomplished which he so earnestly prayed for.

Secondarily, all these Clergy men (saith he) which before believed not this Transubstantiation, by and by were converted, and blessed the Archbishop that ever he was born, desiring him to pray again, that the Blood might return to his former shape, and straight it was done. And this was the miracle, which seemeth as true as that which *William Malabry* writeth of the said *Odo*, how by his prayers he caused a Sword to come flying from Heaven into *Eshelstanes* Scabberd, when he had lost his own, as he would fight against *Anselmus*.

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or else, as that miracle where the said *Odo* is said to cover and defend the Church of *Canterbury*, that no drop of rain could touch it so long as the roof thereof was in making. *See Will. Malab. ubi supra.*

In the which so miraculous a miracle many things are to be marvelled. First, I marvel, that at this great miracle of the Archbishop in the Cathedral Church, as might for many finging men, we read of no *Tz Dumm* there to be falling after the doing thereof.

Secondly, I marvel that those Priests and Clerks which then denied Transubstantiation, were referred to be so near the Archbishop at his Mass, and that they were not committed rather to ward like Heretics and Traitors, if this Article of Transubstantiation had been then such a Catholic Doctrine, and so publicly received in the Church as they lay it was.

Thirdly, I marvel, feeling the time of miracles is expired, leaving the Scriptures to guide us, why the Archbishop would seek to Miracles and Apparitions to convert men, rather than to the Law and Prophets, according as we are commanded, especially having no such example of all the old Doctors, which in confusion of so many erroneous Opinions, yet never fought to such miracles or blind means.

Fourthly, I marvel now at the difference in telling the Tale, between *Oberne* and the other, which I have written. Legends of *Odo*. For whereas *Oberne*, speaking of certain Priests, nameth no place, but leaveth the matter at large; and speaking absolutely, *quidam Clerici*; all other which have since written the Legends of *Odo*, do tell this Tale against certain Priests of *Canterbury*; adding to the words of *Oberne*, *quidam Clerici Cantuarienses*. But to convict the falsehood of them all, as well of *Oberne* as of the rest, there is a Legend of the life of *Odo*, and of *Oswald* together, more ancient than this of *Oberne*, written (as it may seem) in the time of *Elfricus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Epilopus* Bishop of *Windsor*, where mention is made indeed of this miracle, but after another fort than this of *Oberne*, and to another purpose than to disswade certain Priests, infected with that error, from the opinion before declared: Which is only brought to shew the holiness of *Odo* as commonly the manner of Legends is to do. So that in this old Legend it is thus reported, that when this Miracle was done, *Odo* disclosed the matter unto many Priests of *England* that were in that error, as *Oberne* would, (as we call *prius fidelem servum qui cominus erat, & miraculum secretum demonstravit*, &c.) That is, called unto him, certain faithful Servant which was near about him, and shewed unto him the miracle secretly; whereupon the Priest (saith the Legend) much rejoiced at the holiness of *Odo*, and desired him to make his prayer to Almighty God, that the Body might return again to the former shape, &c. Out of this old lying Legend of *Oberne*, and other likewise that followed him, fenneth to have taken this Tale, so that out of the error of one (as the manner is) springeth the error of a number more. Lying Tale.

But this much more I marvel, why this miracle is not recorded in *Henry Huntington*, which professedly writeth of such miracles, nor in *Roger Howden*, and such other; but only in such blind Legends, which commonly have no Substance of Verity, nor certainty of time, or writer, to know when and by whom they were written, and for the most part are filled with lying visions, and prodigious fables.

Finally, if this miraculous fiction of *Oberne* were true, that for the converting of Priests of *England*, which would not believe Transubstantiation, this Blood did drop out of the Host (of which Blood peradventure came the Blood of *Hale*) and by the sight thereof the Priests' effusion were alleviated (as *Oberne* pretendeth) how then came it to pass, that after the time of *Odo*, in the days of *Elfricus*, which was after his Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the third from *Dunstan*, and fourth from *Odo*, not only the Priests of *England*, but also the Archbishop himself, were not yet brought to the belief of this Transubstantiation, but sought the very same Doctrine of the Sacrament then, which we do now: as most clearly appeareth both by the Epistles and Homilies of the fore said Archbishop *Elfricus*, which hereunder, for the more evidence (Christ Willing), we will annex.





[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

Corpses, without blood and bone, without limbs, without  
bones, and therefore nothing is to be understood thereof  
in this Body, but all is gloriously to be understood thereof  
in that House, which gives substance of life, that is of  
the glorifying might, and invincible good. Therefore is that  
body **Houel** called a myffery, because there is one thing  
more in it, than is to be understood thereof. That which is  
there, hath body and bone, and therefore is to be  
deridat that gloriously might. Certainly Christ's body, which  
suffered Death and rofe from Death, never died here-  
forth, but is eternal and unspaffable. That **Houel** is tem-  
poral, not eternal, and corruptible and dealed into fundry  
parts, and therefore nothing is to be understood thereof  
howbeit, nevertheless after the death and went into the Bely:  
part. Many receive that body **Houel**, and yet now with-  
standing it is fo all in every part after glorifying myffery.  
Though some chuse the lefs, yet is there no more myffery  
now showing in the more parts, than in the lefs, be-  
cause it is **Houel** in all, and therefore is to be deridat.  
This myffery is a pledge and a key: **Christs Body** is  
it self. This pledge we do keep myffically, until that  
we be come to the truth it self, and then is this pledge  
devalued. Truly it is, fo as we before have faid, **Christs**  
**Body** is **Houel**; not bodily, but gloriously. But now hear  
the Apollies words, that they received it to be deridat  
the Apollies of the old *Israellites*, thus writing in the Epistle  
to faithful Men. *All our forefathers were baptizd in the*  
*cloud, and in the Sea, and all they did eat the same*  
*glorify meat, and drank the fame glorify drink.* Which  
is to be deridat, that they received it to be deridat  
was **Christs**. Neither was that flonethere was a  
water ran, bodily **Christs**, but it signified **Christs**, that  
called thus to all believing and faithful Men. *Whoever*  
*thirsteth, let him come to me and drink, and from his*  
*living well shall flow freely water.* This he faid of the holy  
Body, which they received with heavenly Bread, the  
the Apollie **Paul** faith, that the *Israellites* did eat the fame  
*glorify meat, and drank the fame glorify drink*, that  
that heavenly meat: that they fed thort years, and that  
water which from the flonethere did flow, had figification  
of the body, and of the Blood, that now be offered daily  
in Gods Church. And was the flame that we now offer,  
not bodily, but gloriously.

We fid unto you ere while, that **Christs** hallowed Bread, and  
Wine to **Houel** before his fuffering, and faid, *This is*  
*my Body and my Blood.* Yet he had not then fuffered;  
and therefore it was not yet his Body, and his Blood,  
but it was to be his Body, and his Blood, and he  
the Bread to his own Body, and that Wine to his Body  
as he before did in the Wildernesse, that because he was  
born to be a Man, when he turned that heavenly meat  
to his flesh, and the flowing water from that flonethere  
to his own Blood. Very many did eat of that heavenly meat  
in the Wildernesse, and drank of that heavenly water,  
nevertheless dead, as **Christs** faid. And **Christs** meant  
not that death which none can efcape, but that everlafting  
death which fome of that folk delivered for their unbel-  
ief. *Mofes* and *Aaron*, and many others of that people  
which pleafed God, did eat and drink of that heavenly  
meat, and they dyed not the everlafting death, but though they dyed  
not the everlafting death, yet they dyed the common  
death. They faw that the heavenly meat was viable  
and corruptible, and they gloriously understood by that  
visible, and gloriously received it, as *Saviour* faith, *Who*  
*eateth and drinketh my flesh and my blood, he*  
*shall live in me, and I in him.* **Christs** Body, and  
his Blood, and he had them not yet that Body where-  
with he was inclofed, nor to drink that Blood which  
was shed for us; but he meant with those words that holy  
**Houel**, which gloriously is his Body and his Blood, and he  
that eateth and drinketh his Body and his Blood, he  
in the old Law faithful men, and he that eateth and  
drank of that heavenly meat, and drank of that heavenly  
water, that had fore-figification of **Christs** Body and  
Blood, for our fins he given to his heavenly Father hath since  
offered to Sacrifice. Certainly this **Houel** which we  
now hallow at Gods Altars, a Remembrance of **Christs**  
Body and Blood, is a Remembrance of **Christs** Body  
and Blood, which he offered for us, as he himself commanded, *Do this*  
*in my remembrance.* Once fuffered **Christs** himself, but yet  
nevertheless his fuffering is daily renewed in this Supper,  
through myffery of the holy **Houel**. Therefore we ought  
to be diligent, how we receive the Body and Blood of  
Christ's Body, and the Body of all faithful men, as a  
gloriously







Consecration.  
Transubstantiation.  
Elevation.  
Adoration.  
Oblation.

Particular  
falling  
rising in  
their  
last days.  
Read before.

John Donne,  
in a Lib.  
Seneca.  
Read before.

Ensign, lib.  
Anno. 1571.  
See.

The second.  
Article of  
both kinds.  
Read before  
longer time.

The reason  
and objection  
of the  
Transubstantiation  
is plain both  
kinds.

Ag. in the Sacraments of the Lords Supper being now consecrated, transubstantiated, elevated, adored, yet it was not offered up for a Sacrifice propitiatory for the Sins of the dead, nor for a Sacrifice for the Souls in Purgatory, nor for a merit *operis operati, pro bono merito*, &c. where that other Pope coming after added still new additions to the former inventions of their predecessors.

And thus have you the whole order and origin of these idolatrous parts of the Mass described by their times and ages, which first began with Consecration, and the form thereof, which were words of the Canon. Then came Transubstantiation by Innocentius, and after Elevation and Adoration by Honorius, and last of all came the Oblation meritorious and propitiatory for the quick and the dead in remission of sins. *Ex opere operato*.

Which things being thus confuted by the much abused authority of the Church of Rome, shortly after followed Persecution, Tyranny and Burning among the Christians, first beginning with the *Albigenses*, and the faithful Congregation of *Tholose*, near about the time of the said Innocentius, as is above remembered.

And thus much for the first Article of Transubstantiation which (as you have heard) was not admitted into the Church for any general Doctrine of Faith, before the year and time above assigned of Pope Innocent the third; and therefore if any have been otherwise persuaded, or yet do remain in the same persuasion, per this Doctrine, as though it had been of a longer continuance than for the time above expressed, let him understand that by ignorance of Histories he is deceived: and for the more satisfying of his mind; if he credit not, let him believe the words of one of his own Catholic Predecessors, *St. Don I* mean, who in his fourth Book writing of Transubstantiation, in what time and by whose authority it was first established, hath these words, which also before mentioned: *The words of the Scripture might be expounded more easily and more plainly without Transubstantiation; for the Church did cleave this (say) which is harder, being thereby moved, as I remember, chiefly because men should hold of the Sacraments, the same which the Church of Rome had held, &c.* And further in the same place the said Don I expounding himself what he means by the Church of Rome, maketh there express mention of the said Innocentius the third, and of this Council of *Laterane* &c.

And furthermore, to the intent that such as be indifferent seekers of the Truth may be more easily satisfied in this behalf, that this Transubstantiation is of no antiquity, but of a late invention: I will also perjoin the Testimony of *Joannes Securus*, the judgment and verdict of *Erasmus lib. Annae* where he writeth in these words, *In Synaxi Transubstantiationem sero definitur Ecclesiam. Dicit Iulianus credere fidei sub pane consecrato, pro quo, cum modo addit, eorum curam Christi, &c.* That is, In the Sacrament of the Communion, the Church concluded Transubstantiation but of late days. Long before that, it was sufficient to believe the true Body of Christ to be present either under Bread, or else by some other manner, &c.

#### The second Article.

As touching the second Article, which doth declare from the Lay-people the one half of the Sacrament, understanding that under one kind both parts are fully contained, forasmuch as the world well knoweth that this Article is but young, invented, decreed and concluded no longer since, than at the Council of *Constance*, nor past 200. years ago: I shall not need to make any long standing upon that matter, especially for that sufficient hath been said thereof before in our long discourse of the *Indemans* Sacrament.

First let us see the Reasons and Objections of the Adversaries restraining the Laity from the one kind of this Sacrament. The use, fay they, hath been of so long continuance in the Church. Whereunto we answer, that they have no evident nor authentic example of any ancient custom in the Church which they can produce in that behalf.

Item, where they alleged the place of *St. Luke* where

Christ was known in breaking of Bread, &c. citing *Luke 22*. Moreover mention is made of her places of Scripture, wherein mention is made of breaking of Bread: to answer therunto, although we do not utterly repugn, but that some of these places may be understood of the Sacrament, and that being granted, it followeth not therefore, that one part of the Sacrament was only ministered to the People without the other, when as by the common use of speech, under the naming of one part the whole action is meant. Neither doth it follow, because that Bread was broken among the Brethren, therefore the Cup was not distributed unto them. For so we find by the words of *St. Paul*, that the use of the *Corinthians* was to communicate not only in breaking of Bread, but in participating the Cup also. The Cup, faith he, *whom we participate*, 1. Cor. 10.

Also after the *Apollines*, in the time of *Cyrrian*, of *Hierome*, of *Gelasius* and other successively after them, it is evident that both the kinds were frequented in the Church. First *Cyrrian* in divers places declareth that the Sacrament of the blood was also distributed. *How* *apollines* *lib. 2*, faith he, *proceche them to stand in the confession of Christ, to the shedding of their blood, if we deny unto them the blood of Christ when they prepare themselves to the confit?*

The words of *Jerome* are plain. *Priests*, faith he, *who should minister the Eucharist, and divide the blood unto the People.*

In *hieronimus tripartita*, it was said to the Emperor *to him*, *Theodorus*, *How will you receive the Body of the Lord* *part. lib. 3*, *with such bloody hands, or the Cup of his precious blood with that mouth, which have spewed so much innocent blood?*

In the Canon of *Gelasius* and in the Popes own Decrees, these words we read, We understand that be some which receiving only the portion of the Lords Body, do abstain from the Cup of his sacred Blood: to whom we enjoin, that continuing to receive the whole Sacrament, by both kinds, or else that they receive neither; for the enjoying of the whole and one Sacrament cannot be done without great sacrilege, &c. So that this Decree of *P. Gelasius* being contradictory to the Council of *Constance*, it must follow, that either the Pope did err, or else that the Council of *Constance*, needs must be a sacrilegious Council, as we doubt it was.

The like Testimony also appeareth in the Council of *Tolotane*, that the Laity did then communicate in both kinds, beside divers other old Presidents, remaining yet in the Churches both of *Germany* and also of *France*, declaring likewise the same.

And thus it standeth certain and demonstrable by manifold proportions, how far this new found custom differeth from antiquity and prescription of use and time. As from antiquity and prescription of use and time. As from antiquity, although the custom thereof were never so ancient, yet no custom may be of that strength to gainstand or countermand the open and express commandment of God, which faith to all men, *Bibite ex hoc omnes*, Drink ye all of this, &c.

Again, seeing the Cup is called the Blood of the New Testament, who is he that dare or can alter the Testament of the Lord, when none may be so hardy to alter the Testament of a man, being once approved or ratified? &c.

Further, as concerning those Places of Scripture before alleged, *De fractione panis*; That is, *Of breaking to fraction of bread*, whereupon they think themselves to be sure that the Sacrament was then administered but in one kind: to answer therunto, first we say it may be doubted whether all those places in Scripture of *fractione panis*, be to be referred to the Sacrament. Secondly, the same being given unto them, yet can they not infer thereby, because one part was mentioned, that the full Sacrament was not ministered. The common manner of the Hebrews was, under breaking of Bread to signify generally the whole Feast or Supper: as in the Prophet *Ezay*, these words *Frangite esurienti panem suum*, do signify as well giving Drink as Bread, &c. And thirdly, howsoever those places, *De fractione panis*, be taken as yet it is not likely for them, but rather against them. For if the Sacrament were administered among them, in *fractione panis* (id est) in breaking of Bread, then must they needs grant, that if Bread was there broken, Ergo there

there was Bread, forasmuch as neither the accidents of Bread without Bread can be broken, neither can the natural Body of Christ be subject to any fraction or breaking by the Scripture, which faith, *And ye shall break no bread of him* &c. Wherefore take away the Substance of Bread, and there can be no fraction. And take away fraction, how then do they make a Sacrament of this breaking, whereas neither the Substance of Christs Body, neither yet the accidents without their Substance can be broken, neither again will they admit any Bread there remaining to be broken? and what then was it in this *fractione panis*, that they did break, if it were not *Panis* (1.) *Substantia panis* *qua frangebatur*? It concludes if they say that this fraction of bread was a sacramental breaking of Christs Body, to be by the like figure let them say that the being of Christs natural Body in the Sacrament is a sacramental being, and we are agreed.

Item, they object further and say, That the Church upon due consideration may alter as they see cause, in Rites, Ceremonies and Sacraments.

Answer.

The institution of this Sacrament standeth upon the order, example, and commandment of Christ. This order he took: first he divided the Bread severally from the Cup, and afterward the Cup severally from the Bread. Secondly, this he did not for any need on his behalf, but only to give us example how to do the same after him, in remembrance of his death to the world end. Thirdly, beside this order taken, and example left, he added also an express commandment, *Hee facite, Do this: Bibite ex hoc omnes, Drink ye all of this, &c.* Against this order, example, and commandment of the Gospel no Church nor Council of men nor Angel in Heaven hath any power or authority to change or alter, according as we are wanted; if any have seen or any other Gospel beside that ye have received, hold him self accursed.

Item another objection: And why may not the Church (say they) as well alter the form of this Sacrament as the *Apollines* did the form of Baptism? where in the Acts *Saint Peter* saith, *Let every one be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, &c.*

Answer. This Text faith not that the *Apollines* used this form of baptizing: I baptize thee in the name of Christ, &c. but they used many times, his manner of speech, to be baptized in the name of Christ, not as expressing thereby the formal words of baptizing, but as meaning this, that they would have them to become Members of Christ, and to be baptized as Christians, entering into his Baptism, and not only to the Baptism of John: and therefore although the *Apollines* thus spake to the People, yet notwithstanding when they baptized any themselves, they used (no doubt) the form of Christ prescribed, and no other.

Item, Among many other objections, they allege certain Perils and causes of weight and importance, as *spilling, heading, or shaking the blood out of the Cup, or pouring, or else spilling upon mens Heads, &c.* For the which they say it is well provided the half Communion to suffice.

Whereunto it is soon answered, That as these causes were no let to Christ, to the *Apollines*, to the *Corinthians*, and to the Brethren of the Primitive Church, but that in the public Assemblies they received all the whole Communion, as well in the one part as in the other; so neither be the said causes to import now, to adul and evacuate the necessary commandment of the Gospel, if we were as careful to obey the Lord, as we are careless to magnify our own devised brain at grates to tumble at those places, which are taken as such, which are in our own fantasies growing, than there where they are fought.

In summe, Divers other objections and cavillations are in Popish Books to be found, as in *Gabriel* the difference made between the Laity and Priests, also the distinction

used to be made between the priests Communion and the laical Communion. Where is to be understood, that when Priests were bid to use the laical Communion, thereby was meant not receiving under one kind, as Lay-men do now, but to abstain from consecrating, and only to receive as the Lay-men then did. Some also allege certain special or particular examples, as of the Cup only serving for the Bread, or of the Bread only sent to certain folk for the Cup. And here they do infer the Story of *Sacramentus*, touching the Woman in whose mouth the Sacrament of Bread, which she only received without the Cup, was turned to a stone, &c. Other also allege other private examples likewise of Infants, aged men, sick Persons, men excommunicate, *Theremites*, or mad men, or men dwelling far from Churches, in Mountains or Wildernesses, &c. All which private examples neither make any inference against the ancient custom of public Congregations frequented from the *Apollines* time, and much less ought they to derogate from the express and necessary Precept of the Gospel, which faith to all men without exception, *Hee facite, &c. Bibite ex hoc omnes, &c.*

#### The third Article.

Private Masses, Trinitas Masses, and Dirige Masses, as they were never used before the time of *Gregory*, six hundred years after Christ; so the same do fight directly against our Christian Doctrine, as by the definition thereof may well appear. The Mass is a work or action of the Priests, applied unto men for mending of grace, *Ex opere operato*, in the which action the Sacrament is first worshipped, and then offered up for a Sacrifice for remission of sins, *a pena et culpa*, for the quick and the dead. Of this definition as there is no part, but it agrees with their own teaching; it is there is no part thereof of which disagree not from the rules of Christian Doctrine, especially these, as follow.

1. The first Rule is, Sacraments be instituted for some principal end and use, out of the which use they are no Sacraments. As the Sacrament of Baptism is a Sacrament of regeneration and forgiveness of Sins to the Person that is baptized; but it cannot be carried about to be worshipped and shewed to other, as meritorious for their remission and regeneration, to them it is no Sacrament.

2. No Sacrament or ceremony doth profit or conduce, but them only which take and use the same.

3. Only the death of Christ, and the work of his Sacrifice upon the Cross is to be applied to every man by faith, for salvation and health of his Soul. Beside this work alone, to apply any action or work of Priest or any other Person, as meritorious of itself, and conducive to salvation, to Souls health, or to remission of Sins, it is idolatry, and derogatory to the Testament of God, and to the blood of Christ prejudicial.

4. To make idols of Sacraments, and to worship dumb things for the living God, it is idolatry; *Fugite Idola*, &c. 1. Cor. 10.

5. Every good work whatsoever it be that a man doeth, profiteth only himself, and cannot be applied to other men, *Ex opere operato*, to profit them unto merit or remissions, only the actions of Christ except.

6. No man can apply to another the Sacrifice of Christs death by any work doing, but every man must apply it unto himself by his own believing; *Jupus ex fide sua vivit*, Habacuc. 2.

7. The Sacrifice of Christs Death doth save us freely by itself, and not by the means of any mans working for us.

8. The Passion of Christ once done and no more; is a full and a perfect oblation and satisfaction for the Sins of the whole world, both original and actual, by the virtue of which passion the wrath of God is pacified toward mankind for ever, Amen.

9. The passion of Christ once done is only the object of our Faith of ours which justifieth us, and nothing else. And therefore whosoever fasteth up any other object, beside that passion once done, for our Faith to apprehend and behold the same, teacheth damnable Doctrine, and leadeth to idolatry.

Against all these rules private Mass directly do repugne  
For first, beside that they transgress the order, example,  
and commandment of Christ (which divided the Bread  
and Cup to them all) they also bring the Sacrament out  
of the right use whereunto principally it was ordained.

For whereas the use of that Sacrament is principally instituted for a testimonial and remembrance of Christs Death, the private Mass transferreth the same to another purpose, either to make of it a gazing idole, or a work of application meritorious, or a Sacrifice propitiatory for remission of sins, or a commemoration for Souls departed in Purgatory, according as it is written in their Mass Book, *Pro quorum memoria corpus Christi sumitur. Pro quorum memoria sanguis Christi sumitur, &c.* Whereas Christs faith contrary, *Hoc facitis in mem. commemorationem.*

Furthermore, the institution of Christ is broken in this, that where the Communion was given in common, the private Mass suffereth the Priest alone to eat and drink up all, and when he hath done, to bless the people with the empty Cup.

Secondly, whereas Sacraments properly profit none but them that use the same, in the private Mass the Sacrament is received in the behoof not onely of him that executeth, but of them also which be far off, or dead and in purgatory.

Thirdly, when by the Scripture nothing is to be applied for Remission of our sins, but onely the Death of Christ, cometh in the private Mass as a work meritorious done of the Priest, which being applied to other, is available *Ex opere operato*, both to him that doth it, and to them for whom it is done *ad remissionem peccatorum*.

Adoration. Fourthly, private Masses and all other Masses now use of the Sacrament make an Idol, of commemoration make adoration, in stead of a receiving make a deceiving, in place of shewing forth Christs Death make new oblation of his death, and of a Communion make a single fellowship, &c.

Oblation. Fifthly, whereas in this general frailty of mans nature no man can merit by any worthiness of working to himself, the Priest in his private Mass taketh upon him to merit both for himself, and for many other.

Sixthly, it standeth against Scripture; that the Sacrifice and Death of Christ can be applied any otherwise <sup>to</sup> our benefit and justification, than by Faith. Wherefore it is false that the action of the Mass can apply the benefit of Christs Death unto us, *Ex opere operato, sine bono motu uentris uel sacrificantis.*

Opus operatum.  
Private  
Masses  
against the  
free Grace  
of God.

The eighth contrariety between private Mass and God's Word is in this; That where the Scripture saith, *Vni oblatione communiatur eis, qui iustificati sunt in perpen-* Rom. 10.<sup>1</sup>  
sant, with one oblation he hath made perfect them that be sanctified for ever: against this rule the private Mass proceedeth in a contrary Doctrine, maketh of one oblation a daily oblation, and that which is perfectly done is finished now to be done again: And finally, that which was instituted only for eating and for a remembrance that oblation of Christ once done, the Popish Mass maketh an oblation and a new satisfaction daily to be done for the quick and the dead:

Private  
Maffis turn  
ourselves from  
Christ: Body  
crucified, we  
Christ suffer  
found in their  
Maffis.

*The fourth and fifth Articles of Vows and Priest-  
Marriage.*

**A**s we have discoursed before by Rories and order of the Article and the antiquity of the 3 former Articles above mentioned, to wit, of Transubstantiation, of the half Communion, and of private Masse: I now coming to the Article of Vows, and of Priests marriage, the Reader shall find that the same is not only as true as in the other before, and to be certified from what continuance of time these Vows and unmarried life of Priests have continued. Wherein, although sufficient hath been said before in the former proceeds of this history, yet I thought not amiss to add somewhat more. See. Yet for the better establishing of the Readers mind against this wicked Article of Priests marriage, it shall be no great labour lost, here briefly to recapitulate in the recitation of this matter, what ever before hath been said. And first, I will shew that it is manifestly evident that the world may fee and judge the said Law and Decree of Priests single life to be, to a Doctrine of no ancient standing here within this Realm, but only since the time of *Anselmus*, I will first alledge for me the *History of Henry Huntingdon*, lib. 7. de *deificatione Anglorum* thus following:

[illegible]

Albeit I deny not but before the time allo of *Anselm*, both *Odo*, and after him *Dunstan* Archbillion of *Canterbury*, and *Ethelward* Billop of *Winchester*, and *Oswald* Billop of *Worcester* in the days of King *Edgar*, *Ann* 963, as they were all Monks themselves, so were they great Doers against the marriage of Priells, placing in Monks in Churches, and Colledges, and putting out the married Priells, as ye may read before. Yet not withoutstanding neither was that in many Churches, and also the Priells then married were not constrained to leave their Wives, or their Rooms, but only at their own choice. For to wrieth *Almshous* in *vita Dunstani*:

*laque Celsus multum exasperat*, a state opposite to *non amicum mutare et loci valde cedere*. Etc. That is, Therefore divers and fundry Celsus of many Churches being put to their lives, the better to get their way, &c. So also *Elfricus* after them (of whom mention was made before) was somewhat busy in setting forward the single life of Priests, and *Longinus* likewise. But yet this restraint of Priests to a single life, was not the way to make a Law here, in the Church of England, before the coming of *Anselme* in the days of *William Rufus*, and King *Henry* the first, writing in these words Boldly I command by the Authority which I have by my Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and other Prelates, that all Priests be single throughout *England*, that all Priests that keep Women, shall be deprived of their Churches, and all Ecclesiastical Benefices, &c. as ye may read more at large before. Which was much about the same time that *Gregory* the seventh wrote his famous Decree in this matter, as before hath been shewed, and also befores him were other Popes more, as Innocent the third, Pope *Nicolas* the second, and *Celestus* the second, by whom the Act against Priests Marriage was brought at length to his full perfection, and so hath continued ever

Long

Long it were and tedious to recite here all such constitutions of Councils provincial and general, namely, of the Council of *Carthage* and of *Toledo*, which seemed to work something in that behalf against the Matri-mony of Priests.

Infringement, longer it were to number up the names of all  
 such Bishops and Priests, which notwithstanding have  
 been married since that time in divers Countries, as more  
 simply shall be shewed (the Lord willing) in the sequel  
 hereof. In the mean season, as touching the age and  
 time of this devilish prohibition for Priests to have  
 their Wives, this is to be found by credible proofs, and  
 conferring of Histories, that in the year of our Saviour  
 1057, at what time Pope *Hildebrand* began first to  
 occupy the Papal Chair, this Oath began first to be  
 taken of Archbishops and Bishops, that they should  
 suffer none to enter into the Ministry, or into any  
 Ecclesiastical Function having a Wife; and likewise the  
 Clergy to be bound to promise the same.

And this, as I said, about the year of our Lord  
1067, well approved and testified by course of Histories  
Whereby appeareth the Prophetic of Saint Paul truly  
to be verified, speaking of these latter times, the first  
of *Timothy* the fourth, Where he writeth in the  
times, The Spirit speaketh plainly, that in the lat-  
ter times there shall some depart from the Faith, harken-  
ing unto Spirits of Error, and to Doctrines of Devils  
forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from  
meats, which the Lord hath created to be taken with  
thanksgiving &c.

In this Prophecy of St. Paul two things are to be observed: First the matter which he prophesieth of, that is, the forbidding of marriage, and forbidding of Meat, which God generally hath left free to all Men. The second thing in this Prophecy to be noted is the time when this Prophecy shall fall, that is, in the latter times of the World. So that this concurrith right well with these years of Pope Hildebrand aforesaid, being a thousand years complete after the Affliction of our forefathers, for they may well be called the latter times

This Prophecy of Saint Paul thus standing, as doth, firm and certain, that is, that forbidding marriage must happen in the latter times of the world, then must it needs consequently follow thereby, that the married life of Priests is more ancient in the Church than is the single life, thna the lawmcan commanding the single life of Priests. Which may soon be proved to be true, by the true count of times, and fearch of Historie. For first at the Council of Nice, it is notorious that this devilish law of marriage to be refrained was stored by Paschasius.

2. Before this Council of Nice, in the year of our Lord 180. we read of *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus*, who dissenting from Pope Victor about a certain controversy in *Easter* day, alledged for himself how his progenitors before him seven together, one after another, succeeded that Seat, and he now the eighth after them was placed in the same, using this his Descent of his Parents not only as a defence of his cause, but also as a glory to himself.

3. Pope *Syriscus* about the year of our Lord 359 wrote to the Priests of *Spain* about the same matter putting in their Wives from them, if his Epistle be true. counterfeited. These *Spanish* Priests had then with them a Bishop of *Terragon*; who answering to *Syriscus* this behalf, alleged the Testimonies of Saint *Paul* that Priests might lawfully retain their Wives, &c. That this *Syriscus* replied again, (if his writing be not forged) most arrogantly, and was so indignantly reproving the Priest that was married, and for the defence of his cause, alleged the Epistle of Saint *Paul* *Si secundum carnem vixeritis, non eritis sancti*. Whereby ye shall live after the Flesh, ye shall die. Whereby ye may appear less dead to God. And so, &c. Whereby Wives, &c. were bound, and that Men were in the Scriptures, which flowed themselves such and so great Arguments, & amongst Priests Marriages.

4 To be short, the further that we go; and the neerer that we come to the antient and Primitive time the Church, the less antient wee shall finde the deprivation of lawful Matrimony amongst Christian Minist

beginning, if ye will, with the Apostles, their examples  
and Canons, who although they were not also married,  
yet divers of them were, and the rest had power and  
liberty to have and keep their Wives, witnessing Saint  
*Paul*, where be writeth of himself; *Non habemus pote-* Divers of the  
Apostles were mar-  
ried.

[illegible]

As for the Gloſs there in the margin, which expoundeth this word contemning for exhibiting things neceſſary for her ſuſtentance, all the world may fee that to be a Gloſs of meer Sophiſtry. And becauſe I have here made mention of *Clement Alexandrinus*, it ſhall not bee to our purpoſe impertinent, to infer the words of

this worthy virtue, whereas he doth defend Priests  
 lawful matrimony, against certain vain boasters of  
 continency, who are not able to keep themselves  
 from sinning. *Domini, qui neque uxorem ducit, neque inuocat*  
*de aliquo populo, & magis quam alios Evangelicis in-*  
*tellectus gloriatur.* That is, The followers braggers do  
 vaunt themselves to be the best of all, because they  
 who have had Wives, have sacrificed any thing  
 here in the world, &c. And it followed, *Ei autem dicit*  
*Scriptura, Deus iherosolimis, humilis autem das*  
*gratiam.* Deinde *uicinat canem* our Dominus uxorem  
 non habuit. *Primum* Christus non habuit uxorem  
*Eccefactum.* Deinde *uice non homo dicit commisit, ut opus*  
*haberet autem iuxta aliquid secundum carnem, &c.* To the  
 end that the Scripture might alter him, *God willed that the*  
*fruits, and growth* of his Church should be increased  
 by his carnal cause, why the Lord took no Wife. For  
 he had his own peculiar Spouse, which is the Church.  
 Moreover, neither was he as a common man, that he  
 should stand in need of a helper after the Fifth, &c.  
 But he was God himself, who was able to create  
 that abhor Matrimony, he inferred the words of Saint  
 Paul, how that in the latter days, *Some shall fall from*  
*the Faith, attending to spirits of Error, and to Doctrins*  
*of Devils, forbidding to marry, and to abstain from*

Which place of Saint Paul, Clement here applieth not against the *Novatians*, and them that condemn Matrimony in general in all men, as naught; but he applieth it only against such; as forbid marriage in part, and namely in Priests, &c.

This Clement wrote after Christ two hundred years, and yetif we come downward to lower times, we shall find both by the Council of *Gangren* three hundred years, and also by the Council of *Nice* four hundred years after Christ, the fame liberty, Priests marriage established and enacted as a thing both good and godly. The words of the *Gangren* Council thele, *Si quis dixerit Presbyterum conjugatum, tanquam occasione peccati non habere, anathema sit, et ab omni clericali officio privabitur, anathema sit, et ab omni clericali officio privabitur, anathema sit, et ab omni clericali officio privabitur.* If any do judge that a Priest, who his marriage sake ought not to minister, and therefore doth abstain from the fame, let him by his acquiesce.

Moreover proceeding yet in times and *Chronicles of*  
the Church, we shall come to the sixth Council called  
*Synodus Constantino-politana*, almost seven hundred years  
after Christ: the words of the which Council be alledged  
in the Decrees, and be these in Latine. *Quemini in*  
*Romani ordine canonis esse cognovimus traditionem*  
*eos qui ordinati sunt Diaconi vel Presbyteri*  
*confiteri*

K t











towards their cure : and remoeth far out of their hearts all power of tyrannical Lordship and all Ambition, which come do exercise with greedines upon those that are committed to their care, but Fathers over their Flock; and not imperiously to command them, as exercising flatly Authority and Power upon them, but gently to admonish them and beseech them in the zeal of Piety, according to the strength of every person, after the Lord, and not after the affection of their own will, or ambitiously sitting forth their own Power and Jurisdiction, and that they ought to be an example to the Flock, doing first themselves that thing which they command others, and so to teach them no less by examples than by words. Willingly, faith he, and not by constraint of Charity, and not for greedy gain. For there be many, which being inflamed with affection, not of charity, but of covetous greedines and ambition, command others that which they are not able to accomplish, while they pretend to seek the gain of Souls, they hunt and seek rather for worldly Lucres: which *Demetrius* the Prophet did well expreſſe, who converted the gift of Prophecy, and the grace of Blessing which he had received of God, not to the profit of others, but to his own commodity.

And some there be, which while they correct others, they pretend to do it with the zeal of God, and while they would seem to be better than other; this they do with a certain presumption and rashness, and so fall in their own presumption and temerity. Of whom the Apostle speaketh, *Which have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.* They also, who contrary to the knowledge of God, do any thing in Gods matters prudently and circumspectly. Of whom *Osa* beareth a type and resemblance. Who whilst that he went about with his hand to slay the Ark of the Lord, flaggering a little by reason of the kicking of the Oxen which carried it, fell down between the feet of the Ark of the Lord, and so he or miscarry by the kicking of the Oxen, furnished the Law of the Lord (which the Priests themselves ought to bear and hold up) to be contrary to them in not observing the same, and to be turned out of the right course to the contrary, as *Demetrius*, who contrary to the Law of the Lord, attempted to hold up. For there be certain Prelats, which while they feign the Order of Priesthood, by some enormity or excess, to flrain the Law of God never to little out of the right course, and labour to redress and rectifie that misorder, rather by vain ostentation of their own strength, then for any pure zeal to God: while they thus presume inordinately to do, thinking to seem to be the helpers of God, many times do mortally fall, and incur thereby great danger and peril. Some other there be, which having before their eyes no consideration of mans infirmity, neither being touched with any respect of mercy and compassion, nor knowing how to lay with the Apostle, *Who is infirm and I am not infirm* the whiles they compare themselves to such as be under their charge, not in condition wherein they are equal, but in authority wherein they are superiours, and cover to be their Masters, and more to rule over them than to profit them, they oppress the weakness of them, by force and violence of Authority, and compel them to their Obedience; which is rightly figured by the Fact, which is read in the Gospel of *Symon Cyrenus*, whom the Persecutors of the Lord constrained to take up the Cross of Christ. Where Name also doth bely agree with the same Figure: for *Symon* by Interpretation is called *Obedient*. *Symon* then, that is to say, the obedient man is forced to bear the Cross of the Lord, when as Subjects being constrained of their Masters, by the rigor either of Lordship or Authority, or fear of their Curſe, and being compelled to obey them, are driven to sustain the Cross of Contingency against their wills; who neither do love the Cross which they bear, because they bear it rather to their destruction than to their health; neither by bearing the Cross do they undo him, but by the bearing thereof are rather quickened unto him. For there is the divers of their more grievous loss. For by the inhibiting of lawful and natural marriage with one woman, Richer in their natural and most exorable Societial friendship; refuse also the unlawful and damnable chiding of others mens Wives, Richer furthermore careful who with filthi-

ness and pollution; and moreover richly most abominable Incest against all Nature, with their own Kindred, and a heap of manifold other filthy abominations and lecherous pollutions, whereby the frail infirmity of man is brought no doubt into great peril.

Wherefore *Lot* being delivered from the burning of *Sodom* through the guiding of the Lords Angel, and because of the fellowship of his Wits, while he considering his own infirmity, durst not ascend unto the Mountain as the Angel had bid, did chuse rather to dwell in *Seger*, a little City near by, the Angel thus bidding him, and speaking unto him, *Serve thy Soul and looke not behind thee, but save thy self in the Mountain, left thou also perish.* To whom *Lot* answered, *I pray thee Lord, because thy Servant hath found favor in thy sight, I will not save myself, I cannot be saved in the Mountain, left perhaps some evil take me, and I say: There is a little City hereby wherunto I may fly and be saved in it.*

What meaneth this, that *Lot* flying from *Sodom* by the commandment of the Angel, to be saved in the Mountain, would not ascend up to the Hill, leaving there to perish; but did chuse rather to dwell in *Seger*, a small City near unto the Hill, there to be saved, but that every faithful man covering to eschew the burning and danger of *Sodom* and *Lot*, and also to avoid to ascend to the top of *Virginity*, and also to avoid to ascend to the Mountain of the state of Widowhood, left he perish therein, flyeth therefore to the state of Matrimony, which is a small Contingency in respect of the other two, and also near unto them both. For after those two kinds of ascent, this third is also proved to be laudable, and is not deprived of thereward of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Unto this Chastity he is commanded to fly, which cannot otherwise contain, and to be saved in it, lest peradventure he climb up to the Mount, he fall into inconvenience and perish therein: that is to say, that he should contain by his own strength the Contingency which is not given unto him of God, the evil of Incontinency, or Fornication, or of some of the other evils afore rehearsed, do unto him himself do he perish in them mortally. For there be many, who while they confound their own infirmity, and while they strive to achieve that which they are able to reach, in this their climbing, do fall headlong into worse inconvenience, and while they foolishly seek for great things, do lose the less, which before they seemed to have. Which we may well understand by the example of *Lot* afore said, who what time he left the small City *Seger*, which he chose before to inhabit, in the which he sought to be saved, went up to the Mountain, and there abiding, fell into the stoll Incest of his own Daughters, as the Scripture witnesseth, saying, *Lot went up from Seger and remained in the Mountain, and his Daughters gave to their Father wine to drink that night. And the eldest of them went and lay with her Father:* which thing had not befain him, if he had kept himself still in *Seger*, where he might have been saved at the bidding of the Angel, as he himself required. But because he forsook that which was granted to him of the Angel, and presumed to go up to his own will, contrary to the Precept of the Angels, which was not granted; therefore he fell into great danger of his Soul, and committed the grievous sin of Incest.

No otherwise do it happen to many other, who while other they forsake the thing which is granted them of God, or ambitiously climb after that which is not granted, but they lose that which they had granted unto them, and fall into that which to them was not granted. For divers there be which while they forsake, ought to be contented to them lawfully permitted, and which they might be saved, and strive with a presumptuous desire to lead a single life, both they lose that health and safety which they might have had in one, and incur great danger in the other: So that whereby they suppose most to gain, by the same they lose and fall into the Pit of greater Ruin. Which thing *S. Paul*, the Doctor of the Gentiles, well considering, and tenderly providing for the infirmity of the weak *Corinthians*, writing to him for counsel touching this matter, did write to them again in this wise, saying, As concerning the things whereof you wrote, unto me; it is good for a man not to touch a woman. Nevertheless

thelief to avoid Whoredom, let every man have his Wife, and let every woman have her Husband. Let the Husband give unto his Wife due Benevolence: likewise also the Wife unto her Husband. And a little after, *widulaw* not (faith he) thy selves one from another, except it be with consent for a time, that you may give your selves unto Fasting and Prayer, and afterwards come together again. Let Satan tempt you for your Incontinency. For as the Poet faith, *We cannot all do all things; and as the Apostle faith, It is not in him that wills, nor in him that runs, but in God that giveth the will.* Also in another place, *For to every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gifts of Christ.* And that every one of us ought to keep, and not to transgress this measure, he teacheth anon after, saying, *I wish that all men were as I; myself not; but every man hath his proper gift of God, in one after this manner, another after that.*

And that we are to be kept within our compass and measure, and ought thereunto to be content, he teacheth moreover as followeth, *Let every man abide in that Vocation wherein he is called.* And shortly after, for confirmation thereof, he repeateth the fame again, and faith, *Let every man wherein he is called, therein abide with the Lord.* And because he perceived that the infirmity of man was not able to sustain the burning motions and heats of Nature stirring in a man, but only by the grace of God, neither be able to conquer the Flesh fighting against the Spirit, according to that which he faith of himself in another place, *For I see another Law in my Members, which against the Law of my Mind;* he therefore of Mercy and Compassion, as condescending unto their weakness, and not by rigor of Law and force of Commandment, thus said. As also in another place in his Epistles he speaketh in like words, saying, *I speak as gently after the manner of men, because of the infirmity of your flesh.* And in this fore said Epistle, moreover a little before, as the same manner of speech, he faith, *This I say to you as of favour and not of commandment.* And adding moreover, he beweth, *As touching Virgins I have no commandment of the Lord, but I give counsel, as one who hath found mercy with God, that I should be faithful.* That is, after the same mercy wherewith the Lord hath informed and instructed me when he called me to the Faith, and made me faithful to him; so I likewise do give counsel to others, and hence the same mercy to them.

And furthermore as both are good, to wit, to have a Wife, or not to have; to have a Husband, or not to have; neither is there any in having Wife or Husband; shortly after he instructeth, saying, *I suppose therefore this to be good for the present necessity. I mean, that it is good for a man to be.* What meaneth this, for present necessity? What is this necessity present, but present infirmity? or else instant necessity, compelling to do as the order of necessity requireth. Or else he meaneth by this present necessity, the distress of that time which then was instant, and compelled him to write, and so to bear with them, which was for the avoiding of Fornication amongst them, and many other kinds of filthiness above touched which might have happened. For the which Fornication he took occasion to write unto the *Corinthians*, and to answer to their Letters; and therefore he speaketh against the *Idol* *Corinthians*, in the former part of the said Epistle, uttereth these words; *What will you I shall come to you with a rod? or in love and in the Spirit of meekness? There is heard among you to be Fornication, and such Fornication as is not named among the Gentiles, that one should have his own Fathers Wife, &c.* And therefore for this necessity of avoiding such Fornication, he faith, *It is good for a man to be, that he which cannot contain flesh marry and take a Wife;* which afterward he expoundeth, thus inferring, *Art thou bound to a Wife? seek not to be loosed. And if thou be loosed from a Wife, seek not a Wife. But if thou takest a Wife, thou sanctifyest not; and if a Virgin marry she sanctifyeth not, &c.* And that he spake not by this way of commanding, but of sufficiency and compassion, he beweth plainly in these words following; *But I spare you; that is to say, I bear with your infirmity; and therefore I leave it in the free power and will of every man, to choose what he liketh best. Neither doth he enforce*

any man (he faith) violently, nor charge them with any first commandment; and therefore addeth to these words following, *And this I speak for your own commodity, not to tangle you as in a snare, but for that it is good and honest for you, that you may serve the Lord without separation.*

This he faith to them whom before he exhorted to Continency; and whom he would not to be or troubled by Matrimonial Conjunction. But other he faith thus, *If any man think that it is uncomely for his Virgin to remain ever-long unmarried, and if need so require, let him do what he thinketh good, he himself makes them marry.* And again, *both he saith;* he faith; but yet the one to be better he concludeth, saying, *Therefore be that joynebt in Matrimony his Virgin, doth well; but he that doeth not, doth better.* Which agreeeth well with the Text above, speaking of both kinds, as well the man as the woman, where he faith, *If thou take a Wife thou sanctifyest not; and if the Virgin take a Husband, she sanctifyeth not.*

If therefore it be no sin for the man to take a Wife, nor for the Virgin to take a Husband, after the Apostles mind, neither doth diminish their felicity, but rather increase it; and furthermore as both do well, and if both be blessed, we then which take Wives for our infirmity, what do we find in having them? Or if the Apostle do suffer and permit to every man, for the avoiding of Fornication, to have his Wife; we then which come of the same flock or mass, and taking our kind flesh of the sinful flesh of Adam, are not able otherwise to contain, why are we not permitted for the same cause, and by the same permission, to have likewise our Wives, but are enforced to forsake them, being married?

Wherefore either do you permit us, following the Apostle, to have our Wives, or else teach us that we come not of the same mass, either else show us that the same sufficiency and permission is not granted to us by the Apostle, which is granted to other. Which cause peradventure you will thus pretend; That this sufficiency was granted of the Apostle, not to the Clergy, or to any of our Order, but only to Lay men. Which cannot well be defended, neither by the words of the Apostle, nor by any circumstance of his Epistles, forasmuch as there is no certain distinction or denomination either of Persons or Degrees or Professions there mentioned, neither doth he make any difference either in Names or Offices of Clergy, when either he wrote unto him, either of those Persons of whom he wrote, or else of those to whom he answered, but only in general to the whole Church of the *Corinthians*, as he himself in the beginning of his Epistle purporteth in these words, *Paul called the Apostle of Jesus Christ, by the will of God and so forth his brother to the Church which is at Corinth, (such as is justified in Christ Jesus, called Saints, with all that invoke the Name of the Lord &c.* (And after a few other invocations here for brevities sake, he omits, as not being greatly to the purpose pertinent, thus he instructeth.) These Prelims being well considered, we beleeve you to have regard and compassion of our infirmity, most humbly desiring you not to oppress us with this violence. For as we have sufficiently before proved, no man ought to be constrained unto Continency against his will, neither is this kind of violence commanded of God; nor any such manner of violence, but only of voluntary Devotion to be offered to the Lord; as he himself speaketh in the Gospel, *All men cannot receive this Word of Life, but to whom it is given.* Whereunto he gently no violence, exhorteth them that can take it, saying, *He that is able to stand, let him stand, let him receive this, let him receive this.* And thus he distinguishes (like *Moses*) in his own self commanded to clothe Aaron and his Sons with Breaches, as in these words going before, *Thou shalt clothe with linen Aaron thy brother, and his sons, &c.* But he thus faith, *Thou shalt make linen breaches that thy shoulders may cover the flesh of their flesh.* That they themselves, faith he, may cover the flesh of their flesh. Thou, faith he, shalt make the breaches for the Bishop and his sons: thou shalt teach the rule of Chastity; thou shalt exhort them to abstain from the company of their Wives, and shalke do the Priests Office; yet laying upon none violently the said rule of Continency, but whoever shall be Priest and shall serve the Altar, shall of their own accord forsake from the use of Matrimony; which when they shall do, and of their own

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Objection answered.

to be Nicolas the Second, which in the third book of the Laws, called Panormia, &c. De Lapis, is named Nicolas the younger: Which Nicolas also is Author of the next Decree that followeth, &c.

Wherefore if any man will object hereafter, That because Gratian in the Distinction aforesaid nameth Pope Nicolas abissoluto without any additions, it is therefore to be taken for Nicolas the first; unto this Objection I answer these two Lawyers to answer. Unto whose answer this I add also. That the common manner of Gratian lightly in all his Distinctions, is, that when he speaketh of Popes, as of Innocentius, Gregorius, Leo, Lucius, &c. and such other, very seldom he expreth the difference of their names: So in the Distinction 18. Presbyterii, where he bringeth in the Decree of Calixtus in like manner against the Marriages of Priests, Deacons, & Subdeacons, he addeeth thereto no difference of his name; and yet all the world knoweth that this was Calixtus the Second, and not the Fifth, &c. But whether he were or no, the matter forceth not much. The Letters (no doubt) by their title appear to be written by Volfgangus. Most certain it is, by whomsoever they were written, & fruitful Epistles they are, & effectual to the purpose.

But lest we should seem too much to digress from our purpose, let us return to the story and time of Nicolas the second again, which was about the year, as I said, 1060, a little before Hilbrand was Pope. Which Hilbrand, albeit he was then but a Cardinal, yet was he the whole doer of all things, and concluded what him liked in the Church of Rome, & also made Pope when he would, as appeareth both by this Nicolas, & also Pope Alexander which followed him. So that this distinction of Priests marriage began somewhat to kindle under this Pope Nicolas, through the Petition men of Hilbrand, and after him increased more under Pope Alexander, as appeareth by the Synod holding at London, Anno 1067. But most of all it burst out under the fifth Hilbrand himself, being Pope the year as is said 1076.

Although as touching this Prohibition of Priests to be married, I am not ignorant that certain of the contrary Faction, for searching more the reach and antiquity of this Tradition, for Priests to abstain from Wives, do refer the fame to the time of the second Council of Carthage, which was about the time of Pope Syritus, a great enemy to Ministers Wives, as appeareth *Diffini. 84. cum Præteritis*. Yet notwithstanding to the fame may be answered, That this was no universal or general Council, but some particular Synod, and therefore of no such great forcible Authority.

2. Secondly, The same Synod being about the time of Pope Syritus, who was a capital Enemy against Priests marriage, may seem to draw some corruption of the time then present.

3. Thirdly, Neither is it impossible, but as divers balaud Priests have been fully fathered upon certain ancient Bishops of the Primitive Church, and even Canons also, as of the Council of Nice, have been corrupted by Bishops of Rome, so some fallhood, likewise or forgery might be used in this second Council of Carthage.

4. Fourthly, Although no false Conveyance had been used therein, yet forasmuch as the Canon of the second Council of Carthage doth mis-report and falsify the Canons of the Apostles, in so doing it doth justly diminish his own credit.

5. Fifthly, Seeing the forefaid Canon of this second Council of Carthage tendeth clear contrary to the Canons of the Apostles, to the Council of Nice, and other Councils more, and commandeth that which they do accuse, the Authority thereof ought to have no great force, but rather may be rejected.

6. Finally, though this Constitution of the Council of Carthage were perfectly found without all corruption, yet plain and evident it is by this *Volfgangus*, Bishop also of Carthage, that the same Constitution took no great hold in the Church, forasmuch as we see, that both this *Volfgangus* was married after that in Carthage himself, and also befores him, many hundred years after, marriage was a common matter through most

Churches of Christendom, amongst Bishops and Priests, as partly before hath been declared. And more may be seen in Histories, what great tumults and business was long after that in Hildebrand's time, and after him also amongst the Clergy-men, both in Italy, Spain, France, and in all Quarters of Christendom, for keeping Priests from their liberty of marrying.

And again, if this Tradition concerning the unmarried life of Priests had stood upon such an old Foundation from the second Council of Carthage (as they pretend) what need had then in the time of Pope Nicolas the Second, Pope Alexander the Second, Pope Gregory the Seventh, and other Popes after them, so much labour to be taken, to many Laws and Decrees to be devised and enacted, for the abolishing of Priests marriage; if the same had been such a long Amity as they would make men believe?

By these things considered it may appear, that this Tradition of Priests marriage, by public Law compelling them to single life, was never received for a full Law generally to be observed in the Church of Rome, but only since the beginning of Hildebrand, that is, since these five hundred years.

About which time first it is to be noted, That under Pope Leo, and this Pope Nicolas, *Gracianus*, and certain German Chronicles do say, that Symony and Priests marriage were prohibited. This Pope Leo was Anno 1051.

After this Pope Nicolas (to whom the forefaid Letter of *Volfgangus* seemeth to be written) made this Ordinance: *Ut nullus Miles antea Presbyter quam sit Concubinam &c. hinc inde immutetur habere & subinde nullum mulierem, quosque Sacerdotes, Diaconos, Subdiaconos, post constitutum beate memoria prædecessoris nostri iudicij. Pope Leonis, de castitate Concubinarum, Concubinam palam duxerit, vel adulterum reliquerit, ex parte Coniugatorum, vel auctoritate ipsius Paris & Pauli precipimus, & omnes contradiemur ad Missam non ceteris, &c. That is, Whatsoever Priest, Deacon, or Sub-deacon, according to the Constitution of Pope Leo our Predecessor, concerning the Chastity of Clergy, shall openly marry a Concubine, or shall not put away her maid, or shall be guilty of adultery, God, &c. we utterly charge and forbid the same, that he sing no Mass, nor read the Gospel or Epistle at Mass, nor execute any Divine Services, &c. And this was about the year of our Lord, 1058.*

Although in this Constitution of Pope Nicolas, this word Concubine may be understood for no Wife, but also as Gratian understandeth it in the sixteenth Canon of the Apostles in these words, *Concubina vero intelligenda est præter uxorem*. That is, For one besides a man Wife. Then after this Pope Nicolas coming Pope Alexander, and specially Pope Hilbrand, do compound this Concubine forbidden, for a Wife, and such Priests as be married, they expound them for Nicolaitans; for so we read in the Synod of Millain, under Pope Alexander the Second: *Nicolaitæ autem dicuntur Clerici, qui contra castitatem Ecclesiasticam regulam famula adulterantur, &c.*

And further it followeth in the same Synod, *Nicolaitarum quoque hæresim nihilominus condemnamus, & non modo Presbyterios, sed & Diaconos & Subdiaconos ad uxorem, vel Concubinam facere contra nosmet ipsos, in quantum nobis possibilia fuerit, avocare esse promittimus, &c.*

And after it followeth in this way, *Si hæc de Simoniacis & Nicolaitarum hæresis delenda & funditus destruenda fideliter non observaverit, ad Omnipotentis Dei omnibus Sanctis sit excommunicatus, & anathematizatus, & ab omni Christianorum consortio iuvenerit alienus, &c.*

And moreover it followeth upon the same, *Anathematizatio quoque omnes hæreses excellentes se adversus sanctam Catholicam & Apostolicam Ecclesiam, specialiter vero & nominatim Simoniacam hæresin; deinde Nicolaitarum quoque abominabiles hæreses, que impudenter latrat, sacri altaris Ministerio debere & potius licenter uti Coniugiis, quomodo & laicos, &c.* As much as to *adulter* say in English, as, I do accuse all Heresies extolling themselves against the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, & especially and namely, the heresy of Symony:

Symony; and in like manner the abominable Heresie of the Nicolaitans, which impudently barketh, that the Ministers of the holy Altar may and ought to use Wives lawfully, as well as Lay-men, &c. And thus much concerning the Synod of Millain, under Pope Alexander the Second, Anno 1067.

And after this Alexander rose up Pope Hilbrand, of all other the chiefest and most principal Enemy against Priests marriage. For whereas all other approved Canons and Councils were contented, that any Clergyman, having a Wife before his entering into his Ministry, might enjoy the liberty of his Marriage, so that he married not a Widow, or a known Harlot, or kept a Concubine, or were twice married; now cometh in Pope Hilbrand, making Priests Marriage to be Heretic, and further enacting, *That whatsoever Clerk, Deacon, or Minister had a Wife, whatsoever he was, a Maid or a whore, either before his Ordination, or after, should utterly put her from him, or else forsake his Ministry, &c.*

Although notwithstanding the greatest part of Ecclesiastical Ministers seeing this strange Doctrine and Proceeding (which St. Paul expressly calleth *The Doctrine of Devils*), did what they could to withstand the same. Of whom *Lambertus Schaffnaburgensis* thus writeth: *Adversus hoc Decretum nostrum vehementer infensum fuit factio Clericorum, hominum plane Hereticorum, & contra dogmata esse clamantibus, qui obitus sermone Dominum, quos uti. Non omnes capituli hoc verbum: Qui potest capere, capiat, &c. Et apostoli. Qui se non continent, nubant; Melius est nubere, quam uti; violentia exactione hominum vivere cogere ipsa angelorum. Quod si pergeret, malis se Sacerdotum quam conjugium delectaret, &c.* In English thus: Against this Decree the whole number of the Clergy did vehemently burn and grudge, crying out upon him as a pernicious Heretic, and one that made Phanatical Doctrine: who forgetting what the Lord Jesus, All men cannot take this word; he that can take it, let him take it. And also what the Apostle saith, Who is the cause of all these things, let him try, better it is to marry than to burn, &c. For notwithstanding better it is to marry than to live like Angels. Who if he continued as he began, they would (they said) sooner forsake the Order of Priesthood, than their Order of Marriages, &c.

Which Hilbrand, all this notwithstanding, yet ceased not still to call upon them, and to send to the Bishops every where to execute his Commandment with all severity, threatening to lay the Apostolical Censure upon them, if otherwise they shewed not their Confirment therein to the uttermost. *Ex Lamb.* This was Anno 1074. Of the same Hilbrand Radulphus de Dietro also writeth, hath these words:

*Gregorius Papa septimus Hilbrandus, celebrata Synodo, Simoniacos anathematizavit, uxoratos Sacerdotes a divinis removit Officiis, & Laicos Missarum curam ad se interdictum non exemplis, & ut nullus uxorem se se confiderato prejudicio contra sanctum Patrum Traditionem, &c.* The English is this; Pope Gregory the Seventh, called Hilbrand, holding a Synod, accused such as committed Symony, and removed married Priests from saying Services, forbidding also the Lay-men to hear their Mass, after a new and strange example, and as many thought, after an inconsiderate prejudice, against the Sentence of holy Fathers.

And thus much for the Antiquity of bringing in the single life of Priests, which first springing from the time of Pope Nicolas and Alexander the Second, began first with a Custom, and afterwards was brought into a Law, chiefly by Pope Hilbrand, and to spread from Italy into other Countries, and at length into England also, albeit it not without much ado, as ye shall hear, the Lord Willing.

In the mean while, as Pope Nicolas and Hilbrand were busie at Rome, so Lanfrank Archbishop of Canterbury likewise was doing here in England about the same matter, although he began not altogether so roughly as Pope Hilbrand did, for it is appeared by his Council holden at Winchester, where though he inhibited such as were Prebendaries of Cathedral Churches to have Wives, yet did he permit in his Decree, that such Priests as dwelt in Towns and Villages, having

Wives, should retain them still, and not to be compelled to be separate from them; and they which had none, should be inhibited to have; injoyning moreover the Bishops thus, to forbid hereafter, that they presumed not to admit into Order any Priests or Deacons, unless they should first make a solemn profession to have no Wives.

The words of the Council be these, *Deservientesque ad alios, ut nulli Canonice uxorem habentes, Sacerdotum vero in Episcopis & in vicariis habitantium habentes uxores, non elegantur ad divinitas: non habentes, interdicuntur ut tunc, habentes, & deinceps caveant Episcopi, & Sacerdotes vel Diaconos non profectum ordinem, nisi profectum ut uxores non habent, &c.*

And here to note by the way of the said Lanfrank, for all his glorious gay show of his Monkish Virginity and single Life, yet he escaped not altogether for unpopulated for his part, but that the story of *Matthew Paris* writeth of *Paulus Cadomensis*, whom Lanfrank preferred to be Gladly to be Abbot of St. Alban, thus reported of him, *Paulus (inquit) Monachus Cadomensis Archiepiscopi Lanfranci nepos, juve, aliquam religionis, conjugumque præparavit, &c.* That is, Paul a Monk of Cadome, and Nephew of the Archbishop Lanfrank, yea, as [some] say further, more near in blood to him than he, &c.

Then after Lanfrank came Anselm into the See of Canterbury, who taking to him a flouter Homack, more sincerely and eagerly laboured this matter, in abrogating of Lanfrank's Decree, so that he was the first that utterly the Marriage of Priests, Deacons, Sub-deacons, and of the Universal Clergy, not permitting (as Lanfrank did) Priests that had Wives in Villages and Towns to keep them still, but utterly commanding, that under that great pain, and under the pain of excommunication, all Priests and Deacons, who Sub-deacons also (which is against the Council of Lateran) which were already married, to be separated; and that none should be received into Order hereafter, without profession of perpetual Chastity.

And yet notwithstanding, for all this great blustering and thundering of this Romish Pope, yet the Priests yet still holding their own as well as they could, have not much place to his unlawful Injunction, but kept still their Wives almost two hundred years after, refusing and resisting of long time the yoke of that servile Bondage, to keep still their freedom from such yoking, protesting and promising, as may well appear by their Priests of York of whom Gerardus Archbishop of York speaketh, writing to Anselm in these words:

*Sicut Clericorum morum integritatem, sed perit equum in pauci admodum, vel Alpibus iudicantibus, vel fabulosis cupisum Prebentis multitudine inveniunt. Varii linguarum auditus, modis minas, modis coartibus infirmis. Sed hoc facilius in bis qui removersi sunt, tolero. Nud omnia grave genus mali est, quod ibi qui quasi in finibus sunt, qui Canonicorum morum sententia, Canones aspernari, adversus Concilii nostri statuta, quasi ipsi ipsi disputatores argumentantur, profectus vero nulli per nos abrogant Canones illi, qui sine profectus ad sacros Ordines inordinabiliter sunt proventi, & qui in Presbyteratu vel Diaconatu constituti; Uxoribus sine Concubinis in publico habitum habuerunt, ad altaris munda se reverentia continentibus. Cum vero de istis aliquid qui inveniunt, dora erubescit minister, ne in Ordinem Christianum profectum. In English thus; I much desire the purity of my Clergy-men: howbeit, except it be in very few, I find in them the deepest of the Serpent Alps, and the inconstancy of Proteus, that the Ports of the Fable speak of, with their fringing Tangles they cast off sometimes threats, sometimes taunts and rebukes. But this grievous me left in them that be further off. This grievous me left in them, that they which be of mine own Church, as in mine own bosoms, and Prebendaries of mine own See, condemn our Canons and argue against the Statutes of our Council, the Prebendaries which immediately have been taken into Order hereafter, without making vow or profession, refuse utterly to make profession to me. And they that be Priests or Deacons, having married before, openly Wives or Concubines, will not be removed for any reverence from the altar. And when I call upon any to receive Order, I suffer they deny to profess Chastity in their Ordining, &c.*

Thus









2. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

[illegible]

#### 4. Another Evidence of the like effect.

[illegible]

5. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Sancit prefatus & futuris, quod Marcellus de  
Ravennate dilecti, concepit, et hac presentia Carus  
confirmavi Henrico de Denardouille Clerico et Alicie  
uxori eius, hered. & assignat. dicti Henrici; unam pe-  
ciam terrarum arboribus cum omnibus suis pertinent. five  
habundantiam in villa de Denardouille sitam in  
parochia sancti Martini de Bralley in Campo vocato Crouduobredre inter ter-  
ram Rich. de Hanuyle ex una parte, & terram dicti  
Henr. de Denardouille ex alia parte, & unam caput a-  
gri situm in parochia sancti Martini de Bralley inter  
super terram Richard. de Hanuyle sicut dictum est  
& tenend. predictam peciam terram cum omnibus suis  
pertinent. de capitulo Dominio fidei, & cuicunque vel  
cuiuslibet personarum preiudicium non habent. nec  
in eis sita sita sita sita sita sita sita sita sita sita sita  
sit cum omnibus pertinent. dare, vendere, trans-  
veneri, liberare, quicquid, pure, bene, in pace hereditarie  
in perpetuum; faciendo capitulo Dominio fidei ferri-  
tatem de decima decima & confecto. Et ego predicti  
Martheus & hares mei & confecto. Et ego predicti  
omnibus suis pertinent. ut predictum est) predicti  
Henr. & Alicie hered. & assignat. dicti Henr. contra om-  
nes gentes warrantantibus in perpetuum. In cuius  
testimonium & fidem prefatus Henricus & Alicie ap-  
positi. His testibus Richard. de Hanuyle, Joannes de  
Stonham, Joannes Godfrey, Wil. Walf. Clement de  
Bures, & alii. Dat apud Parvam Bralley, de Lunzie  
in vigilia sancti Martini anno Regni Regis Edwardi  
fili Regis Edwardi octavi.

6. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

[illegible]

7. *Another Evidence touching the like matter.*

S Ciant prefatus & futuri, Quid ego Clemens de Babilonia  
Clopontem concessi, fides prefatus Carta mea  
confirmat Joann. de Babilonia Clerico & Scilicet  
fidei uxori ejus & Hæredibus pref. Joannis, tres areas  
terre cum omni bus pertinent. in Coulynghe, fides fit  
inter domos Rectoris & pref. Joannis, tres areas  
terre cum domo Rectoris & pref. Joannis, tres areas  
Joann. de Pogeys ex alia, uno capite habent  
per viam communem, & alio super terram quandam  
predicit Joann. de Balzif & tenend. predicit.  
tres areas terre cum omni bus pertinent. predicit  
Joann. de Balzif & tenend. pref. Joannis de capitali  
Joann. Domini. feodi illius prebende de Babilonia  
de jure concessi. & tenend. pref. Clemens & hæredes  
uxor pref. Joanni de Balzif & hæred. Joann. Joannis  
totam prædictam terram cum omni bus pertinent  
Joannis & hæred. Joannis tenend. in perpetuum warranta-  
bitur. In cujus rei testamontium, fidei prefatus Carta  
mea

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tae sigillum meum apposui. His Testibus, Thoma de  
Caldebek, Rich. Farewel, Joan. de Schelford, Roberto  
Godfrey, Rogero le Porter, & Williel. le Paumer. Datum  
apud Coulinge die Dominica proxima post Festum Sancti  
Lucæ Evangelistæ. Anno Regni Regis Edwardi filii Re-  
gis Edwardi, tertio decimo.

All the Originals of these seven several pieces of Evidence, the true Copies whereof are here before inserted and salt recited, at this present (*vizidlich*) this 23. of *November*, in the year of our Lord 1575. are in the custody, and do remain among the Evidences and Writings of *John Hunt of Effie, alias Aslsen*, in the County of *Effes, Esquire*, and are pertaining and belonging to his Manor of *Overhall, alias Parva Bradley* afore said, in the County of *Suffolk*. At whose hands therefore are easily at this present, and long time (I trust) after the writing of this History, shall remain to be seen or good Record, if any man either be desirous of the sight thereof, or doubtful of the truth of the fame.

Although these Instruments and Evidence, above here specified, be of themselves evident and plain enough, so that no man can reasonably object any thing to the contrary, yet to flop the mouths of all such waverers and cavillers, who being satisfied with the Evidence will here peradventure be troubled with a Question upon this point, whether the said Evidence be sufficient to prove the fact, so oftentimes named in these Evidence, aforesaid, to object that this word may as well be taken for other as for Priests; therefore to prevent the cavilling Objections of fact, this will be briefly to reply thereto, That in the common Laws of this Realm, as in all Gifts or Feoffments made to any spiritual person (unless he be some Great Officer of the State, or some School) the said gift or Feoffment is named by no other word, but by the word *Clericus*; as by divers places therein may be well in the printed Books, as in old Registers and Writings of the Lawyers, as well in the Common Law as Statute Law, remaineth of Record very evidently to be seen. Some special notes whereof, as well for the satisfaction of the Reader in the search of the Law, as also for the further satisfying of his curiosity who peradventure desire to view the Books, I thought good here to exhibit in form and manner, as followeth.

*Certain Notes how this word Clericus is taken in the Law Books.*

**S**I Clericus aliquis pro reatu vel crimine aliquo, quo-  
vis ad Coramam pertineat, arrestatus fuerit, & postmodum  
per preceptum Domini Regis in Ballium traditus, vel  
replegiatus extiterit, ita quod hi quibus traditus fuerit  
in Ballium eum habeant coram Iudicibus, non am-  
eient de cetero illi quibus traditus fuerit in Ballium  
nec alii plegii sui, si corpus suum habeant coram Iudicibus  
arrestati, licet coram eis propter privilegium Clericale re-  
spondere noluerit, vel non potuerit propter Ordinarios su-  
os.

*Another Note.*

Artic. Cleri, s. h. a. fin. 41: **R**ex & Antecessores sui, à tempore cuius, contramemoria non existit, usi sunt, quod Clerici sui in immorantes obsequii, dum obsequii illis intenderint, ad insidentiam in suis Beneficiis faciendam minime compellatur, nec debet dici tendere in prajudicium Ecclesiasticæ libertatis quod pro Rege & Republica necessarium invenitur.

*Another Note.*

**C**lericus ad Ecclesiam confugiens pro feloniam et pro immunitate Ecclesiastica obtinenda, si asserit se esse Clericum, regnum non compellatur abjurare, sed legi regi se reddens gaudebit Ecclesiastica libertate, iuxta laudabilem consuetudinem regni hodiernis usitatum.

*Another Note.*

**A**ppellatur in forma debita tanquam Clerico per Or. 2a. 22.  
dinarium peso libertatis Ecclesiasticæ beneficium  
non negabitur.

In the Statute entituled *Articuli Cleri*, made only for the benefit of the Clergy, *Anno Rēgni Edwardi Reg. 2. nono.* are divers notes to like effect.

But what need many Arguments for the proof here-  
of? The Statutes and Law-Books of this Realm are very  
full of them in divers and many places, besides the  
Presidents, for the form of giving of Benefices, where-  
of none are capable but such as are spiritual men, and  
yet the Statutes and Law-Books are not so full of them  
by any other title or term in Latin, than *Clarus* for  
most part, not in the Kings own Grant, or the Lords  
Chancellors, or any other Subjects of his, as very well  
appeareth both by divers old written Presidents which  
hath been shewed unto me, and also by the forms of  
Presentations, collected and set forth for the instruction  
of such as are ignorant, and not very perfect in the order  
of giving of Benefices, under the title of *De Beneficiorum  
Infrascriptis*: In which form, in the said Book, the words  
in the Kings Grant be these:

R E X Reverendissimo in Christo, &c. Ad Ecclesiam Parochialem de N. vestrae Diocesis modo per mortem ultimi incumbentis ibidem vacantem, & ad nostram donationem pleno jure spectantem, dilectum Capellanum nostrum A. B. Clericum, intuitu charitativis vobis presentamus, & mandamus uti dictum A. Capellanum nostrum ad praefatam Ecclesiam admittere, cumque Rectorem ejusdem insinuere, cum suis juribus, &c.

But if the Presentation be from a Knight, an Esquire, or a Gentleman, then these words, *Capellannum nostrum*, are always left out, as in the said Book appeareth in this sort:

**R**everendo in Christo Patri, &c. A. B. de N. ac  
Ecclesiam de N. prædicatam vestra Dilectio  
per mortem T. D. ultimi Incumbentis ibidem vacantem  
& ad meam præsentationem pleno jure spectantem  
dilectum mihi in Christo Jacobum P. Clericum vestra  
Paternitati præfento, humiliter rogans quatenus præsta-  
tum P. ad dictam Ecclesiam admittere, ipsique, in  
Rectorem ejusdem Ecclesie institui & induci facere  
velitis cum suis juribus & pertinentiis universis, &c.  
As in the said Book is more at large to be seen or per-  
used.

Thus I doubt not, loving Reader, but by these plain Evidences above prefixed, thou hast sufficiently understood, that this violent restraint of Priests lawfull marriage, within this Realm of *England*, is of no such long reach and antiquity, as hath been thought of many, and all by reason of ignorance of Histories, and course of times. So that briefly, as in a summary Table, to comprehend the whole effect hereof:

From about the year of our Lord 946. the profection Anno 946.  
of single life, and displacing of marriages, began to come Priests came  
into example here in *England* by reason of *S. Benedict*. and where  
Monks, which then began to increase here about the the began first  
time of King *Edgar*, and especially by the means of pro of some  
*Oswald Bishop of York*, *Odo and Dunstan*, *Archbishops* Churches,  
of *Canterbury*, and *Eskelwold Bishop of Win.* so that in  
divers Cathedral Churches and Bishops Sees,  
Monks with their professed singleness of life crept in,  
and married Ministring (which were then called Secular  
Priests) with their Wives out of sundry Churches  
were dispossessed, not from Wives, but only from their Places;  
and yet not in all Churches, but only in certain; whereof  
read before.

Not long after that, about the time of Pope *Nicolas* Anno 1065; the Second, Anno 1060. of *Alexander* and *Hildebrand*, came into the See of *Canterbury* another Monk called *Laufank*, who also, being a promoter of this professed Chastity, made the Decree more general, that all *Prebendaries* being married in any Churches should be disjiced; yet the Priests in Towns and Villages should



*Multa dies variusque labor mutabilis ævæ  
— Retulit in melius.*

And this pophication not only now in England is  
had in great admiration, and esteemed for great wisdom;  
neither in Rome vely reigned, where Cardinal Crous-  
suet, Sadlet, and Cardinall de Sadolet, going to pre-  
sent our *Quene* with newe clothes, and goodly jewels,  
so in Germany diuers Noblemen are likewise corrupted  
and leduced with the like pophication. And therefore  
I nothing marvel that so many there with you  
be deceived with their crafty jugglers. And although  
you say your part is to be a true prophet, yet I am  
poynt sometimes we see it to happen, that wise men also  
be carried away, by fair and colourable perfections,  
from the Verity. The faying of *Simonde* is prai-  
eworthy, *Opinion* (saith he) *may times persecute Verity*.  
And *Seneca* saith, *Opinion* is like a cloud, which  
hides the sunne, but it is not the sunne. And  
saith he, *fewe* than *simple Truth*: and specially it faileth  
in the churche of Religion, where the Devil transformeth  
himself into an Angel of Light, setting forth with  
all colourable and goodly fables, false Opinions. How  
fair seemeth the Glois of *Sauveteurs* upon the Gospel of  
Christ. In the legends of *Saints* and *Virgins*, how  
full of Impiety. But I omit foreign Examples.

Now whiles they pretend hypocritically a false zeal and love to the Truth and sincere Religion, they come in with their blind sophistifications, wherewith they cover their Errours. For their Articles set forth in this Act be erroneous, false and impious, how glorious

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It is no light offence to fet up new kinds of worshipping and serving of God without his Word, or to defend the same. Such presumption God doth horribly detest, which will be known in his Word only. He will have none other Religions invented by Mans devic; for elf all sorts of Religions of all Nations might be approved and allowed. *Learn* *not* (faith he) *to thine own wisdom.* But he sent Christ, and commanded us to hear him . and not the invention of fuble and polittick heads;

Wherefore they do wickedly when they offer Sacrifice to God without his commandment. For when of this work they make a Sacrifice, they imagine that private Masses are to be done, because God would be worshipped after this sort. And we see that Masses are bought with Gold and Silver, great riches and sumptuousness, and that the Sacrifice is carried about in Gold and Silver to be worshipped in several Churches. This was never ordained for any such purpose. Considering the commandment of God biddeth, flee from Idolatry, private Masses are not to be maintained. And I marvel that they say that such private Masses are necessary to be retained, when it is evident that in the old time there was none such. Shall we think that things, pertaining to the necessary worship of God, could so long be neglected? Shall the Church, three hundred years after that the Apostles and more? What can be more absurd and against all reason?

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In this Constitution, if the *Lord Cromwell* and other good Men of the Parliament might have had their will, there was no doubt, but the first crime of these concubinary Priests, as well as the second had the same penalty, and after the six Articles were published, the first was with death. But *Stephen Gardiner* with his fellow Bishops who then ruled all the Court, abolished this extraordinary Article with their accustomed thifts, that if they were taken and duly convicted for their not *confessing content* it were taken away, but the force of general words, *not confessing*, or *attending* they provided, that the next year following, that punishment and pain of death by Act of Parliament was cleared away and repealed. And why? Because the Statute, *That punishment by pain of death* was taken away, and much extenuated, so that the death was not with the effect of the Lords, that that clause above written concerning *Felony*, and *pains of death*, and other penalties and forfeitures, or (and upon the first and second conviction or attainting of any Priest or Minister of the Church) should be taken away, and the Statute

you, fearing these Vicious Whorehunters and adventurous  
perjans among you do live viciously (as you cannot deny)  
and may do otherwise if they like you confess, what pun-  
ishment think they are worthy to have, which may be  
justly inflicted on them, and will not be too heavy, if  
they be so provided by God, but refuse if Which being farther  
what iniquity is this in you, rather impie inexorable  
against God and Man to procure a moderation of Laws for  
fuch as do fiew flesh compunction and clemency to these  
iniquitous persons, wherefore I am not able to think  
that if they Adulterate other Mens Wives never to dye,  
yet there is no death for them; and to these no compunc-  
tion all nor to find out any moderation for perjurats, but the ve-  
ry first to take the Felony of perjury, which homines  
dayly commit in the fear of God, or once they are caught  
may never? How can ye be excused, O Children  
if iniquity? What Reason is in your doing, what truth  
in your Doctrine, or what fear of God in your hearts?  
Ye that are neither able to avoid burning in the  
hell, nor to Weir off the curse, that is poured

K. Hen. 8.

*The Story of the Life of the Lord Cromwell.*

As touching the order and manner of his coming up, it would be superfluous to discourse what may be said at certain particularities of *they* it may suffice to give trace of condition and poverty of this man was at the beginning (as it is to many others) a great lead and hindrance for vertue to show her self, yet such was the activity and the ripeness of nature in him, so pregnant in wit, and so ready for his way, that he was able to overcome all, and in service faithful, in froward courageous, in quiet active, that being conversant in the sight of men, could not be long unbelieved, nor yet unpromised of favour and grace, so that he was able to him forward in place and office, neither was any place so high, but he was able to attain unto it, he was not so apt to fall, Nothing was so hard which with wit and industry he could not compass, Neither was his capacity so good, but his memory was so great in retaining what he had attained. Which well appeared in scanning the *Arithmetick* Book, in his *Epistles of Erasmus* Translated without Book, in his *Epistles*

And thus were the jolly pardons of the Town of *Befcen* *Befcen* pardons obtained as you have heard, for the maintenance of *obtained at Rome.* their decayed port. The copy of which pardons (which I have in my hands) briefly comprehended, cometh to this effect :

And first to omit the wicked and execrable Life of these Religious Orders, full of all feditie, and bound out by the Kings Visitors, and in their Registers also recorded, so horrible to be heard, so incredible to be believed, so stinking before

Z



After much communication had on either part, and that they had long contended about the Testimony of the Doctors, which as it seemed unto them differed and disagreed among themselves, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* at the last spake and said thus unto them.

Right: Honorable and Noble Lord, and you most reverend Fathers and Prelates of the Church, although I come unprepared unto this disputation, yet trusting in the aid of Christ, which promitteth to give both mouth and wisdom unto us when we are required of our Faith, I will utter my Sentence and judgment of this Disputation. And I think that my Lord Archbishop hath given you a profitable exhortation, that ye should first agree of the signification of a Sacrament, whether ye will call a Sacrament a Ceremony instituted of Christ in the Gospel, to signify and represent the things of the Gospel, and the graces and gifts of God, as *Paul* nameth religious observances, or as *Augustine* meaneth every Ceremony generally, which may be taken for a token or a signification of an holy thing to be a Sacrament? For after this latter signification, I will

ers. But the Bishop of *Hersfeld* (which was then lately returned out of *Germany*, where he had been Embassador for the King to the Protestants) turning moved with the Bishop of *London* towards them, being himself fitt to *Alexander Alejus*, willed him not to contend with the Bishop in that manner, by the Testimonies of Doctors and Divines, who were then in the same manner in like matters, neither are they feldfast among themselves in all points, but do vary, and in many points are utterly repugnant. Wherefore if this Disputation shall be decided by their minds and verdicts, there shall be nothing established, neither shall appear any way of agreement to be found. Furthermore, it is not to be desired, that these Controversies should be determined only by the reason and judgement of the Scripture. The she spake unto *Alejus*. Then he turning himself unto the Bishops, likewise admonished them with a grave and sharp Censure, in which we thought not good to omit in this place.

To this effect, in a manner, and much more, did he speak and utter in that Convocation, both copiously and discreetly. Through whose Oration *Aleſius* being encouraged, proceeded further, to urge the Bilhop with this Argument.

*Bis.* Sacraments be seals ascertaining us of Gods good will.  
*re.* Without the Word there is no certainty of Gods good will.  
*co.* Ergo, Without the Word there be no Sacraments.

And after this manner doth *Paul* speak unto the *Ephesians*, that Christ doth sanctifie his Church though the Bathe of Water in the Word of life. And for as much as he joyneeth the Word unto the ceremony, and declareth the vertue and power of the Word of God, that it bringeth with it self, he doth manifestly teach that Word of



by the Parliament, the King for the singular favour which he ever bore to *Cromwell*, and reverence to his learning, being desirous to know what he had said, and objected in the Parliament against these Articles, or what could be alleged by learning against the same, required a Note or Certificate of his doings, what he had said and opposed in the Parliament touching that matter. And this word was sent to him from the King by *Cromwell*, and other Lords of the Parliament, whom the King then sent to dine with him at *Lambeth*, to some what to comfort against his grievous mind and troubled spirits, as hath been sheweth.

Whereupon when his Dinner was finished, the next day after the Archbishop collecting both his Arguments, Authorities of Scriptures, and Doctors together, caused his Secretary to write a fair Book thereof for the King, after this order. First, the Scriptures were allegorized, then the Doctors, &c. Followed the Arguments deduced from those Authorities. This Book was written in his Secretaries Chamber. Where, in a by-Chamber, lay the Archbishops Almoner. When this Book was fair written, and whilst the Secretary was gone to deliver the same unto the Archbishop his Master, who was (as it then chanced) rid to *Croydon*, returning back to his Chamber, he found the door shut, and the Key carried away to *London* by the Almoner.

At this season also clanced the Father of the said Secretary to come to the City, by whose occasion it fell out that he must needs go to *London*. The Book he could not lay into his Chamber, neither durst he commit it to any other person to keep, being firstly charged, in any condition, of the Archbishop his Master, to be circumspect thereof; so, to be determined to go to his Friends there, and to keep the Book about him. And to thrusting the Book under his Girdle, he went over unto *Willesden* Bridge with a Sculler, where he entered into a Wherry that went to *London*, wherein were four of the Guard who meant to land at *Woolf-Hart*, and to pass by the Kings Highness, who then was in his Barge, with a great number of Barges and Boats about him, then bating of Bears in the Water over against the Bank.

These five-and-fifty Yomen of the Guard, when they came against the Kings Barge they durst not pass by towards *Pauls-Church*, lest they should be espied, and therefore intreated the Secretary to go with them to the Bear-baying, and they would find the means being of the Guard to make room, and so to see all the paffime; the Secretary, perceiving no other remedy, assented thereto. When the Wherry came nigh the multitude of the Boats, which by Pollaxes got the Wherry forth, that being compassed with many other Wherries, and Boats, there was no refuge if the Bear should break loose and come upon them, as in very deed, within one *Patener* while the Bear broke loose and came into the Boat where the Yomen of the Guard were, and the said Secretary. The Guard forsook the Wherry, and went into another Barge, one or two of them leaping forth, and so fell into the Water. The Bear and the Dogs foaked the Wherry, wherein the Secretary was, that the Bear being full of Water sunk, to the ground, and being also in chanced an ebbing Tyde, he there fate in the end of the Wherry up to the middle in Water. To whom came the Bear and all the Dogs. The Bear, seeking as it were and succour of him, came back with his head up to him, and snuffing upon him, the Book was loosed from his Girdle, and fell into the Thames out of his reach.

The flying of the People, after that the Bear was loosed, from one Boat to another, was so furious, that divers Persons were thrown into the Thames, the King commanding certain men that could swim to trip themselves naked, and to help to free them that were in danger. This paffime fo displeased the King, that he bad away with the Bear, and let it go all hence.

The Secretary perceiving his Book to flee away in the Thames, called to the Bearward to take up the Book. When the Bearward had the Book in his custody, being an arant Papist, far from the Religion of his Mistress (for he was the Lady *Elizabeth* Bearward, now the Queens Majesty) and the Secretary could come to him, he had delivered the Book to a Priest of his own

affinity in Religion standing on the bank, who reading in the Book, and perceiving that it was a manifest Relutation of the fix Articles, made much ado, and told the Bearward that whoever claimed the Book should be surely be hanged. Among the Secretary came to the said Bearward, now in his Hall, and said, What can you say to you challenge this Book? While the Secretary was thus saying, I am Servant to one of the Council, said the Secretary, and my Lord of *Canterbury* is my Master. Yea marry, quoth the Bearward, I thought so much: you are like, I trust, quoth the Bearward, to be both hanged for this Book. Well said he, it is not so evil as you take it, and I warrant you my Lord will avouch the Book to the Kings Majesty. Well I pray you let me have my Book, and I will give you a Crown to drink. If you will give me five hundred Crowns you shall not have it, quoth the Bearward. With that the Secretary departed from him, and understanding the malicious forwardness of the Bearward, he learned that *Blage the Grocer* in *Chapel-fild* might do much with the Bearward, to whom the Secretary brake this matter, requiring him to fend for the Bearward to Supper, and he would pay for the whole Charge thereof, and besides that he, rather than he would forgo his Book after this sort, the Bearward should have twenty fillings to drink. The Supper was prepared; The Bearward was sent for and came. After Supper the matter was treated of, and twenty fillings offered for the Book. But the Secretary would not take the Friendship, acquaintance, nor yet reward of money could obtain the Book out of his hands, but that the same should be delivered unto some of the Council that would not lightly lose so weighty a matter, so to have it redeemed for a Supper, or a piece of money. The honest Boon *Mulder Blage* with many good reasons would have persuaded him not to be stiff in his own conceit, declaring that in the end he should nothing at all prevail of his purpose, but be laught to scorn, yeting neither penny nor praise for his Travel. He hearing that ruffled suddenly out of the doors from the said *Blage*, without any manner of thanksgiving for his Supper, more like a Bearward, than like an honest Man. When the Secretary lay the matter so extremely to be tied against him, he then thought it expedient to fall from any further practising of treaty with the Bearward, as him that seemed rather to bear himself, than the Master of the Beas, determining the next morning to make the Lord *Cromwell* privy of the chance that happened.

So on the next days the Lord *Cromwell* went to the Court, the Secretary declared the whole matter unto him, and how he had offered him twenty fillings for the finding thereof. Where is the fellow, quoth the Lord *Cromwell*? I suppose, said the Secretary, that he is now in the Court attending to deliver the Book unto some of the Council. Well, said the Lord *Cromwell*, it maketh no matter; go with me thither, and I shall get you your Book again. When the Lord *Cromwell* came into the Hall of the Court, there stood the Bearward with the Book in his hand, waiting to have delivered the same unto *Sir Anthony Brown*, or unto the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Bearward waiting to see whom the Lord *Cromwell* should give the Book to. Come hither fellow, what Book hast thou else in thy hand? and with that snatched the Book out of his hand, and looking in the Book, he said, I know this well enough. This is your hand, said he to the Secretary. The Lord *Cromwell* where had this Book, quoth the Lord *Cromwell*, I got it from the Bearward. Let it be two days Book, then say again in the Thames, said the Bearward. Dost thou know the whole Servant he, said the Lord *Cromwell*? He faith quoth the Bearward, that he is my Lords of *Canterbury* Servant. Why then didst thou not deliver to him the Book, when he required it, said the Lord *Cromwell*? who made thee so bold as to detain and withhold any Book or writing from a Counsellors Servant, specially being his Secretary? It is more meet for thee to meddle with thy Beas, than with fish writings, and were it not for my Mistress sake, I would fetch thee by the ear, to teach such misleader *Knaves* to meddle with Counsellors matters. Had not many been well befellowed upon such a good fellow as this is, that knoweth not a *Cromwell* from a *Coblers* man! And with these words the Lord *Cromwell* went into the Kings Chamber of privy words, and the Archbishops

Secretary

Secretary with him, where he found in the Chamber the Lord *Cant*. To whom he said, My Lord, I have found here good stuff for you (showing to him the paper Book that he had in his Hand) ready to bring both you and this good fellow your Man to the halter, namely if the Knave Bearward, now in his Hall, might have well compassed it. At these words the Archbishop smiled and said, he that loth the Book is like to have the worst Bargain, for besides that he was well walked in the Thames, he must write the Book fair again: and at these words, the Lord *Cromwell* call the Book unto the Secretary, saying, I pray thee, *Mistress*, go in hand therewith, and by with all expedition, for it must leave a turn. Surely, my Lord, it somewhat rejoiceth me, quoth the Lord *Cromwell*, that the Varlet might have had of your Man twenty fillings for the Book, and now I have discharged the matter with never a penny, and flaked him well for his over much malapertness. I know the fellow well enough, quoth he, there is not a ranker Papist within this Realm than he is, most unworthy to be a servant unto so Noble a Prince. And to after humble thanks given to the Lord *Cromwell*, the said *Mistress* departed with his Book, which when he again had fair written, was delivered to the Kings Majesty by the said Lord *Cromwell*, within four days after.

The Lord Cromwell not forgetting his old Friends and Benefactors.

It is commonly seen, that men advanced once from base degree to ample dignities, do rise also with fortune into such infidelity and exaltation of mind, that not only they forget themselves what they were, and from whence they come, but also call out of Remembrance all their old Friends and former Acquaintance, which have been to them before beneficial. From which sort of men how far the courteous condition of this Christian Earl did differ, by divers examples it may appear. As by a certain poor Woman, keeping themselves in a victualing House at *Hounslow*, to whom the said Lord *Cromwell* remained in debt for certain old reckonings, to the sum of forty fillings. It happened that the Lord *Cromwell* with *Crommer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, riding through *Chesham* towards the Court, in turning his eye over the way and there espying this poor Woman brought now in need and misery, citizens caused her to be called unto him. Who being come, after certain questions asked her if she were not such a Woman, and dwelling in such a place. At last he demanded if he were not behind for a certain payment of money between him and her. To whom the with reverent obeysance confessed that he owed her money for a certain old reckoning which was yet unpaid, wherewith the flood now in great necessity, but never durst call upon him, nor could come at him to require her right. Then the Lord *Cromwell* sending the poor Woman home to his house, and one of his servants withal, that the Porter should let her in, after his return from the Court not only discharged the debt which he owed, but also gave her yearly pension of four pounds, and a livery of five wear while she lived.

The like courtesy the said Lord *Cromwell* shewed also to a certain Italian, who in the City of *Florence* had shewed him much kindness in succouring and relieving his necessities, as in this following may appear. Which story he both read compiled in the *Italian Tongue* by *Benedetto*, and impainted at *Luke by Badger*, Anno, 1554. I thought here to insert, with the whole order and circumstance thereof, as it is reported.

Not many years past, faith the Author, there was in *Florence* a Merchant, whose name was *Francis*, descended from the Noble and ancient Family of the *Freibalds*. This Gentleman was naturally indited with a Noble and liberal mind, unto whom also, through prosperous chance and fortunate luck in his affairs ad doings, much abundance of riches increased, so that he grew in great wealth, having his coffers replenished with many heaps of much treasure. He according to the custom of Merchants, used his Trade into many Countries, but chiefly unto *England*, where long time he lived, sojourning in *London*, keeping House to his great commendation and praise.

It happened, that *Francis Freiburgald* being in *Florence*, there appeared before him a poor Young Man, asking him Alms for God sake. *Freiburgald* he earnestly beheld this ragged hirpling, who was not so diffigured in his tattered attire, but that his Countenance gave indication of much towards and virtue in him, with courtesy of manners agreeing to the same, being moved with pity demond of what Country he was, and where he was born. I am Sir, quoth he, of *England*, and my name is *Thomas Cromwell*. My Father is a poor Man, and by his occupation a cloth-threiter. I am thrayed from my Country, and am now come into *Italy* with the Camp of Frenchmen that were overthrowen at *Castillon*, were I was the Page to a Footman, carrying after him his Pike and Burgonet. *Freiburgald* partly considering the present State of this Young Man, and partly for the love he bore to the English Nation, of whom he had received in his youth sundry pleasures, received him into his House, and with such courteous entertained his guest, as at his departure, when he was in mind to return to his Country, he provided such necessities as he any way needed. He gave him both Horse and new apparel, sixteen Duckets of gold in his purse, to bring him into his Country, *Cromwell*, rendering his prayer thanks, took leave of his Host and returned into *England*. This *Cromwell* was a Man of Noble Countenance, and Heroical Spirit, given to enterprize great matters, very liberal, and a grave Counsellor, &c. But to our purpose. At what time *Cromwell* was so highly favoured of his Prince, and advanced to such dignity as is aforesaid, *Francis Freiburgald* (as it many times happeneth to Merchants) was by many misfortunes and great losses call back and become very poor. For, according to Confidence and equity, he paid whatsoever was due to any other from himself, but such debts as were owing unto him he could by no means obtain: yet calling further to remembrance that in *England* by certain Merchants there was due to him the sum of fifteen thousand Duckets, he so purposed with himself, that if he could get any more money, he would well content himself, and no longer deal in his Trade of Merchants, but quietly pass over the rest of his days.

All things prepared for his journey, he setting forward towards *England*, at last arrived at *London*, being utterly forgotten what courtesy long before he had shewed to *Cromwell*, which is the property always of a good nature, for a Man to forget what benefits he hath shewed to other, but to keep in mind continually what he hath received of other. *Freibald* thus being now arrived at *London*, and there travelling earnestly about his business, it chanced him by the way to meet with this Noble Man, as he was riding towards the Court. Whom, as soon as the said Lord *Cromwell* had espied, and had earnestly beheld, he behought himself that he should be the Man of *Florence*, at whose Hands in times past he had received so gentle Entertainment, and thereupon suddenly alighting (to the great admiration of those that were with him) in his Arms he gently embraced the stranger, and with a broken voice scarce able to refrain tears, he demanded if he were not *Francis Freiburgald*, the *Florentine*. Yea Sir, he answered, and your humble servant. My servant (quoth *Cromwell*)? no, as you have not been my servant in times past, will I not now thank you other ways than my great and special Friendship, assuring you that I have just reason to be sorry, for that you knowing what I am (or at the least what I should be) will not let me understand of your arriving in this Land, which doubt unto me, truly I should have payed part of that which I contend to owe you, I thank you, God, I have yet time. Well Sir, in conclusion, you are heartily welcome. But having now weighty affairs in my Princes cause, you must hold me excused, that I can no longer tarry with you. Therefore at this time I take my leave, desiring you with the fullest mind of a Friend, that you forget not to do dry come to my House to dinner, and then in remounting on his Horse, he passed to *Cromwell*. *Freibald* greatly marvelling with himself who this Lord should be, at last, after some pause his remembrance better called home, he knew him to be the same; whom long before he had benevolently had relieved in *Florence*, and thereat not a little joyed especially

The same story seen after this order. The Doctors, &c. Followed the Arguments deduced from those Authorities. This Book was written in his Secretaries Chamber. Where, in a by-Chamber, lay the Archbishops Almoner. When this Book was fair written, and whilst the Secretary was gone to deliver the same unto the Archbishop his Master, who was (as it then chanced) rid to Croydon, returning back to his Chamber, he found the door shut, and the Key carried away to London by the Almoner.

A Bear-baiting scene upon Thames before the King.

Wall Venetian-like keeps.

The Book of the Secretary against the six Articles is lost in the Thames.

This Bearward was Freiburgald, an arant Papist, far from the Religion of his Mistress (for he was the Lady Elizabeth Bearward, now the Queens Majesty) and the Secretary could come to him, he had delivered the Book to a Priest of his own

The general story of Freiburgald, who was relieved in England.

The words of the Council to the Secretary, which was much so out of his mouth.

The words of the Council to the Secretary, which was much so out of his mouth.

old friend, I have yet time. Well Sir, in conclusion, you are heartily welcome. But having now weighty affairs in my Princes cause, you must hold me excused, that I can no longer tarry with you. Therefore at this time I take my leave, desiring you with the fullest mind of a Friend, that you forget not to do dry come to my House to dinner, and then in remounting on his Horse, he passed to Cromwell. Freiburgald greatly marvelling with himself who this Lord should be, at last, after some pause his remembrance better called home, he knew him to be the same; whom long before he had benevolently had relieved in Florence, and thereat not a little joyed especially



especially considering how that by his means he should the better recover his.

The hour of Dinner drawing near, he repaired to the house of his honourable Countess, where walking a while in his bath Court, he attended his coming. The Lord shortly returned from the Court, and no sooner dismounted, but he again embraced this Gentleman with so friendly a countenance, that both the Lord Admiral, and all the other Noble Men of the Court being then in his Company, did not a little marvel thereof.

Which thing when the Lord Cromwell perceived, he turning towards them, and holding *Frescobald* fast by the hand, do ye not marvel my Lords, quoth he, that I seem so glad of this man? This is he by whose means I have achieved the degree of this my present calling: and because ye shall not be ignorant of his courtship when I greatly needed, I shall tell it you, and there declared unto them every thing in order according as before hath been related unto you. His Tale finished, holding him fill by the hand, he entred his Houfe, and coming into the Chamber, where his Dinner was prepared, he bid him down to the Table, placing his belt welcomed Guest next unto him.

The Dinner ended, and the Lords departed, he would know what occasion had brought *Frescobald* to London. *Francis* in few words opened his cause, truly relating, that from great wealth he was fallen into poverty, and that only Portion to maintain the rest of his life was fifteen thousand Ducks which were owing him in England, and two thousand in Spain. Whereunto the Lord Cromwell answering again, said, Touching the thing, Mr. *Frescobald* that be already paid, although it cannot now be undone by means power, nor by policy called again, which hath happened unto you by the unstable condition and mutability of this world altering to and fro, yet is not your fortune so peculiar to you, as you fill alone, but that by the bond of mutual love I must also befall with you this your state and condition: which state and condition of yours, though it may work in you matter of just heaviness, yet notwithstanding, to the intent you may recover in this your heavy distress some consolation for your old courtship shewed to me in times past, the like courtship now requirerth of me again, that I likewise should repay some portion of that debt wherein I am bound unto you; according as the part of a thankful man biddeth me to do, in requiting your benevolence on my part heretofore received. And this further I avouch in the word of a true Friend, that during this life and state of mine, I will never fail to do for you, wherein my authority may prevail to supply your lack and necessity: and to let these few words suffice to give you knowledge of my friendly meaning. But let me delay the time no longer.

Then taking him by the hand, he led him into his Chamber, whence after that every man by his commandment was departed, he locked fast the Door. Then opening a Coffer full heaped with Treasure, he first took ten thousand Ducks, and delivering them to *Frescobald* he said; Lo here (my Friend) is your money which you lent me at my departure from Florence, and here other ten which you bestowed in my apparel, with ten more that you disbursed for the Horse I did away on. But considering you are a Merchant, I thought to me not now to return your money without some consideration for the long detaining of it. Take you therefore these four bags, and in every of them is four hundred Ducks, these you shall receive and enjoy from the hands of your assured Friend.

*Frescobald*, although from great wealth he was brought to a low ebb, and almost an utter decay, yet expressing the virtue of a modest mind, after gentle thanks given to the Lord Cromwell for his exceeding kindness shewed, courteously would have refused that which was offered, had not the other enticed him against his will to receive it.

This done, he called *Frescobald* to give him a Note of the Names of all his Debtors, and the sum that every one of them was owing him. This *Frescobald* he delivered to one of his Servants, unto whom he gave charge diligently to search out such men whose names were therein contained, if they were within any part of the

Realm, and then finally to charge them to make payment of those fums within fifteen days, or else to abide the hazard of his displeasure. The Servant so well performed his Masters commandment, that in very short time they made payment of the whole sum: and if it had liked *Frescobald* to have demanded, they should have answered to the uttermost such commodity as the use of his money in so many years would have given him profit: but he, contented with his principal, would demand no further. By which means he got both hearty love and great estimation, and the more, for that he was so dear to the Lord Cromwell, and so highly esteemed of him.

And during all this time, *Frescobald* continually lodged in the house of the Lord Cromwell, who ever gave him such entertainment as he had right well deserved, and oftentimes moved him to abide here in England, offering him the loan of three or four thousand Ducks for the space of four years, if he would continue and make his Bank in London. But *Frescobald*, who desired to return into his Country, and there quietly to continue the rest of his life, with the great favour of the Lord Cromwell, continued after many thanks for his high and noble entertainment, departed towards his dear home, where richly armed, he gave himself quietly to live. But this wealth he first time enjoyed, for in the first year of his return he died.

So plentiful was the life of this man in such fruits full of singular gratitude and courtship, that to rehearse all it would require too long a tractation. Yet one amongst many other I may not overpass, whereby we may evidently consider, or rather marvel at the lowly mind of such a Person in so high a State and place of Honour. For as he coming with other of the Lords of the Council and Commissioners, to the house of *Sterne*, about the examination of certain Monks, where richly armed, he gave himself quietly to live. But this wealth he first time enjoyed, for in the first year of his return he died.

In this worthy and Noble Person, besides divers other eminent virtues, three things especially are to be considered, to wit, flourishing authority, exceeding wisdom, and fervent zeal to Christ and to his Gospel. First, as touching his fervent zeal in setting forward the sincerity of Christian Faith, sufficient it is to be seen before by his Instructions, Proclamations, and Articles above specified, that none cannot almost be withheld in a noble man, and scarce the like hath been seen in any.

Secondly, for his wisdom and policy no less singular, joyined with his Christian zeal, he brought great advantage to pass, as well on this side the Sea as in the other parts beyond. But especially his working was to nourish peace abroad vid foreign Realms, as may well be by the Kings Letters and instructions sent by his means to his Ambassadors resident both with the Emperor, the French King, and the King of Scots, and also with the Pope, appear. In all whole Courts, such watch and spirit he had, that nothing there was done, nor pretended, whereby he before had not intelligence. Neither was there any spark of mischievous kindling never so little against the King and the Realm, which he by wit and policy did not quench and keep down. And where policy would not serve to obtain peace, yet by him he bought it out; so that during all the time of Cromwells prosperity, the King never had Wars with any foreign Nation: notwithstanding, that both the Pope, the Emperor, the King of France and Scotland were nightly bent and incensed against him.

K.Hen.8.

K.Hen.8.

Thus as the prudent policy of this man was ever circumspect abroad, so to the Realm from foreign wars; nor these prodigious hoards, and prodigious riches, nor the authority he was no less occupied in keeping good order and rule at home: First, in dampening the popish Pretists, and disappointing their subtil devices; secondly in bridling and keeping other unruly subjects under subjection and discipline of the Law. Whereby as he was a terror to the evil Doers; so that not the presence of him only, but also the hearing of the coming of Cromwell brake many craves, and much evil rule, as well appeared by a certain notorious fry or riot, appointed to be fought by a company of Ruffians in the Street of London called *Pater-noster-Kew*; where Carts were set on both sides, of purpose prepared to inclose them, that none might break in to part them. It happened, that as this desperate skirmish should begin, the Lord Cromwell coming the same time from the Court through *Pater-noster-Kew*, and entering into the street, had intelligence of the great fry toward, and because the Carts he could not come at them, but was forced to go about the little conduit, and so came upon them through *Pamier-Alley*.

Thus as the conflict began to wax hot, and the people after standing by in great expectation to see them fight, suddenly at the Noise of the Lord Cromwells coming the Camp brake up, and the Ruffians to go, neither could the Carts keep in those so courageous campers, but well was the last that could be gone. And so ceased this tumultuous outrage, without any other harming, only through the Authority of the Lord Cromwells name.

One example more of the like affinity cometh here in mind, which ought not to be omitted, concerning a certain Serving-Man of the like ruffianly order, who thinking to deliver himself from the command of his Master, he (as many there be whom nothing doth please, which is daily seen and received) used to go with his hair hanging about his ears down unto his shoulders, after a strange monstrous manner, counterfeiting be like the wild Irish Men, or else *Crimin lappas*, which *Freged* feathers of, as our werry of his own English fashion; or else as one allured to be seen like a man, would rather go like a Woman, or like to one of the *Gargen Sisters*, but most of all like to himself, that is, like to a Ruffian, that could not tell how to go.

As this Ruffian, pulling thus with his locks was walking the Streets, as chance was who should meet him but the Lord Cromwell? Who beholding the deform and unseemly manner of his disguised going, full of much vanity and hurtful example, called the Man to question with him whole fervant he was: which being declared, then was demanded whether his Master or any of his fellows used to go with such hair about their shoulders as he did, or no? Which when he denied, and was not able to yield any reason for refuge of that his monstrous disguising, at length he fell to this excuse, that he had made a Vow. To this the Lord Cromwell answered again, that for so much sake had made himself a votary, he would not force him to break his Vow, but until his Vow should be expired, he should live the mean time in Prison, and so sent him immediately to the *Marshalsea*, where he endured, till at length this *manful Cates*, being persuaded by his mulier to cut his hair, by fair and petition of Friends, he was brought again to the Lord Cromwell with his head polled according to the accustomed sort of his other fellows, and was so dismissed.

Henceunto also pertained the example of *Prier Bartley*, who wearing till his first coming the superstitious habit of Religious Houses, Cromwell coming through *Pater-noster-Kew* crying him in *Rhemes* his shoppes said he, will not that coat of yours be left off yet? And if I hear by one a clock that this apparel be not changed, though that be answered immediately, for example to all others. And so passing his last away, he durst never wear it after.

In the same Lord Cromwell, which could not abide in these days alive, with the same Authority which were in their olden day, law these new-fangled fashions of attire, also here amongst us both of Men and Women,

I suppose verily that neither these monstrous ruffs; nor these prodigious hoards, and prodigious riches, nor the authority he was no less occupied in keeping good order and rule at home: First, in dampening the popish Pretists, and disappointing their subtil devices; secondly in bridling and keeping other unruly subjects under subjection and discipline of the Law. Whereby as he was a terror to the evil Doers; so that not the presence of him only, but also the hearing of the coming of Cromwell brake many craves, and much evil rule, as well appeared by a certain notorious fry or riot, appointed to be fought by a company of Ruffians in the Street of London called *Pater-noster-Kew*; where Carts were set on both sides, of purpose prepared to inclose them, that none might break in to part them. It happened, that as this desperate skirmish should begin, the Lord Cromwell coming the same time from the Court through *Pater-noster-Kew*, and entering into the street, had intelligence of the great fry toward, and because the Carts he could not come at them, but was forced to go about the little conduit, and so came upon them through *Pamier-Alley*.

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The courtship of the Lord Cromwell in courtship his old friend.

A sketch of the Lord Cromwell in courtship his old friend.

A sketch of the Lord Cromwell in courtship his old friend.

Frescobald in the King's hall.

Example of a faithful servant.

The Lord Cromwell's visit.

Kindred required with kindness.

The Road of Great good with eyes.

Sticks and blocks removed out of the way.

St. Stephen Bishop of Winchester, who ever did to the Lord Cromwell.

were





The first Sermon that Dr. Barnes preached in the House of the Trinity.

The first Sermon that ever he preached of this truth was the Sunday before Christmas day, at Saint Edwards Church belonging to Trinity-Hall in Cambridge by the Peefe Masters, where the Trinity was the Epistle of the same Sunday, *Gaudete in Domino, &c.* And he polluted the whole Epistle, Following the Scripture and Luther's potill, and for that Sermon he was immediately accused of Heresy by two Fellows of the Kings Hall. Then the good learned in Christ both of Pembroke-Hall, Saint Johns, Peter-Hall, Queens College, the Kings College, Gownall Hall, and Benn College shewed themselves and flocked together in open fight, both in the Schools and at open Sermons at Saint Marys, and at the *Aufins*, and at other disputations, and then they conferred continually together.

The House that they resorted most commonly unto was the white Horse, which for despite of them, to bring Gods Word into contempt, was called *Germany*. This House especially was chosen because many of them (Saint Johns, The Kings College, and the Queens College came in on the back side. At this time much trouble began to ensue. The Adversaries of Doctor Barnes accused him in the *Regens House* before the Vice-Chancellor, whereas his Articles were presented with him received, he promising to make answer at the next Convocation, and so it was done. Then Doctor *Natorius*, a rank Enemy to Christ, moved Doctor Barnes to recant, but he refused to do so; which appeareth in his Book that he refused to King Henry the eighth an English, confuting the judgment of Cardinal *Wolsey*, and the residue of the Bishops Popishland for the time flood. Briefly And the tragedy continued in Cambridge, one preaching against another, in trying out of Gods Truth, until within fix days of *Sirvovide*. Then suddenly was sent down to Cambridge a Sergeant Armes, called Master *Gulfin*, dwelling in Saint Thomas *Apostles* in London, who suddenly arrested Doctor Barnes openly in the Convocation-House, to make all other afraid; and privily they had determined to make search for *Luthers Books* which all the Germans works suddenly.

But good Doctor *Parnell* of the Queens College lent word incontinently thereof, to the Chambers of those that were suspected, which were in number thirty persons. But, God be praised, they were conveyed away by that time that the Sergeant at Arms, the Vice-Chancellor and the Proctors were at every mans Chambers, going directly to the place where the Books lay (whereby it was perceived that there were some privy spies amongst that small company) and that night they studied together, and gave him his answer, which answer he carried with him to London the next morning, which was the Tuesday before *Shrove Sunday*, and came on the Wednesday to London, and lay at Master *Parnell* House by the Stocks. In the morning he was carried by the Sergeant at Arms to Cardinal *Wolsey* to Westminster, waiting there all day, and could not speak with him till night. Then by reason of Doctor Gardiner Secretary to the Cardinal, (of whose familiar acquaintance he had been before) and Master Fox Master of the Wards, he spoke the same night with the Cardinal in his Chamber of Elbate, kneeling on his Knees. Then said the Cardinal to him, Is this Doctor Barnes your man that is accused of Heresy? Ye, and please your Grace, and we trust you shall find him reformable, for he is both well learned and will.

What, Mr. Doctor (said the Cardinal) had you not a sufficient foyeign the Scripture to teach the people, but that you give them, my pollaxes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my Crofles did so fore offend you, that you must make us ridiculous Caput amongst the people? We were jillity that day laughed to scorn. Verily it was a Sermon more fitter to be preached on a flagge than in a Pulpit; for at the last you said, I wear a pair of red gloves, (should say bloody gloves) (quoth you) that I should not be cold in the midst of my Ceremonies. And answer me, I flike nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to my Conscience, and according to the old Doctors, and then did he deliver him fix sheets of Paper written, to confirm and corroborate his sayings.

He received them smiling on him, and saying, We perceive then that you intend to stand to your Articles, and to shew your learning.

Ye, said Barnes, that I do intend, by Gods Grace, with your Lordships favour.

He answered, Such as you are to bear a little favour and the Catholick Church. I will ask you a question: Whether do you think it more necessary that I should have all this Royalty, because I respect the Kings Majesty Person in all the high Courts of this Realm, to the terror and keeping down of all Rebels, Treasons, Traitors, all the wicked and corrupt members of this Commonwealth, or to be as simple as you would have me to be, to fall all these aforesaid things, and to give to the poor, which shortly will piss it against the walls, and to pull away this Majesty of a Princely dignity, which is by the Terror to the wicked, and to follow your Counsel in this behalf?

He answered, I think it necessary to be fold and given to the poor. For this is not comely for your calling, nor is the Kings Majesty maintained by your pomp and pollaxes, but by Gods who faith, *Per me Reges regnant, Kings and their Majesty reign and stand by me.*

Then answered he, Lo Master Doctors, here is the learned wise man that you told me of. Then they kneeled down and said, we desire your Grace to be good unto him, for he could make, should bring them to Pauls and could shut them home again. In the morning they were all ready by their hour appointed in Pauls Church, the Church being full that no man could get in. The Cardinal had a Scaffold made on the top of the faile for himself, with fix and thirty Abbots, priors and Bishops, and he in his whole poem mitered, which Barnes spake against, fate there environed, his Chaplains and Spiritual Doctors in Gowns of Damask and Satin, and he himself in Purple, even like a bloody Antichrist. And there was a new pulpit erected on the top of the faile also, for the Bishop of Rochester to preach against Luther and Doctor Barnes; and great Baskets full of Books hanging before them within the Rails, which were commanded, after the great fire was made above the Rood of *Norwich*, there to be burned, and these Hieromes words in printed Sermon to go thence about the fire and to call in their

Will you then be ruled by us and we will do all things for your honesty, and for the honesty of the University.

He answered, I thank you for your good will, I will bring forth Holy Scriptures, and to Gods Book, according to the simple talent that God hath lent me.

Well, said he, thou shalt have thy learning tried to the uttermost, and thou shalt have the Law.

Then he required him that he might have Justice with equity, and forthwith he should have gone to the Tower, but that Gardiner and Fox looked on Sirates that night, and so he came home to Mr. Parnell House again, and that night fell to writing again and slept not, Master Coverdale, Master Goodman, and Master Field being his writers; and in the morning he came to York place to Gardiner and Fox, and by and he was committed to the Sergeant of Arms to bring him into the Chapel House at Westminster before the Bishops and the Abbot of Westminster called *Slip*.

The time time when Doctor Barnes should appear before the Cardinal, there were five *Still-yard* men to be seen ready and on his feet, ready, examined for *Luthers Book* and *Leland's*, but after they spied Barnes they set the other aside, and asked the Sergeant of Arms what was his errand. He said he had brought one Doctor Barnes to be examined of Heresie, and presented both his Articles and his Accusers. Then immediately after a little talk, they swore him and laid his Articles to him. Who like as he answered the Cardinal before, so said he unto them; and then he offered the Book of his probations unto them. Who asked him whether he had answer for himself, and he said yes, shewing it unto them. Who then took it to read him, and said they would have no leisure to dispute with him at that present for other affairs of the Kings Majesty, which they had to do, and therefore bade him stand aside. Then they called the *Still-yard* Men again one by one and when they were examined, they called forth the Master of the Fleet, and they were committed all to the Fleet. Then they called Doctor Barnes again, and asked him whether he would subscribe to his Articles or no, and he subscribed willingly; and then they committed him and young Master Parnell to the Fleet also with the other. There they remained, till *Saturday* in the morning, and the Warden of the Fleet was commanded that no man should speak with him.

On the Saturday he came again afore them into the Chapter House, and there with the *Still-yard* men remained till five a clock the next night. And after long disputations, threats, and fearings, about five a clock at night they called him, to know whether he would abjure or burn. He was then in a great agony, and thought rather

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Then they commanded the Warden of the Fleet to carry him and his Fellows to the place from whence he came, and to be kept in close Prison, and in the morning to provide five Fagots for Doctor Barnes, and the four *Still-yard* Men. The fifth *Still-yard* man was commanded to have a Tape of 50 pound weight to be provided for him, to offer, to the Rood of *Norwich* in Pauls, and all these things to be ready by eight of the clock in the morning; and that he with all that he could make, with Bills and Glaves, and the Knight Master with all his *Still-yard* men, for he could make, should bring them to Pauls and could shut them home again. In the morning they were all ready by their hour appointed in Pauls Church, the Church being full that no man could get in. The Cardinal had a Scaffold made on the top of the faile for himself, with fix and thirty Abbots, priors and Bishops, and he in his whole poem mitered, which Barnes spake against, fate there environed, his Chaplains and Spiritual Doctors in Gowns of Damask and Satin, and he himself in Purple, even like a bloody Antichrist. And there was a new pulpit erected on the top of the faile also, for the Bishop of Rochester to preach against Luther and Doctor Barnes; and great Baskets full of Books hanging before them within the Rails, which were commanded, after the great fire was made above the Rood of *Norwich*, there to be burned, and these Hieromes words in printed Sermon to go thence about the fire and to call in their

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He answered, I thank you for your good will, I will bring forth Holy Scriptures, and to Gods Book, according to the simple talent that God hath lent me.

Well, said he, thou shalt have thy learning tried to the uttermost, and thou shalt have the Law.

Then he required him that he might have Justice with equity, and forthwith he should have gone to the Tower, but that Gardiner and Fox looked on Sirates that night, and so he came home to Mr. Parnell House again, and that night fell to writing again and slept not, Master Coverdale, Master Goodman, and Master Field being his writers; and in the morning he came to York place to Gardiner and Fox, and by and he was committed to the Sergeant of Arms to bring him into the Chapel House at Westminster before the Bishops and the Abbot of Westminster called *Slip*.

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And thus hitherto concerning the History of *Barnes*. Now let us likewise, consider the story and doings of *Thomas Garret*.

The Story of Thomas Garret or Garrard, and of his trouble in Oxford, is testified and recorded by Anthony Dalaber, who was there present the same time.

The Gates  
being shut  
to Oxford.

About the year of our Lord 1536. Mr. Garret, Curate in *Ham-Lane* in *London*, came unto *Oxford*, and brought with him sundry Books in Latin, treating of the Scriptures, with the first part of *Unidipendium* and *Tindals* first translation of the New Testament in English, the which Books he held to divers Scholars in *Oxford*.

Garret  
being shut  
to London.

After he had been there a while, and had dispatched those Books, News came from *London*, that he was scarce for *new* *London* to be apprehended and taken as an Heretic, and to be imprisoned, because they spoke against the usurped Authority and erroneous Doctrine of the Bishop of *Rome*, and his no less impious and filthy Synagogue. For it was not unknown to Cardinal *Wolsey*, and to the Bishop of *London*, and to other of that engolly Generation, that *Garret* had a great number of those Books, and that he was gone to *Oxford* to make sale of them, so that he was known to be the lovers of the Gospel. Wherefore they determined forthwith to make a privy search through all *Oxford*, to apprehend and imprison him, and to burn all and every his forlorn Books, and him too if they could; so burning his house was their Charity. But yet at that time one of the forlorn Priests, called *M. Cole* of *Magdalen College*, who after was Cross-bearer unto Cardinal *Wolsey*, was well acquainted with Mr. Garret, and therefore he gave secret warning unto a Friend or two of his, to flee this privy search, and willed therefore that he should forthwith, as secretly as he could, depart out of *Oxford*; for if he were taken in the same search, no remedy but he should be forthwith sent up unto the Cardinal, and so he should be committed unto the Tower.

Anthony Dalaber  
then Scholar  
of *Albion-Hall*,  
Stal, Bar  
pore here  
at.

The Christian! before that time, *Anthony Dalaber* of *Albion-Hall*, who had Books of Mr. Garret, had been in my Country in *Dorsetshire* at *Stalgarres*, where I had a Brother Parson of that Parish, who was very desirous to have a Curate out of *Oxford*, and willed me in any wise to get him one there if I could. This just occasion offered, it was thought good among the Brethren (for so did we not call only one another, but were indeed one to another) that Mr. Garret, changing his Name, should be sent forth with my Letters into *Dorsetshire* to my Brother, to serve him there for a time, until he might secretly from thence convey himself some whither over the Sea. According herunto I wrote my Letters in all safe possible unto my Brother, for Mr. Garret to be his Curate, but not declaring what he was indeed, for my Brother was a rank Papist, and afterward was the most mortal Enemy that ever I had for the Gospel's sake.

Brother  
Garret  
being  
at.

So the *Wednesday* in the Morning before *Shrove-tide* Mr. Garret departed out of *Oxford* toward *Dorsetshire*, with his Letters for his new Service. How far he went, and by what occasion he soon returned, I know not, but the *Friday* next, in the Night time, he came again to *Radley House*, where he lay before, and so after *Midnight*, in the privy search which was then made for him, he was apprehended and taken there in his Bed by the two Proctors, and on the *Saturday* in the Morning was delivered unto one Dr. *Catford* Master of *Lincoln College*, then being Commissary of the University, who kept him as Prisoner in his own Chamber. There was great joy and rejoicing among all the Papists for his Apprehension, and specially with Dr. *London*, Warden of the New College, and Dr. *Higdon* Dean of *Friars*, who, pushed unto the Cardinal, to inform him of the apprehension of this notable Heretic. For the which they doing they were well assured to have great thanks. But of all this sudden hurly-burly was I utterly ignorant, so that I knew neither of Mr. Garret, his sudden return, neither that he was taken; until that afterward he

came unto my Chamber, being then in *Gloucester College*, as a man amazed, and as soon as he saw me, he said he was undone, for he was taken. Thus he spoke unadvisedly in the presence of a young man that came with him. When the young man was departed I asked him what he was, and what acquaintance he had with him. He said, he knew him not; but he had been to seek a Monk of his acquaintance in that College, who was not in his Chamber, and thereupon desired that his Servant, (not knowing my Chamber, for that I was newly removed thither) to bring him to me: and so forth declared how he was returned and taken that Night in the privy search, as ye have heard, and that now when the Commissary and all his Company were gone to *Even-song*, and had locked him alone in his Chamber, he hearing no body stirring in the College, put back the Bar of the Lock with his Finger, and so did come forth unto *Gloucester College*, to speak with that Monk, if he had been within, who had also bought Books of him.

Then said I unto him, *Alas Mr. Garret*, by this your uncomely coming unto me, and speaking to before this young man, you have disclosed your self, and utterly undone me, for ye asked him, why he went not unto my Brother with my Letters accordingly. He said, after that he was gone a day's Journey and a half, he was so fearful, that his heart would no other but that he must needs return again unto *Oxford*; and so he came again on *Friday* at Night, and then was taken, as ye heard before. But now with deep sighs and plenty of tears, he prayed me to help to convey him away, and to be cast off his Hood and his Gown, wherein he came unto me, and desired me to give him a Coat with Sleeves, if I had any, and told me that he would go into *Wales*, and thence convey himself into *Germany*, if he might. Then I put on him a fewed Coat of mine. He said, he also had had another manner of Cap of mine, but I had none but *Priest-like*, such as his own was.

Then kneeled we both down together upon our knees, *Garret* lifting up our hearts and thanks to God our heavenly Father, desiring him with plenty of tears to conduct and prosper him in his Journey, that he might well escape, and deliver him out of all his Enemies, to the glory of his holy Name; if his good pleasure and will so were; and then we embraced and kissed the one the other, the tears so abundantly flowing out from both our eyes, that we all bewet both our faces, and farrely for sorrow could we speak one to another, and so he departed from me appeared in my Coat, being committed unto the tuition of our Almighty and Merciful Father.

When he was gone down the Stairs from my Chamber, I first angrily did shut my Chamber-door, and went into my Study, and took the New Testament in my hands, kneeled down on my knees, and with many a deep sigh and fall tear I did with much deliberation read over the tenth Chapter of *St. Matthew's* Gospel: and when I had so done, with Prayer I did commit unto God that our dearly beloved Brother *Garret*, earnestly beseeching him, in Lord, that he would vouchsafe not only safely to conduct and keep our said dear Brother from the hands of all his Enemies; but also that he would endue his tender and lately born little Fleck in *Oxford* with heavenly strength by his holy Spirit, that they might be well able thereby valiantly to withstand to his glory all their false Enemies, and also might quietly, to their own salvation, with all godly patience bear Christ's heavy Cross, which I now faw was presently to be laid on their young and weak backs, unable to bear so huge a burthen, without the great help of his Holy Spirit.

This done, I laid aside my Book safe, folded up Mr. Garret's Gown and Hood, and laid them in my Press among mine Apparel, and so having put on my froth Gown, but up my Study and Chamber-doors, and went toward *Friars*, to speak with that worthy Martyr of God *M. Clark*, and others, and to declare unto them what I had hapned that Afternoon. But of purpose I went by *St. Mary's Church*, to go first unto *Corpus Christi College*, to speak with *Dier* and *Uden*, my faithful Brethren and Fellows in the Lord there. But by chance I met by the way

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way with a Brother of ours, one Master *Eden*, fellow of *Magdalen College*, who as soon as he saw me, came unto me with a pitiful countenance unto me, saying, that we were all undone, for Master *Garret* was returned again to *Oxford*, taken the last night in the Privy search, and was in Prison with the Commissary. I said it was not so. He said it was so. I told him it could not be so, for I knew he was gone. He answered me and said, I know he was gone with your Letters, but he came again yesterday in the even, and was taken in his Bed at *Radley* this night in the Privy search; for, quoth he, I heard our Proctor *M. Cole* say and declare the same this day in our College to divers of the House. But I told him again, that I was well assured he was now gone, for I spoke with him later then either the Proctor or the Commissary did: and then I declared the whole matter unto him, how and when he came unto me, and how he went his way, willing him to declare the same unto the other Brethren whom he should meet withal, and to give God hearty thanks for his wonderful deliverance and to pray him also that he would grant him safely to pass away from all his enemies, and told him that I was going unto *Malter Clark* of *Friars*, to declare unto him this matter, for I knew he would verily that he and divers others there were in great sorrow for this matter. Then I went straight to *Friars*, and *Even-song* was begun, and the Dean and the other Canons were there in their gray Amices; they were almost at *Magnificat* before I came thither, I stood at the Quire, and heard Mr. *Taverner* play, and others of the Chappel there long with, and among whom I my self was wont to sing also, but now my fingering and music was turned into sighing and musing.

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As I thus and there stood, in cometh Dr. *Catford* the Commissary as fast as he could go, bare headed, and as pale as *Alban* (I knew his self well enough) and to the Dean he goeth into the Quire, where he was sitting in his Stall, and talked with him very sorrowfully: what I know not, but whereof I might and did well and truly guess. I went aside from the Quire Door, to go and to the side of the Chappel, to see and to hear more of the Commissary's doing. I saw divers of the Quire wonderfully troubled, as it seemed. About the middle of the Church met them Dr. *Fennel* puffing, blustering, and blowing, like an hungry and greedy Lion seeking his Prey. They talked together a while, but the Commissary was much blamed of them for keeping of his Prisoner so negligently, inasmuch that he went for sorrow: and it was known abroad that Master *Garret* was escaped, and gone out of the Commissaries Chamber at *Even-song* time, but whether no man could tell. These Doctors departed, and sent abroad their Servants and spies every where. Master *Clark* about the middle of *Compline* came forth of the Quire: I followed him to his Chamber, and declared what was happened that afternoon, of Master *Garret's* escape. He was glad, for he knew of his Brethren: Then he sent for one Mr. *Sumner* and Mr. *Friswell*, Fellows, and Canons there. In the mean while he gave me a very good exhortation, praying God to give me, and all the rest of our Brethren, *Prudentiam septimanam et simplicitatem columbinam*, for we should have shortly much need thereof, as he verily thought. When Mr. *Sumner* and Mr. *Friswell* were come unto him, he caused me to declare again the whole matter to them two, and they were very glad that Master *Garret* was so delivered, trusting that he should escape all his enemies. Then desiring them to tell unto our other Brethren what was happened, (for there were divers other in the College) I went to *Corpus Christi College* to comfort our Brethren there being in like heaviness. There I tarried and slipped with them. At which Supper we were not very merry, considering our State and peril at hand.

When we had ended our Supper, and committed our whole souls with fervent sighs and hearty Prayers unto God our heavenly Father, I went to *Albion-Hall*, and there lay that night. In the morning I was up very early, and so soon as I could get out of the door, I went straight toward *Gloucester College* to my Chamber. It had rained that morning, and with my mire I had all to be sprinkled my hose and shoes with mire. And when I was come unto *Gloucester College*, which

was about six of the Clock, I found the Gates fast shut. Whereto I did sigh as he few me, and I did walk up and down by the Wall there, a whole hour before the Gates were opened. In the mean while my musing head being full of forecasting cares, and my sorrowful heart blowing with doleful sighs, I fully determined in my conscience before God, that if I should chance to be taken, and examined, I would accuse no man nor declare any thing before And I did already perceive was manifestly known further: And so when the Gate was opened, thinking to shift my self, and to put on a longer Gown, I went in towards my Chamber, and going up the Stairs, would have opened my Door, but I could not in a long season do it. Whereby I perceived that my Lock had been meddled withal, and therewith was somewhat altered. Yet at last with much ado I opened the Lock and went in. When I came in, I saw my bed all to be soiled and rumpled, my Cloaths in my Press thrown down, and my study door open. Whereat I was much amazed, and thought verily that some search was made there that night for Mr. Garret, and that it was known of his being with me, by the Monks man that brought him to my Chamber.

Now was there lying in the next Chamber unto me a Monk, who, as soon as he had heard me in the Chamber, came to me, and told how Mr. Garret was fought for in my Chamber that night, and what also there was made by the Commissary and the two Proctors, with Bills and Swords thrust through my bed furs, and how every Corner of my Chamber was searched for Mr. Garret. And albeit his Gown and his Hood lay there in my Press with my Cloaths, yet they perceived him not. Then he told me he was commanded to bring me as soon as I came in, unto the Prior of the Students named *Anthony Dunstun* Master of *Wolfeham*. This he troubled me, that I forgot to make clean my hose and shoes, and to shift me into another Gown, and therefore I all to be dand as I was, and in my short Gown, I went with him to the side of the Priory Chamber, where I found the said Prior the Chancellor and looking for my countenance. He asked where had been that night. I told him I lay at *Albion-Hall* with one bed fellow *Friswell*, but he would not believe me. He asked me if Master *Garret* were with me yesterday. I told him yes. Then he would know where he was, and wherefore he came unto me. I told him I knew not where he was except he was *Wind-Back*. For so, said I, he had shewed me that he would go thither because one of the Keepers there his Friend had promised him a piece of Venison to make merry withal at *Shrove-tide*, and that he would have borrowed a Hat and a pair of high shoes of me, but I had none to deend him. This Tale I thought meetly, though it were nothing so. Then he had spied on my finger a big Ring of silver very well double gilt with two Letters A.D. engraved in it for my name; I suppose he thought it to be Gold. He required to see it. I took it unto him. When he had it in his hand, he said it was his Ring, for therein was his name: An A. for *Anthony*, and a D. for *Dunstun*. When I heard him say so, I willed in my heart to be as well delivered from and out of their hands, as I was assured to be delivered from my Ring for ever.

Then he called for Pen, Ink, and Paper, and commanded me to write when and how *Garret* came unto me, and where he became. I had scarcely written three words, but the chief Beadle with two or three of the Constables men were come unto Mr. Prior, requiring him straightways to bring us away unto *Lincoln College* to the Commissary, and to Doctor *London*. Whither when I was brought into the Chappel, there I found Dr. *Catford* Commissary, Doctor *Higdon* then Dean of the Cardinals College, and Doctor *London* Warden of the New College, standing together at the Altar in the Chappel. When I was brought unto them, after Salutations given and taken between them, they called for me, and I went in, and called for me to come to them. And first they asked what my names were. I told them that my name was *Anthony Dalaber*. Then they also asked me how long I had been student in the University, and I told them almost three years. And they asked me what

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to London.

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what I studied. I told them that I had read *Sophistry* and *Logic* in *Albion Hall*, and now was removed into *Gloucester* College to study the Civil Law, the which the forefard Prior of the Students affirmed to be true. Then they asked me whether I knew Master *Garret*, and how long I had known him. I told them I knew him well, and had known him almost a twelve Month. They asked me when he was with me. I told them yesterday at afternoon.

Now by this time, while they had me in this hall, one came unto them which was sent for, with Pen, Juk and Paper; I trow it was the Clarke of the *University*. As soon as he was come, there was a Board and Trelles with a form laid for him to sign, whereon the Doctor made a great and goodly Boord before me, and I was commanded to lay my right-hand on it, and to swear that I should truly answer unto such Articles and Interrogatories as I should be by them examined upon. I made answer that I would, and that I was not aware of any danger of it awhile at first, but afterward being perswaded that I should be thereby to save my self from great threats, I promised to do as they would have me, and in my heart meant nothing to go so. I did lay my Hand on the Book, and one of them gave me my Oath, and that done commanded me to Kiss the Book. Then made they great counterfeits between them who should examine me, and mine Interpreter, and I was asked what I thought, the ankerft Papistical Phylactery of them, *Id est* of the *Lorden* told upon him to do.

Then he asked me again by my Oath where Master Garret was, and whether I had conveyed him. I told him I had not conveyed him, nor yet with where he was, nor whether he was gone, except he were gone to *Woodstock* (as I had before said) as he threwe me how he would. Then he asked me again when he came to me, how he came to me, what and how long he talked with me, and whether he went from me. I told him he came to me about Evening time, that one brought him unto my Chamber Door, whom I knew not, and that he told me he would go to *Woodstock* for some Venison to make merry withall this *Shrove-tide*, and that he would have borrowed a Hat, and a pair of high shoes of me, but had none such to lend him, and then he fraighte went his way from me, but whether I know not. All these sayings the scribe wrote in a PaperBook.

Then they earnestly required me to tell them whether I had conveyed him, for surely they said I brought him going home whether this morning, for that they might well perceive by my foul shoes and dirty hands, I had travelled far. I told them I had not, and that I had never favoured plainly that I had at *Albion Hall* with Sir *Fine James*, and that I had got windeth thereof there. They asked me where I was at *Evening*. I told them at *Five-walks*, and that I saw first *Master Comberffrey*, and then *Master London*, and *Master London* and *Master Deane of Frideswide*, and that I saw them talking together in the Church there. *Doctor London* and the *Dean* threatened me, that if I would not tell the truth that I had done him, or whether he was gone, I should have a whipping, and I was so terrified, that I fled, and put into Little-leaf. But *Master Comberffrey* prayed me with gentle words, to tell him where he was, that he might have him again, and he would be my very friend, and I told him that I had not, and he went his way. I told him I could not tell where he was, nor where he became. Thus they did occupy and tosse me almost two hours in the Chappel, sometimes with threatnings and foul words, and then with fair words, and at last they flattered me, and said that they brought me *Mr. Gerrat* unto my Chamber, and before me they caused to declare what *Mr. Gerrat* said unto me at his coming to my Chamber; but I saw plainly I heard him say no such thing, for I thought my life to be as good as lost, and I was so vexed, that I was my goodly Brother out of trouble and peril of his life.

At the last, when they could get nothing of me whereby to hurt or accuse any man, or to know any thing of the which they sought, they all three together brought me up a long stairs into a great Chamber over Master Commissaries Chamber wherein stood a great pair of very high Stocks. Then Master Commissary asked me for my purse and girdle, took away my money and my

knives, and then they put both my legs into the stocks,  
 and so locked me fast in them: in which I fate, my feet  
 being almost as high as my head, and so departed they  
 (I know not how) to the next house, and left me  
 in the stocks, and leaving me alone. When they all were  
 gone, then came unto my remembrance the worthy fore-  
 warning and godly declaration of that most constant mar-  
 tyr of God, *Martin Luther*, my Father in the Lord,  
 who said, *that he would rather have his bones car-  
 nally defire him to grant me to be his Scholar, and that I*  
*might go with him continually when and wheresoever*  
*he should teach or preach (the which he did daily)* T. 16.  
*paid unto me much after this sort, *Deus, tuus est**  
*quod tuus es, et tuus est quod tuus es, et tuus es*  
*quod tuus es, et tuus es, et tuus es, et tuus es,*  
*take upon you: for that now my unchangeable be-  
 lief and pleasant unto you, because there is yet no perdition*  
*laid on you for it, yet the time will come, and that per-  
 dition will be laid on you, and that perdition will be*  
*that God will lay on you the Crose of perdition to try*  
*you withal, whether you can as pure gold abide the fire,*  
*or as stubble and straw be consumed.* T. 17.  
*For the Holy Ghost*  
*plainly attests by *Saint Paul*, *Quid omnes qui soli volunt**  
*et non habent, et non habent, et non habent, et non habent,*  
*shall be called and judged an Heretic, you shall be abhorred*  
*of the world, your own Friends and kinsfolke will for-  
 sake you, and also hate you, and you shall be cast into*  
*Prison, and no man shall dare to help or comfort you*  
*in Prison, and you shall be accused of all manner of*  
*unlawful things, and shall be hated of all your*  
*to your reproach and shame, to the great sorrow of all your*  
*faithful Friends and Kinsfolke. Then will ye of ye have*  
*never known this Doctrine; then will ye curse Heretics,*  
*and withall ye had never known him, because he*  
*thought that he was a Heretic, and that he was a*  
*that you should do this, leave off from meddling with*  
 this Doctrine, and desire not to be and continue in my com-

pany. At which words I was fo grieved, that I fell down on my knees at his feet, and with abundance of tears and sighs, even from the very bottom of my heart I earnestly besought him, that for the tender mercy of God shewed to us in our Lord Jesus Christ he would not refuse me, but would be so good as to give his grace to me, promising that I trusted verily, that he which had begun this in me would not forsake me, but give me grace to continue therein unto the end. When he heard me say so, he came to me, and said, I will be in his Arms, killed me, the tears running down from his eyes, and he said, O my dear Lord Almighty grant you to do, and from henceforth for ever take me for your Father, and I will take you for my Son in Christ. Now were there at this time in Oxford, besides the Lord Bishop, the Lord Treasurer, and Halls, whom God had called to the knowledge of his holy Word, which all referred unto *Mr. Clarke's* Disputations and Lectures in Divinity at all times as they might, and were all mightily edified, and comforted, by *Mr. Clarke's* manner of teaching, and especially, by *Mr. Clarke's* application to reform to every one of them, and to know what doubts they had in any place of the Scripture, that by me from him they might have the true understanding of the same. Which exercise did much increase the good ground of the understanding of the holy Scriptures, which I most desired.

This foretold forewarning and godly declaration (1 day) of this most godly Martyr of God *Mr Clarke*, coming to your remembrance, caused me with deep sighs sighing out of my heart, to afflict me with his Holiness, that I might be able to bear and suffer whatever it should please him of his fatherly love to lay on me, *in his glory*, and the comfort of my dear beloved Brethren, whom I thought now to be in great affliction, but I thought I was well enough and all their doings in that matter. But God be blessed, I was fully never to accuse any of them, whatever should happen of me. Before Dinner Master *Cassford* came, and requested me to go with him to the Court, where *Mr Garret* was, and I would go *doe promise* to me straightways to deliver me out of Prison. But I told him could not tell where he was; no more indeed I could. Then he departed to dinnermaking as he would eat of me, and I returned to my dear Brethren, and they would find me fine. When he was gone, my Servants

asked me divers questions, which I do not now remember, and some of them spake to me fair, and some threatened me, calling me Heretick, and so departed, locking the door fast upon me.

Thus far *Anthony Dalaber* hath profecuted this Story who before the finishing departed, the year 1562. in the Diocess of *Salisbury*; the residue whereof as we could gather it out of ancient and credible Persons, so have we added here unto the same.

After this, *Garrett* was apprehended or taken by *M. Peter Cole* the Proctor, or his men going *Welford*, and placed called *Hinkley*, a little beyond *Oxford*, and for being brought back again was committed to Ward: there he, was converted before the *Comynall*, *Dorchester*, *London*, and *Doctor Higdon* Dean of *Fridefwilde* (now called *Christs College*) into *St. Maries Church*, where they sitting in judgment, convicted him according to their Law as an *Heretic* (as they said) and afterwards committed to carry a *Fagot* in open Procession from *Comynall* to *Fridefwilde*, and *Dalmer* like to come with him, *George* hearing this they were so angry as he called a *Mucker* at *Garret*. After that, they were sent to *Oxford*, there to be kept in Prison till further order was taken.

[illegible]

After this, Master Garret flying from place to place  
 escaped their Tyranny, until this present time that he  
 was again apprehended and burned with Doctor Barnes  
 with whom also William Hierome sometime Vicar of  
 Stepney was likewise drawn into Smithfield, and there  
 together with them constantly endured Martyrdom in  
 the fire.

*The life and Story of William Hierome Vicar of Stepney and Martyr of Christ.*

**T**he third Company which suffered with *HARRIS* and *Garret*, was *W. HIROME* Vicar of *Stepney*. This *Hirome* being a diligent preacher of Gods Word, for the comfort and edification of the People, had preached divers and sundry Sermons, wherein to the intent to plant in the consciences of men the sincere Truth of Christian Religion, he laboured as much as time then served, to extirp and weed out the many men Traditions, Doctrines, Dreams, and Fancies, which doing he could not otherwise be but he must needs provoke much hatred against him amongst the *Adventurers* of Christs Gospel.

It so happened, that the said *Hierome*, preaching at *Pauls*, on the fourth *Sunday* in *Lent* last past; made there a Sermon, wherein he recited and mentioned of *Agar* and *Sara*, declaring what these two signified. In process whereof he shewed further how that *Sara* and her Child

*Isaac* and all they, that were *Isaacs*, and born of the free Woman *Sara*, were freely justified : contrary, they that were born of *Agar* the Bondwoman were bound and under the Law, and cannot be freely justified. In these words what was spoken, but that Saint *Paul* himself uttereth and expoundeth in his Epistle to the *Gal.* 4. or what could here be gathered of any reasonable indifferent hearer, but consonant to found Doctrine, and vein of the Gospel? Now see what Rancor and malice armed with crafty and subtil Sophistry can do. This Sermon finished, it was not long but he was charged and converted before the King at *Weistmünster*, and there accused for Erroneous Doctrine.

Percale ite it wilt muse (gentle reader) what Eronous Docthrine here could be picked out. Note therefore for thy learning; and let him thither to study how to play the Sympochant; let him there take example. The knowledge found in this Rulw was this, for that he preached Eronously at *Pauls Cross*, teaching the People that all that were born of *Sara* were freely justified; speaking there absolutely without any condition either of Baptism or of Penance, &c. Who doubteth here but if *St. Paul* himself had been at *Pauls Cross*, and had preached the same words to the English-men, which he wrote to the *Galatians* in this behalf, *ipso facto*, he had been apprehended for an Heretic for preaching against the Sacrament of Baptism and Repentance.

Furthermore it was objected against him, touching matter against Magistrates, and Laws by them made. Wherein he answered again and affirmed (as he had before preached) that no Magistrate of himself could make any Law or Laws, private or otherwise, to bind the inferior People, unless it were by the Power, Authority and Commandment of his or their Princes to him or them given, but only the Prince. And moreover, to confirm the same he added, saying, that if the Prince make Laws consenting to Gods Laws, we are bound to obey them. And as if he make Laws repugnant to the Laws of God, and be an evil and wicked Prince ; yet are we bound humbly to suffer him, and not violently to resist or grudge against him.

Also concerning his Sermons, one Doctor *Wilson* entered into dispute with him, and defended that good works justified before God, and were necessary and available to Salvation. To whom *Hierome* answered again, That all works, whatsoever they were, were nothing worth, nor any part of salvation of themselves, but only referred to the mercy and love of God, which is the mercy and love of God directeth the workers thereof, and yet it is his mercy and goodness to accept them. Which to the true Doctor *Wilson* neither could nor did deny.

And thus much concerning the several Stories of these three good men. Now let us see the order of their Martyrdom, joyning them all together; what was the cause of their condemnation; and what were their Protestations and words at their suffering.

Ye heard before how *Barns, Hirome, and Gatt* were caused to preach at *Easter* at the Spittle: the occasion whereof, as I find it reported by *Stephen Gardiner* writing against *George Joye*, I thought good here to discourse more at large.

*Stephen Gardner* hearing that *the* *Lat. Burne, Elterme,* and *Goyres* should preach the *faint following* *the* *1541. at Pauli Croft,* to stop the course of *the* *Devils* *time* *there* sent his Chaplain to the *Bishop of London,* the *Saturday* before the *first Sunday* in *Went,* to have a place for him to preach at *Pauli.* In which to him was granted, and time appointed that he should preach the *Sunday* following, which should be on the *morrow;* which *Sunday* was appointed before for *Burne* to occupy that *room.* *Gardner* therefore, determining to declare that that *Sunday* containing the *Devils* three temptations, being of other things to note the abuse of *Scripture* amongst *the* *Devils* how he abused it to *Christ;* and to alluding to the temptation of *the* *Devil;* wherein he alleged the *Scripture* against *Christ,* call himself downward, and that he should take no hurt, he inferred thereupon, saying :

Gal-4<sub>2</sub>

Quarrel  
picks again  
Hierome,  
Hierome, 2

**IV. Hierarchy**  
accused for  
breaching  
against his  
interests.

Works as  
part of our  
valuation.

Good works  
avail not  
us only by  
reputation.

at of the  
tface of  
rpham Gar-  
er against  
orge Joy;





how, Mr. Sheriff, and for every Christian man living in the Faith of Christ, and dying in the same as a Saint. Wherefore if the dead may pray for the quick, I will surely pray for you.

Well, have you any thing more to say? Then spake he to Mr. Sheriff, and said, Have ye any Articles against me for the which I am condemned? And the Sheriff answered, No. Then said he, Is there here any man else that knoweth wherefore I die, or that by my preaching hath taken any Error? I am thus now dead, and I will make them answer. And no man answered. Then said he, Well, I am condemned by the Law to die, and as I understand, by an Act of Parliament; but wherefore, I cannot tell, but belike for Heresie, for we are like to burn. But they that have been the occasion of it, I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgiven my self. And Dr. Stephen Bishop of Winchester that now is, if he have sought or wrought this my death either by word or deed, I pray God forgive him, as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and without feigning, as ever Christ forgave them that put him to death.

And if any of the Council, or any other have sought or wrought it through malice or ignorance, I pray God forgive their ignorance, and illuminate their eyes that they may see, and ask mercy for it. I beseech you all to pray for the Kings Grace, as I have done ever since I was in Prison, and do now, that God may give him prosperity, and that he may long reign among you; and after him that godly Prince Edward may so reign, that he may finish those things that his Father hath begun. I have been reported to be a preacher of Sedition and Disobedience unto the King, Majesty; but here I say to you, that you are all bound by the Commandment of God, to obey your Prince with all humility, and with all your hearts, yet, not so much as in a look to these your selves, obedient unto him, and that not only for fear of the Sword, but also for Love, in that the King is Christ. I say further, if the King should command you any thing against Gods Law, if it be in your power to resist him, yet may you not do it.

Then spake he to the Sheriff and said, Mr. Sheriff, I require you on Gods behalf to have me commended unto the King, Grace, that I may have his Grace to give three Requests: First, that where his Grace hath received into his hands all the goods and substance of the Abbies. Then the Sheriff desired him to stop there. He answered Mr. Sheriff, I warrant you I will speak no harm, for I know it is well done that all such Superfluous be clean taken away, and the Kings Grace hath well done in taking it away. But his Grace is made a wretched King, and obeyed in his whole Realm as a King (which neither his Father nor Grandfather, neither his Ancestors that reigned before him ever had) and that through the preaching of us and such other Wretches as we are, which always have applied our whole Studies, and given our selves for the setting forth of the same, and this is now our reward. Well, it maketh no matter. Now be requited among you; I pray God long he may live and reign among you. Would to God it may please his Grace to bestow the said Goods, or some of them, to the comfort of his poor Subjects, which surely have great need of them.

The second that I desire his Grace is, that he will let that Marriage be had in more reverence than it is; and that men for every little cause invented call not off their Wives, and live in adultery and fornication; and that those that be not married should not abominably live in whoredom, following the filthy lusts of the flesh.

The third, That the abominable Swearers may be punished and straitly looked upon; for the reverence of God will come on them for their mischievous Oaths. Then desired he Mr. Pope to have him commended to Mr. Edgar, and to desire him for the dear Blood of Jesus Christ, that he would leave that abominable Swearing which he used; for surely except he did forsake it, he would come to some mischievous end.

The fourth, That his Grace would let forth Christian true Religion, and seeing he hath begun, go forward and make an end; for many things have been done, but much more is to do; and that it would please his Grace to look on Gods Word himself, for that it hath been observed

with many Traditions invented of our own Brains. Now, said he, how many Petitions have I spoken of? And the People said, four. Well, said he, even these four be sufficient, which I desire you, that the Kings Grace may be certified of, and say that I must humbly desire him to look earnestly upon them; and that his Grace take heed that he be not deceived with false Preachers and Teachers and evil Council, for Christ saith, that such false Prophets shall come in Lambs skins.

Then desired he all men to forgive him, and if he had said any evil at any time unadvisedly, whereby he had offended any man, or given any occasion of evil that they would forgive it him, and amend that evil they took of him; and to bear him witness that he detested and abhorred all evil Opinions and Doctrines against the Word of God and that he died in the Faith of Jesus Christ, by whom he doubted not but to be saved. And with those words he desired them all to pray for him, and then he turned him about, and put off his Cloaths, making him ready to the fire-patience there to take his death.

The like Confession made also Hierome and Garret, professing in like manner their Belief, reciting all the Articles of the Christian Faith, briefly declaring their minds upon every Article, as the time would suffer; whereby the People might understand that there was no cause nor error in their Faith, whereas, jolly they ought to be condemned: Profiting moreover, that they denied no thing that was either in the Old or New Testament, set forth by their Sovereign Lord the King, whom they prayed the Lord long to continue amongst them, with his most dear Son Prince Edward. Which done, Hierome added this Exhortation in few words following.

I say unto you, good Brethren, that God hath bought us all with no small price, neither with gold nor silver, or other such things of small value, but with his most precious Blood. Be not unthankful therefore to him again, but do as we take the Christian men belonging to, fulfill his Commandment, that is, Love your Brethren. Love your neighbour as man, love fulfill all things. If God hath sent thee plenty, help thy Neighbour that hath need. Give him good counsel. If he lack, consider if you were in need, thou wouldst gladly be relieved. And again, ever your Craft with thy Craft. Consider what report, slander and reproach be suffered of his Enemies, and how patiently he suffered all things. Consider that all that Christ did was of his mere goodness, and not of our deserving. For if we could merit our own salvation, Christ would not have died for us. But for Adams breaking of Gods Precept, we had been all left, if Christ had not redeemed us again. And like as Adam broke the Precept, and was driven out of Paradise, so we, if we break Gods Commandments, shall have damnation; if we do not repent and ask mercy. Now therefore let all Christians put no trust nor confidence in their Works, but in the Blood of Christ, to whom I commit my Soul to guide, beseeching you all to pray to God for me, and for my Brethren here present with me, that our Souls leaving these wretched Carcases may comfortably depart into the Faith of Christ.

In much like sort Garret also professing and exhorting the People, after his Confession made, ended his protestation in manner as follows.

I also detest, abhor and refuse all Heresies and Errors, and if either by negligence or ignorance I have taught or maintained any, I am sorry for it, and ask Gods mercy. Or if I have been in vehemence or rash in preaching, whereby any person hath taken any offence, or evil opinion, I desire him and all other persons which I have any way offended, forgiveness. Notwithstanding to my remembrance I never preached wittingly or willingly any thing against Gods holy Word, or contrary to the true Faith, to the maintenance of errors, heresies or vicious living; but have always, for my little learning and wis, set forth the honour of God, and the right obedience to his Laws, and also the Kings accordingly. And if I could have done better, I would. Wherefore, Lord, if I have taken in hand to do that thing which I could not perfectly perform, I desire thy pardon for the bold presumption. And I pray God send the Kings Grace good and godly Counsel, to his glory, to the Kings honour, and the increase of virtue in this Realm. And thus now I yield my Soul up unto Almighty God, trusting



and believing that he of his infinite mercy, for his promise made in the Blood of his Son, our most merciful Saviour, Jesus Christ, will take it, and pardon me all my sins, whereby I have much grievously and cruelly offended his Majesty; whereas I ask him mercy, desiring you all to pray with me and for me, that I may patiently suffer this pain, and dye stedfastly in true Faith, perfect Hope, and Charity.

And so after their Prayer made, wherein most effectually they desired the Lord Jesus to be their comfort and consolation in this their Affliction, and to establish them with perfect Faith, Constancy, and Patience through the Holy Ghost, they taking themselves by the hands, and kissing one another, quietly and humbly offered themselves to the hands of the Tormentors, and so took their death both chivalrously and contently, with such patience as might well testify the goodness of their Cause, and quiet of their Conscience.

Wherein it to be noted how mightily the Lord worketh with his Grace and Fortitude in the hearts of his Servants, especially in such which caused to suffer with a gentle Confidence for Religious cause, above other which suffer otherwise for their deserts. For whereas they which suffer as Malefactors, are commonly wont to go heavy and penitive to their death, so the other with heavenly alacrity and cheerfulness do abide whatsoever is pleased the Lord to lay upon them. Example whereof we have right well to note, not only in these three godly Martyrs above mentioned, but also in the Lord Cromwell, who suffered but two days before the same no less may appear. Who although he was brought to his death, attainted and condemned by the Parliament, yet what a gentle Confidence he bare to his death, his Christian patience well delivered.

Who first calling for his Breakfast, and cheerfully eating the same, and after that passing out of his Prison down the Hill within the Tower, and meeting there by the way the Lord Hangerford, going likewise to his Execution (who for other matter here not to be spoken of, was there also imprisoned) and perceiving him to be all heavy and doleful, with cheerful countenance and comfortable words, asking why he was so heavy, he wished him to be glad to pluck up his heart, and to be of good comfort; for (said he) there is no cause for you to fear; for if you repent and be heartily sorry for that you have done, there is no for you mercy enough with the Lord, who for Christs sake will forgive you, and therefore be not dismayed.

And though the Breakfast which we are going to be sharp, yet trusting to the mercy of the Lord, we shall have a joyful Dinner. And so went they together to the place of Execution, and took their deaths patiently.

A note of three Papists executed the same time with Barnes, Hierome, and Garret.

The same time and day, and in the same place, where and when these three above mentioned did suffer, yet three other also were executed, though not for the same cause, but rather the contrary, for denying the Kings Supremacy, whose names were *Powell, Fatherfons, and Abiel*. These three Papists, who were brought to their death, in two so contrary parts or fashions brought the people into a marvellous admiration and doubt of their Religion, which part to follow and take; as might so well happen amongst ignorant and simple people, seeing two contrary parts to suffer, the one for Popery, the other against Popery, both at one time. Inasmuch that a certain Stranger being there present the same time, and seeing three on the one side, and three on the other side to suffer, said in these words, *Dear brother: quomodo bis vis? The words went gentle? Is the suppliant Papist, illic comburatur a Resur- antipapist.* But to remove and take away all doubt both Papists and Protestants from the Popishness, whereby they shall the less marvel how this so happened, here is to be understood how the cause thereof did rise and proceed. Which happened by reason of a certain division and discord among the Kings Council, which were to be divided among themselves in several parts; that the one had seemed to hold with the one Religion, the other half with the contrary.

The Names of whom, although it were not necessary to express, yet being compelled for the setting forth of the truth of the story, we have thought good here to annex, as the certainty thereof came to our hands.

#### Protestants.

Canterbury,  
Suffolk,  
Vicount Beauchamp,  
Vicount Lisle,  
Ragley, Treasurer,  
Paget,  
Sadler,  
Audley.

The Council divided in Religion.



Persons presented, with the causes.

ing *Knowe*. Item, For burying his Wife without Dirges, and causing the Scro of *S. Katherine* to preach the next day after the Burial.

William Plaine.

Plaine seeing a Priest going to Mass, said, *Now you shall see me in marking*. Item, When he came to the Church, with loud reading the English Bible he diffurbed the Divine Service.

Hermes [John. John. Horman. Gyles Hoffman. Thomas Couper. John Smeadham. John Celos.

These nine Persons were presented, for that they were not Confessed in *Lent*, nor had Received at Easter.

John Jones. William Wright. Roger Butcher.

These four were presented for not keeping the Divine Service in the holy days.

Briffley's Wife.

Briffley's Wife for busie reasoning on the new Learnings, and not keeping the Church.

Mrs. Caffle.

Mrs. Caffle, for being a medler and a reader of the Scripture in the Church.

Mr. Galias of Bernards Inn.

Mr. Galias, for withholding the Curate censuring the Altars on Corpus Christi Even, and saying openly that he did naught.

Mr. Pates of Davids Inn.

Mr. Pates and Mr. Galias, for vexing the Curate in the Body of the Church, in declaring the Kings Injunctions, and reading the Bishops Book, that he had much ado to make an end.

Wil. Beckes and his Wife.

Beckes and his Wife suspected to be Sacramentaries, and for not creeping to the Cross on Good Friday.

Thomas Langham. Wil. Thomas.

Rich. Beckes. Wil. Beckes.

These four were presented for interrupting the Divine Service.

Ralph Symonds.

Symonds, for not keeping our Ladies Mass, which he was bound to keep.

John Smith Apprentice.

Smith, for saying that he had rather hear the crying of Dogs, than Priests singing Mattens or Evening Song.

Thomas Bele. John Sturgion. John Willshire. Thomas Symon. Ralph Givens and his Wife. James Banister. Nicholas Barker. John Sterky. Christopher Smith.

Thomas Net.

These eleven Persons of *S. Magnus* Parish were presented and accused for maintaining of certain Preachers (as then it was called) of the new Learning, as *Wisdom, Raje, Frier, Ward, Six William Smith, alias Wright.*

Nicholas Philips.

For maintaining Heretics and Scripture Books, and for using neither fasting nor Prayer.

Persons presented, with the causes.

Richard Bigges.

Bigges, for despoiling holy Bread, putting it in the throat of a Bitch, and for not looking up to the Elevation.

Mrs. Elizabeth Statlam.

For maintaining in her House *Lattimers, Barnes, Gar-*, *S. Mary Magdalene* in *Widdow*, *Hierome*, and divers other.

John Duffet.

Duffet, for marrying a woman which was thought to be a Nun.

W. Hilliard.

Hilliard and Duffet, for maintaining *Barnes, Hierome*, and *Garrow*, with other more.

Grafton. Whitchurch.

Grafton and Whitchurch suspected not to have been Confessed.

John Greene.

Christopher Coats.

Alexander Freve.

John Busby.

George Dunant.

All these being of the Parish of *S. Martins* in *St. Dunstons* Well with two Buckens, were presented for contemning the Ceremonies of the Church. Also some for walking in the facing time with their Caps on. Some for turning their heads away, some for sitting at their doors when Sermons were in the Church, &c.

Robert Andrew.

Andrew, for receiving Heretics into his House, and keeping disputation of Heresie there.

John Williamson.

Thomas Ruge.

Thomas Gilbert.

W. Hickson.

Rob. Daniel.

Robert Smitten.

These other six were suspected to be Sacramentaries and rank Heretics, and Procurers of Heretics to preach, and to be followers of their Doctrine.

John Mayler.

To be a Sacramentary, and a railer against the Mass.

Richard Billy Draper.

Billy presented for saying these words, *That Christ is not present* in the blessed Sacrament.

Henry Patsinson.

Anthony Barber.

These two were detected for maintaining their Boyes *S. Giles* without *Crypt*, *Patsinson* came not to Confession.

Robert Norman.

Norman also refused to come to Confession, saying, *That none of his Servants should be forgiven of a Knowe*. Priest.

John Humphrey.

For speaking against the Sacraments and Ceremonies of *S. Mary Magdalene* in *Widdow*.

William Smith and his Wife.

John Cooke and his Wife.

These two Couples were presented for not coming to Service in their Parish Church, and for saying it was lawful for Priests to have Wives.

Wil. Gate or Cete.

Wil. Aston.

John Humphrey.

John Cooke.

To these four it was laid, for saying, *That the Mass was made of pieces and particles*. Also for depraving of *Mattens, Mass*, and *Evening*.

John

Persons presented, with the causes.

John Miles and his Wife.

John Millen.

John Robinson.

Richard Millar.

John Green and his Wife.

Armed Chap.

All these were put up for railing against the Sacraments and Ceremonies.

John Cressdall. Job. Clerke. Jo. Owell.

These three labouring men, for not coming to Divine Service on Holy-days, and for labouring on the same.

Thomas Grangier. John Disher.

Noted for common Singers against the Sacraments and Ceremonies.

John Sutton and his Wife. John Segar.

These three were noted to be Despoilers of Auricular Confession.

John Rawlins.

John Shiler.

William Chalingier.

John Edmonds.

John Richmond and his Wife.

For despoiling holy Bread and holy Water, and letting Divine Service.

Margaret Smith.

For dressing Flesh-meat in Lent.

Thomas Tremham.

For reasoning against the Sacrament of the Altar, and saying that the Sacrament was a good thing, but it was not as men took it, very God.

Robert Granger. William Peingale.

William May and his Wife.

John Harrison and his Wife.

Robert Welch. John Bengloffe.

John Parley. Henry Poffer.

Robert Cusley. William Finchbeck and his Wife.

All these thirteen were put up by the Inquisition, for giving final reverence at the facing of the Mass.

Martyn Bishops Wife.

She was presented by her Curate for being not shaven in Lent, nor receiving at Easter. Also she did sit light by the Curate, when he told her thereof.

Robert Plat and his Wife.

These were great Reasoners in Scripture, saying, *That they had it of the Spirit*; and that Confession availed nothing; and that he, not able to read, would use no Books.

Thomas Adast. John Palmer. Robert Cooke.

The cause laid to these three persons, was for reasoning of the Scripture, and of the Sacraments.

The Regular faith, That they denied all the Sacraments. But this Popish Hyperbole will find little credit, where experience, acquainted with Popish practices, siteth to be the Judge.

John Cokes.

This man was noted for a great searcher out of new Preachers, and maintainer of Barnes's Opinions.

John Boulter.

For forbidding his Wife to use Beads.

Thomas Kelde.

He refused to take Penance and Absolution, and did eat flesh upon a Friday before Lent.

Nicholas Newell.

Newell a French man, presented to be a man far gone in the new Sect, and that he was a great jester at the Saints and at our Lady.

Persons presented, with the causes.

John Hawkins and his Servant.

Thomas Chamberlaine and his Wife.

John Gargy. Mr. Disher, his Wife and his Servant.

These eight were great Reasoners and Despoilers of *Ce-*, *S. Mary Magdalene* in *Widdow*, *London*.

The Curate of *S. Katherine Coleman*.

He was noted for calling of folsper persons to his Ser-*S. Katherine* mon by a Beadle, without ringing of any Bell, and when Coleman preached he left his matters doubtful.

Item, For preaching without the commandment of his Parson.

Item, For that he was a Scotch Frier, driven out of his Country for Heresie.

Tull. Baffre, his Wife and his Son in Law.

These were noted for coming fildom to the Church, and many times were seen to labour upon the Holy-days.

William Ettis and his Wife.

Ettis and his Wife were noted for maintaining certain Preachers; and for causing one *Taverner*, being a Priest, to preach against the Kings Injunctions.

Merfield and his Son in Law.

Nicholas Ruffel. The good man of the *Saracens Head* in *Friday-street*. William Callaway.

Thomas Gardiner with three Apprentices.

Against this Company profanation was made for gathering together in the evening, and for bringing ill Preachers, that is to say, good Preachers amongst the People.

Thomas Plummer.

This Thomas was presented for saying, *That the blessed Sacrament was to him that doth take it, fo*; and to him that doth not, was not fo.

Shermon.

Shermon, Keeper of the *Carpenters Hall* in *Christ Church* Parish, was presented for procuring an Entree to be openly played, wherein Priests were railed on, and called Knaves.

Lewis Marvell a Servant.

James Ogule and his Wife. Noted not to have been Confessed certain years be-*S. Becket* fore. *Pauls ward*.

Thomas Babani.

Accused not to have been Confessed nor Houlded in his *S. Margaret* Parish Church. *in Fishstreet*.

The Parson and Curate of *S. Antholines*.

For not using the Ceremonies in making holy Water, *S. Anne*, nor keeping their Processions on *Saturdays*.

Lewis Bromfield.

For not taking his Houles, and for absenting himself from the Church on Holy-days.

John Sempe. John Goffe.

For dispraising a certain Anthem of our Lady, be-*S. Mary Hill* ginning *Te matrem*, &c. saying that there is Heresie in the same.

Gilbert Godfrey.

For absenting himself from the Church on Holy-days.

Tho. Capper.

For saying these words, *That the Sacrament of the* *S. Mary* *Magdalene* *in* *Widdow* *in* *London* *Altar* was but a memory and a remembrance of the Lords Death.

John Maister Grocer.

For calling the Sacrament of the Altar the baken God, *S. Becket* *in* *Widdow* *in* *London* *Altar* and for saying that the Mass was called beyond the Seas, *Mis*, for that all is amiss in it.

Persons presented, with the causes.

**John Hardyman Priest.**  
*Hardyman*, Parson of *S. Marys in Ironmonger Lane*, presented for preaching openly, that Confession is Confusion and Deformation; and that the Boucherie Ceremonies of the Church were to be abhorred. Also for saying, What a mischief is this to, esteem the Sacraments to be of such virtue? for in so doing they take the glory of God from him; and for saying That Faith in Christ is sufficient, without any other Sacraments to justify.

**Christopher Drey Plummer.**  
 For saying of the Sacrament of the Altar, That it was not offered up for remission of sins; and that the Body of Christ was not there, but only by representation and signification of the thing.

**Robert Ward Shoemaker.**  
 Presented by three Witnesses for holding against the Sacrament of the Altar: he died in Prison in Breadstreet.

**Nicholas Otes.**  
 For not coming to the House at Easter, he was sent to Newgate.

**Herman Peterson. James Giffen.**  
 For not coming to Shrift and House at the time of Easter. These were committed to Prison in Breadstreet.

**Richard White Haberdasher.**  
 For saying, That he did not think that Christ was in the Sacrament of the Altar within the Sepulchre, but in Heaven above.

**Giles Harrison.**  
*Harrison* being in a place without a church, merely selling in a certain Company of Neighbours, a merry song of them said, *Let us go to Mass: I say, tarry, lift he; and so taking a piece of Bread in his Hands, lift it up over his head: and likewise taking a Cup of Wine, and bowing down his head, made therewith a Croft or vane the Chalice for taking the said Cup in both his hands, lift it over his head, saying these words, Have ye not heard Mass now? For the which he was presented to Prison, then Bishop of London. Against whom came these Witnesses.*

**Thomas Caffie. Andrew Morice.**  
**William Greene. John Margeson.**  
 Witnesses against him.

**Richard Bosbeck Priest.**  
 For saying that Auricular Confession hath killed more Soules than all the Bills, Clubs, and Halters have done: for saying, That the Water in the Thamez hath as much virtue as the Water that the Priests do hallow.

**Margaret Amshurib.**  
 For having no reverence to the Sacrament at fasting time. Item, for instructing of Maids, and being a great Doctress.

**John Leicester. W. Royall.**  
**Christ. Townsend. Th. Dawid Skinner.**  
**Th. Mals. Thom. Starkey.**  
**Christ. Holybread. Marym Dams.**  
**W. Derby.**

All these noted and presented for maintaining of Barres, and such other Preachers, and many of their Wives for not taking holy Bread, nor going in Procession on Sundays.

**Lawrence Maxwell Bricklayer.**  
 For speaking and reasoning against Auricular Confession.

Persons presented, with the causes.

**John Coyner, or Livelande.**  
 For holding against the Sacrament of the Altar, and not receiving at Easter.

**Gerard Frife.**  
 Presented by two Witnesses, for affirming that a Sermon preached is better than the Sacrament of the Altar, and that he had rather go to hear a Sermon than to hear a Mass.

**Dominick Williams, a French man.**  
 For not receiving the Sacrament of the Altar at Easter.

**Th. Lancaster, Priest.**  
 He lay in the Computer in the Poultrey, for compiling and bringing over Books prohibited.

**Gough.**  
*Gough*, the Stationer troubled for resorting unto items.

**Frier Ward.**  
 Laid in the Computer in Breadstreet, for marrying one Elizabeth to his Wife, after his Vow made of Chastity.

**Frier Wilcock.**  
*Wilcock*, a Scotch Frier, prisoned in the Fleet, for preaching against Confession, holy Water, against praying to Saints, and for Soules departed, against Purgatory, and holding that Priests might have Wives, &c.

**John Taylor Dr. in Divinity.**  
*Dr. Taylor* presented for preaching at *S. Bridgion in Fleetstreet*, that it is as profitable to a man to hear Mass and see the Sacrament, as to kiss Judas's mouth, which killed Christ our Saviour, &c.

**W. Tolwaine Parson of S. Ambolines.**  
 Presented and examined before *Edmund Bower*, for permitting *Alexander Seton* to preach in his Church, having no licence of his Ordinary, and also for allowing the Sermons of the said *Alexander Seton*, which he preached against *Dr. Smith*.

To the said *Tolwaine* moreover it was objected, That he used, the space of two years, to make holy water, leaving out the general Exorcisme, beginning *Exorcisme, &c.* using these words for the same, *Benedictus, De minus. Ab eo fit benedictio, à cuius latere fluxit sanguis* King of the *fat in nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti.*

The like usage of making holy Water was also used in *Aldermay Church*, where *Dr. Crome* was, and in *Henry Lane*.

Against this Objection thus *Tolwaine* defended himself, saying, That he took occasion so to do by the Kings licence, and which I will prove by a familiar example. Be it in case I have two Servants, the one is called *John*, and the other *Robert*, and I promise to find you a day twenty pound by *John* my servant, and at my day I find you by *Jo. my servant, six shillings, six pence, and there lacketh* one farthing, which *Robert* doth bring thee, and so thou hast thy twenty pound, every penny and farthing.

Yet, will I ask if I be true of my promise, or no, and thou shalt say nay. And why, because I promised to find thee that day twenty pound by *John* and did not, therefore lacked a farthing, which *Robert* brought. Wherefore I say, if thy works merit or bring one little jot or tittle towards thy justification, then is Christ false of his promise, which said that he would do all together.

One Scripture I will bring you, which they cannot writhe to prove that Christ was only promised to be our only Justifier, our only mean, and that is in the two and twentieth of *Genesis*, where it is written, *In the first birth all people be blessed*, meaning thereby only Christ, and he said not in thy deeds, nor in the works of thy deeds. Wherefore all they that preach, that works be any

Sir *John Byrch*, Priest.  
*John Byrch*, Priest of *S. Botolphs Lane*, was complained of by one *Mr. Wilson*, for being a bad reasoner in certain Opinions, which agreed not with the Popes Church.

Alen.

Persons presented, with the causes.

**Alexander Seton a Scotch, and a worthy Preacher.**

*Alexander Seton* was denounced, detected, and presented, by three Priests of whom one was *Willow of Whittington College* called *Richard Taylor*; another was *John Smith*; the third was *John Hunningdon*, who after was converted to the same Doctrine himself.

This *Seton* was Chaplain to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and by him was made free Denizen. In his Sermon Preached at *Saint Ambolines*, his adversaries picked against him matter containing fifteen objections, or rather cavillations, which for example I thought here to exhibit to the Reader, to the intent that men may see not only what true Doctrine and sound Preaching, consonant to the Scriptures; but also what wrangling cavillers can do, in depraving that is right, or in wringing that is well meant, or in expiring that they understand not, or in seeking out faults where none is, as by these their frivolous cavillations may appear.

Certain places or Articles gathered out of Setons Sermons by his Adversaries.

The sayings and Words of *Alexander Seton*, spoken and Preached by him in his Sermon, made the thirtieth day of November, at afternoon, in the Parish Church of *Saint A in London*; *Paul faith, of our selves we can do nothing; I pray thee then where is thy will? Art thou any better than Paul, James, Peter, and all the Apostles? Haft thou any more Grace than they? Tell me now if they will be any thing or nothing. If it be any thing, tell me whether it be to do good or ill? If thou say to do ill, I will grant thee half a greater deal. If thou say to do good, I ask whether it is more, somewhat or nothing? For Paul said he could do nothing, and I am first thou hast no more Grace, than Paul and his Companions.*

Scripture speaketh of three things in man; the first is will the other two are content and deed. The first that is will, God worketh without us, and beides us. The other two he worketh in us with us. And here he alleged *Saint Augustine*, to prove that we can will nothing that is good. Moreover he said, thou hast not one joy, nor one title to do any good.

There is nothing in Heaven or Earth, creature or other, that can be any mean towards our justification, nor can any man deserve God the Father for our sin, save only Christ, and the shedding of his Blood.

He that Preacheth that works do merit, or be any mean to our Salvation, or any part of our justification, Preacheth a Doctrine of the Devil.

If any thing else, save only Christ, by any mean towards our justification, then did not Christ only justify us.

I say, that neither thy good works, nor any thing that thou canst do, can be one jot or tittle towards thy justification. For if they be, then is not Christ a full Justifier, and which I will prove by a familiar example. Be it in case I have two Servants, the one is called *John*, and the other *Robert*, and I promise to find you a day twenty pound by *John* my servant, and at my day I find you by *Jo. my servant, six shillings, six pence, and there lacketh* one farthing, which *Robert* doth bring thee, and so thou hast thy twenty pound, every penny and farthing. Yet, will I ask if I be true of my promise, or no, and thou shalt say nay. And why, because I promised to find thee that day twenty pound by *John* and did not, therefore lacked a farthing, which *Robert* brought. Wherefore I say, if thy works merit or bring one little jot or tittle towards thy justification, then is Christ false of his promise, which said that he would do all together.

One Scripture I will bring you, which they cannot writhe to prove that Christ was only promised to be our only Justifier, our only mean, and that is in the two and twentieth of *Genesis*, where it is written, *In the first birth all people be blessed*, meaning thereby only Christ, and he said not in thy deeds, nor in the works of thy deeds. Wherefore all they that preach, that works be any

part or mean toward our justification, do make God false of his promise.

They that preach that works do merit, do make works the tree, which are but the fruits of justice; wrought by him that is already a full man, which cannot chuse but bring forth good fruit.

I would ask a question; whether he that worketh be a good man, or bad, for he must be one of them. If he be a good man, he cannot chuse but bring forth good fruit; if he be an ill man, he cannot bring forth ill fruit, but ill fruit; for a good tree cannot bring forth ill fruit.

Hearst faith that works do merit any thing towards our Salvation, doth make works chuse to merit our Salvation, and plucketh from Christ that is his, and giveth it to his works. Some will ask, wherefore then should I do good works? I answer, good works are to be done for no cause else, but only for the Glory of God, and not that they do merit any thing at all. And he that faith that good works are to be done for any other cause, than for the glory of God only, and will have them to merit, or be any mean towards our justification, I say he lieth and believe him not.

He that can shew me in any scripture, that works do merit, or be any mean to our justification, for the first Scripture I will (without any further judgment) loke both mine ears, for the second, my Tongue, and for the third my Neck. For if I dare say he cannot prove in all the whole Scripture one title: Wherefore believe them not.

Men say that we deny good works, and fasting and prayer. They live on us, we deny nothing but Popish works, and Popish fasting, and Popish prayer; and that preacheth that works do merit, or fasting doth merit, or prayer doth merit, doth preach a Popish Doctrine.

If you ask me when we shall leave preaching of works? even when they do leave to preach that works do merit, and suffer Christ to be a whole satisfier, and only mean to our justification; and till then we will not cease in God Cause to let forth only Christ to be a full, and perfect, and only satisfaction.

If you ask, if good works shall be rewarded, I say yes; and with no less than eternal Glory; but for no merit that they deserve, for they deserve nothing; but only because God hath promised, and for the merit of the work, but for his promise sake, not for he will not break his promise.

Other Articles gathered out of Setons Sermons.

Touching reconciliation spoken of by *Doctor Smith*, preaching in the forenoon at *Pauls Church, Aldersgate*, *Dr. Seton* preaching at afternoon at *Saint Ambolines*, and reciting his sayings and Scriptures, reproved him for alleging this saying, *Reconciliamus Deus, and English. A God: give the same thus, Reconcile your selves to God*; because it is there spoken passively, and not actively, so that there should be nothing in man pertaining to reconciliation, but all in God.

Also reproving the said *Doctor Smith*, for that the said *Dr. Smith* said that by his good works might merit. Which saying of *Doctor Smith* the said *Alexander Seton* reproved the Pulpit at *S. Antholin* the 13. day of November, the year of our Lord 1541. assauntly spoken.

Moreover the said *Alexander Seton* said in the same place, that it was a shame that any such preacher should be suffered so openly to preach such erroneous Doctrines, as to say that works should merit, adding, *Nam juri condigna passiones, &c. Et postquam feceris omnia, &c.*

Finally *Seton* said, peradventure ye will say the Church hath determined this matter touching works. And I say, quoth he, that is *Ecclisias Multigenumina*, so determining any thing against Scripture.

To these pretended Objections of his Adversaries he made his Answer again by writing, first denying many things there presented, taking upon his Confidence, that he never spake divers of these words; and again many things that he never meant to teach end or purpose, as is the said Register may appear. But all this notwithstanding, for all that he could say for himself, the Ordinary proceeded in his consistory judgment, ministering

to





did see any fire at all, yet forasmuch as all men cried out, every man thought it true that they heard. Then was there such fear, concourse and tumult of people, through the whole Church, that it cannot be declared in words as it was indeed.

And as is a great fire (where fire is indeed) we see many times how one little spark giveth matter of a mighty flame, setting whole flacks and piles on burning: so here upon a small occasion of one mans word kindled first a general cry, then a strong opinion running in every mans head within the Church, thinking the Church to be on fire, where no fire was at all. Thus it pleased Almighty God to delude these deluders, that is, that thought themselves to be Gods messengers as though they could not err, should see by their own senses and judgments, how blinded and infatuated they were in these so small matters and feeble trifles.

Thus this strong imagination of fire being fixed in their imaginations heads, as nothing could remove them to think contrary but that the Church was on fire, so every thing that they saw or heard increased this illusion in them, to make it seem most true, which was indeed most false. The first and chiefest occasion that augmented this illusion, was the Hereticke then bearing his Fagot, which gave them to imagine that all other Hereticke had conspired with him to set the Church on fire.

After this, through the rage of the people, and running to and fro, the dust was so raised, that it flew as it had been the smoke of fire. Which thing, together with the outcry of the people, made all men to afraid, that leaving the Sermon, they came all together to run away. But such was the press of the multitude, running in heaps together, that the more they laboured, the less they could get out. For whilst they ran all headlong unto the doors, every man striving to get out first, they thrust one another in such sort, and fluckt full fast, that they which were without, neither could get into the Church again, neither they that were within could get out by any means. So the one door being rappedley ran to another little broken on the North-side, toward the Colledge called *Brick-nose*, thinking to pass out. There the people were the like or greater throng. So the people clattering and thronging together, it put many in danger, and brought many unto their end, by bruising of their bones or Sides. There was yet another door towards the West, which albeit it was shut and seldom opened; yet now ran they to it with such fury, that the great bar of Iron (which is incredible to be spoken) being pulled out and broken by force of mens hands, the door notwithstanding could not be opened for the press or multitude of people.

At the last, when they were also all at hope to get out, then they were all exceedingly amazed, and ran up and down, crying out upon the Hereticke which had conspired their death. Therefore they ran about and cried out the more smoke and dust rose in the Church, even as though all things had now been on a flaming fire. I think there was never such a tumultuous hurly burly rising for nothing heard of before, nor so great a fear where was no cause to fear, nor peril at all, so that if *Demetrius* the merry Philosopher sitting in the porch of the Church, and seeing all things in such fury as they were, had looked down upon the multitude, and beheld how great a number, how howling and weeping, running up and down, and playing the mad men now further now nether, and as being called to and fro with Waves or Tempests, trembling and quaking, raging and fuming, without any manifest cause, specially if he had seen those great Rabbits the Doctors laden with so many bagges or cognificances of wisdom, so foolishly and ridiculously seeking holes and corners to hide themselves in, gasping, breathing, and fretting, and for very horror being almost beside themselves. I think he would have fainted himself with this one laughter for all his life time, or else rather would have laughed his heart out of his belly, whilst one said that he plainly heard the noise of the fire, another affirmed that he saw it with his eyes, and another swore that he felt the molten lead dropping down upon his head and shoulders. Such is the force of imagination, when it is once grained in mens

beats through fear. In all the whole company, there was none that behaved himself more modestly than this Hereticke that was there to do Penance; who calling his fagot off from his shoulders upon a Monks head that stood by, kept himself quiet, minding to take such part as the other did.

All the other, being careful for themselves, never made an end of running up and down and crying out. None cried out more earnestly than the Doctor that preached (who was, as I said, Doctor *Smith*) who in manner first of all cried out in the Pulpit, saying, There are the trains and subtilties of the Hereticke against me! Lord have mercy upon me, Lord have mercy upon me. But might not God, as it had been (to speak with *Jesu*) out of a Whirlwind, have answered again unto this Preacher thus, Thou shalt not implore my mercy, but thou shalt feel itself no mercy unto thy fellows and brethren. How dost thou fly tremble now at the mention of fire? But think it a sport to burn other simple innocents, who do so ye any thing at all regard it. If burning fire be grievous a matter unto you, and to suffer a torment of fire; then you should also have the like consideration in other mens perils and dangers, when as you do burn your fellows and brethren.

Or if you think it but a light and trifling matter in them, go too now, do you also with like courage content, and with like patience suffer now the same torments your fellows. And if so be it I should now suffer you with the whole Church to be burned to ashes, what other thing should I do unto you, than to do daily unto you your fellows and brethren? Wherefore since you so little esteem the death of others, be now content that other men should also little regard the death of you. With this, say, or with some other like answer, if that either God, or humane Charity, either the common life of nature would expoliate with them, yea if there had been a fire indeed (as they were more feared than hurt) who would have doubted but that it had happened unto them according to their desert? But now worthy it is to note, how the vain fear and folly of those Catholics either, was deluded, or how their cruelty was reproved, whereby they, being better taught by their own example, might hereafter learn what it is to put other poor men to the fire, which they themselves have so much abhorred.

But to return again to the description of this Pageant, wherein (as I said before) there was no danger at all, yet were they all in such fear, as if present death had been over their heads.

In all this great maze and gabooly there was nothing more feared than the melting of the lead, which many affirmed that they felt dropping upon their bodies. Now in this sudden terror and fear, which took from them all Reason and Counsel out of their minds, to behold what practices and sundry shifts every man made for himself, it would make not only *Demetrius* and *Heracleitus* also to laugh, but rather a Horse we would break his halter. But none used themselves more ridiculously, than such as feared greatest wits men, saving that in one or two pemented somewhat more quietest of mind appeared. Among whom was one *Clement* president of *Corpus Christi College* (whom for reverence and learnings sake I do here name) and a few other aged persons with him, which for their age and weakness durst not thrust themselves into the throng amongst the rest, but knicked down quietly before the high Altar, where the monks were then gathered up to the Sacrament. The other, which were younger and stronger, ran up and down through the press, marveling at the unbelief of men, and waxt angry with the unmanly multitude that would give no room unto the Doctors, Bachelors, Masters, and other Graduates and Regent Masters. But at the terror and fear was common unto all men, so was there no difference made of Persons or Degrees, every man scrambling for himself. The Violet Cap, or Purple Gown did there nothing avail the Dr. neither the Masters Hood nor the Monks Cowl was there respected.

Yea if the King or Queen had been there at that present and in that perplexity, they had been no better than a common man. After they had long striven and assayed all manner of ways and had no remedy, neither by force, neither authority to prevail, they fell in interesting and

offering of rewards, offering twenty pound, another his scarlet gown, so that any man would pull him out, though it were by the ears.

Some flood close unto the pillars, thinking themselves safe under the Vault of Stone for the dropping of the lead. Other came, being without money and unprovided of all gifts, knew not which way to turn them. One being a President of a certain Colledge (whose name I need not here to utter) pulling a board out from the pews, covered his head and shoulders over with the said cold lead, which they feared much more than the falling of the Church. Now what a laughter would this have nethered unto *Demetrius* amongst other things, to behold there a certain grand paunch, who seeing the doors stoppended means to get out, through by another corner well enough. But here the Iron Grates letted him, notwithstanding his greedy mind would needs attempt if he could happily bring his purpose to pass.

When he had broken the glass, and was come to the space between the Grates where he should creep out, first he thrust in his head with the one shoulder, and it went through well enough. Then he laboured to get the other shoulder after, but there was a great labour about that, and long he fluckt by the shoulders with much ado. For what he was now gotten. But by what part of his Body he did fluckt (as I am not certain, neither may I fail, forasmuch as there be yet witness which did see these things), which would correct me if I should do so. Notwithstanding in this most certain that he did fluckt fall between the Grates, and could neither get out nor in.

Thus this good man being indeed a Monk, and having but short booty, by the which way he supposed himself to escape, by the fame he fell into further inconvenience, making of one danger two. For if the fire or lead had fallen on the outside of the parts which did shut the Window had been in danger; and contrariwise if the flames had ragged within the Church, all his other parts had lien open to the fire. And as this man did fluckt fall in the windows, so did the rest fluckt as fast in the doors, that sooner they might have been burnt than saved. I presently consider the relief any thing else is lacking in setting forth the full narration thereof. As touching the Hereticke, because he had not done his sufficient Penance there by occasion of this hurly burly, thereof the next day following he was recruited into the Church of *St. Mildreds*, where he supplied the rest that lacked of his Penance.

Here also happened another Pageant in a certain Monk (if I be not misadvised) of *Gloeseter Colledge*, whereas *Calphurnius* might well laugh with an open Mouth. So it happened, that there was a young lad in this Tumult, who seeing the doors fast stoppended with the press or multitude, and that he had not way to get out climbed up upon the door, and there laying upon the top of the door was forced to tarry till. For to come down into the Church again he durst not for fear of the fire and to leap down toward the street he could not without danger of falling. When he had tarried there a while, he advised himself what to do; neither did occasion want to serve his purpose. For by chance, amongst them that got out over mens heads, he saw a Monk coming towards him, who thought to be a good occasion for him to escape by the boy which was on the Cowl hanging at his back. This which had a great while Cowl hanging at his back. This boy thought to be a good occasion for him to escape by the Monk came near unto the Monk, the boy with him, and for a great while felt no weight or burthen.

At the last, when he was somewhat more come to himself, and did shake his shoulders, feeling his Cowl heavy, or then it was accustomed to be, and also hearing the voice of one speaking behind in his Cowl, he was more afraid than he was before when he was in the throng, thinking in deed, that the evil spirit which had led him to the Church on fire had lien in his Cowl, and by he began to play the Exorcist, in the Name of God (said he) and all Saints, I command thee to declare what thou art that art behind at my back. To whom the boy answered, I am *Berrams boy* (said he) for that was his Name. But I (said the Monk) adjure thee in the Name of the unpareable Trinity, that thou wicked spirit do tell me

who thou art, from whence thou comest, and that thou get hence: I am *Berrams boy* (said he), good matter tell me go: and with that his Cowl began with the weight to crack upon his shoulders. The Monk when he perceived the matter, took the boy out and discharged his Cowl. The boy took his legs and ran away as fast as he could.

Among other, one wiler than the rest ran with the Church door key, beating upon the stone wall, thinking therewith to break an hole through to escape out. In the mean time, as that were in the first looking diligently about them, and perceiving all things to be without fear, marvelled at this sudden outrage, and made signs and tokens to them that were in the Church to keep themselves quiet, crying to them that there was no danger.

But forasmuch as no word could be heard by reason of the noise that was within the Church, those flags made them much more afraid than they were before, interpreting them as though all had been on fire without the Church, and for the dropping of the lead and falling of other things, they should rather tarry till within the Church, and not to venture out. This trouble continued in this manner by the space of certain hours.

The next day, and also all the week following there was an incredible number of Bills set upon the Church doors, to inquire for things that were lost in such variety and number, as *Demetrius* might here again have just cause to laugh. If any man have found a pair of Shes yesterday in *S. Mary Church*, or knoweth any man that hath found them, &c. Another Bill was set upon a Gown that had been lost. Another intreated to have his Cap returned. One lost his purse and girdle with certain money, another his sword. One inquired for a ring and one for one thing, another for another. To be short, there was few in this garb, but that either through negligence, or through oblivion left some thing behind them.

Thus have you listeners heard a Tragical Story of a terrible fire which did no hurt. The description whereof although it be not so perfectly expressed according to the worthiness of the matter, yet because it was not to be puffed with silence, we have superficially yet forthome how shadow thereof, whereby with wide discretion you may presently consider the relief any thing else is lacking in setting forth the full narration thereof. As touching the Hereticke, because he had not done his sufficient Penance there by occasion of this hurly burly, thereof the next day following he was recruited into the Church of *St. Mildreds*, where he supplied the rest that lacked of his Penance.

#### The fourth and fifth Marriage of King Henry the eighth.

The fame year and month next following, after the apprehension of the Lord Cromwell, which was Anno 1541. the King immediately was divorced from the Lady Anne of Cleve. The cause of which separation being wholly committed to the Clergy of the Convocation, it was by them desired, considered, and granted, that the King being freed from that pretended Marriageny (as they called it) might marry where he would, and so might the likewise allow consenting to the fame divorcement he felt, by his own Letters, was after that taken no more for a divorce, but he called it *Ann of Cleve*. Which things thus discussed by the Parliament and Convocation-house, the King the fame Month was married to his fifth Wife, which was the Lady Katherine Howard, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, and Daughter to the Lord Edmund Howard the Dukes Brother. But this marriage likewise continued not long.

In the fame Month of August, and the fame year, I find moreover in some Records, besides the four and twenty charter holy Monks above recited, whom Pope Kingdome, those sanctified by holy Martyrs, for suffering in the hope of Devotion, against the Kings Supremacy, either first which were also brought to *Tjorn* and there executed in the case of Rebellion. Of whom the first was the Prior of *Doulesley*; the second a Monk of the *Charterhouse of London*, called *Giles Horn*, some call him *William Horn*; the third one *Thomas Gifford*, a Monk of *Westminster*, who had his Monks Garment plucked from his

his back, being the last Monk in King *Henric* days that did wear that Monkish weed, the fourth one *Philips*: the fifth one *Carew*; the sixth was a Friar. With what difficulty it is to place up blind Superstition once rooted in Man's Heart by a little custom.

Now as touching the late marriage between the King and the Lady *Howard*, ye heard how this Matrimony induced not long for in the year next following 1542, the said Lady *Katherine* was accused to the King of incontinent living, not only before her marriage with *Francis Dineham*, but also of spousalbreach, after her marriage, with *Thomas Culpeper*. For the which both the men aforesaid by Act of Parliament were attained and executed for high Treason, and also the Lady *Katherine*, late Queen, with the Lady *Jane* *Rochford*, brother to Queen *Ann Boleyn*, were beheaded for their deities within the Tower. *Ex Hæc & alius.*

After the death and punishment of this Lady his fifth Wife, the King calling to remembrance the words of the Lord *Cromwell*, and missing now more and more his old Councilleur, and partly also feeling somewhat the ways of *Winchester*, began a little to let his foot again in the Cause of Religion. And although he ever bare a special favour to *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury* (as you shall hear more hereafter, God willing, in the Life of *Cranmer*) yet now the more he missed the Lord *Cromwell*, the more he inclined to the Archbishop, and also to the right cause of Religion. And therefore in the same year and in the Month of October, after the Execution of this Queen, the King understanding some abuses yet to remain unreformed, namely, about Pilgrimages and Idolatry, and other things more besides to be corrected within his Dominions, directed his Letters unto the foresaid Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for the speedy reformation of the same. The tenor of which Letters hereafter fully entrench in these words.

The Kings Letters to the Archbishop, for the abolishing of Idolatry.

**R**ight Reverend Father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, letting you to wit, that whereas heretofore upon the seal and remembrance which we had to our dominion day towards *Almighy God*, perceiving sundry superstitions and abuses to be used and embraced by his people, whereby they grievously offended him and his word, we did not only cause the Images and Images of such as they referred and offered unto, with the Ornaments of the same, and all such Writings and Monuments of sainted Miracles, whereunto they were blindfold to be taken away in all places of the Realm, but also by our Injunctions commanded that no offering or setting up of tithes or candles should be suffered in any Church, but only to the blessed Sacraments of the Altar: it is lately come unto our knowledge, that this our good intent and purpose was notwithstanding the strict covering of *Shewments* and *Monuments* of the things do yet remain in sundry places of this Realm, much to the slander of our Doings, and to the great displeasure of *Almighy God*, because being means to allure our Subjects to their former *Hypocrit* and *Superstition*, and also that our Injunctions be kept as appearance. For the due and speedy reformation whereof we have thought meet, by these our Letters expressly to will and command you, that incontinent upon the receipt hereof, you shall not only cause due search to be made in the Cathedral Church for the things, and if any thing covering of *Shewments*, *Table*, *Monument* of *Almighy God* after Pilgrimages, do there come, seeing cause it to be so taken away, as there remain no memory of it; but also that you shall take order with all the Citizens, and other having charge within your Diocese to do the fensibleness, and to set that our Injunctions be duly kept, as appearance without false feigning, as we trust you, and as you will answer to the contrary.

Given under our Signet at our Towne of *Hall*, the fourth day of *October* in the 33 year of our Reigne.

Furthermore, the next year after this ending, which was 1543, in the Month of *February*, followed ano-

ther Proclamation given out by the Kings Authority, wherein the Popes Law, forbidding white meats to be eaten in Lent, was repealed, and the eating of such meats set at liberty, for the behoof of the Kings Subjects. The Copy of which Proclamation I thought here good also to be remembered.

A Proclamation concerning eating of white meats, made the ninth of *February*, the 34 year of the Reigne of the Kings most Royal Majesty.

**E**xtremely as by divers and sundry occasions, as well *Herring*, *Ling*, *Saltsby*, *Salmond*, *Stockfish*, as other kinds of Fish have been this year (and also in former years) above the old use and common estimation of their value, as fish, by the King leaving the people thereof forced only to buy and provide *Herring* and other fish for the necessary and sufficient sustentation and maintenance of their household and families all this holy times of Lent, according as they have been wont in times past of olden, and should not be by one other convenient means relieved therein, the same might and should undisturbedly be used to their importable charge and detriment, and forasmuch as his Highness considered how this kind and manner of selling, that is to say, as aforesaid from *Milk*, *Butter*, *Eggs*, *Cheese*, and other white meats, is but a mere positive Law of the Church, and held by a Custom without the Realm, and of none other force or necessity than the same may be upon considerations and grounds altered and dispensed with from time to time, by the public Authority of Kings and Princes, wherefore they shall perceive the same tending to the hurt and damage of their people. The Kings Highness therefore, most graciously considering and tendering the Wealth and Commonality of his people, hath thought good for the considerations above rehearsed, to release and dispense with the said Law and Custom of abstaining from white meats the holy time of Lent, and of his special grace and merciful favour, to give unto all his faithful Subjects within this his Realm of *England*, *Wales*, *Cales*, *Guines*, and *Hammes*, and in all other his Cities, Dominions, free liberty, faculty and licence, to eat all manner of white meats, *Milk*, *Eggs*, *Butter*, *Cheese*, and such like during the time of this Lent, without any example or grudge of Conscience, any Law, Constitution, Use, or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

Wherein nevertheless his Highness exhorteth, and in the Name of God requirith all such his Faithful Subjects, as may, without fault enjoy this his said grant or faculty, that they be in no wise treacherous or doubtful thereof, nor make or turn the same into a fishery or carnal liberty, but rather endeavour themselves to their possible power, with this liberty of eating of white meats, to observe also that fast which God most specially requirith of them, that is to say, to renounce the World and the Devil, with all their pomps and works, and also to subdue and repress their carnal affections and the corrupt works of the flesh, according to their Power and Profession made at the font, for the time past, specially consisteth the very true and perfect abstinence or fasting of a Christian Man; that thus to endure and continue from year to year, till the King his Highness shall by his Majesty's Proclamation be published to the contrary.

The Trouble and Persecution of four Windsor-men, Robert Tutwood, Henry Funn, Robert and John Marbeck, persecuted for Righteousness sake, and for the Gospel.

Coming now to the Story and time of the four *Windsor* men, who were troubled and persecuted for the true Testimony of Gods Word, whereof three were Martyred, and Sacrificed in Fire, the fourth (which was *Marbeck*) had his Pardon: First I have to shew the original of their troubles in several parts, secondly the manner and order of their death as they suffered together, which was Anno 1544. Thirdly, to answer partly in purgation of my self, against certain clatterers which have hitherto taken their pleasure in railing against my former Execution of Acts and Monuments, for mistaking the name of *Marbeck*, whom in one place I reported to have been burned, albeit in the end of the Story, correcting my self again I declared him not to have been burned. Wherefore to stop the bawling mouths of such quarrellers, I thought here

here to set forth the full Narration, both of the said *Marbeck* and of his Fellows, in such sort, as I trust none of them shall have just cause to quarrel therewith.

### The Original of Teltwoods trouble.

Persecutors.

Persons persecuted.

Mr. Ely.

Simon a Lawyer.

Dr. London.

Steph. Gardiner Bp. of Winchester.

Wrisley, Southam, Treasurer of Exeter.

Dr. Brereton, Chancellor of Exeter.

Mr. Knight, Winchester's Gentleman.

Dr. Oking.

Dr. Capon B. of Sarum.

Sir William Effen, Kt.

Sir Thomas Bridges, Kt.

Sir Humphrey Fofer, Kt.

Mr. Ely's Brother.

Mr. Ely's Brother.

Mr. Ely's Brother.

Mr. Ely's Brother.

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Mr. Ely's Brother.

Mr. Ely's Brother.

Persecutors.

Persons persecuted, and the Cause.

Mr. Fachel of Reding.

Mr. Fachel of Reding.

Mr. Fachel of Reding.

Mr. Fachel of Reding.

Mr. Fachel of Reding.

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Mr. Fachel of Reding.

thine enemy hunger, find him; if he thirst, give him drink, and in so doing thou shalt reap clouds of fire upon his head. Now Sir, quoth *Ely*, what meantest thou by those words of fire? *Mary Sir*, quoth *Teltwood*, he meant nothing else by them (as I have learned) but burning Charity, that by doing good to our Enemies we should thereby win them. Ah Sir, quoth he, you are an old Scholar indeed.

After this they fell into further communication of the Pope, whose Supremacy was much spoken of at that time, but not known to be so far in question in the Parliament House as it was. And in their talk *Ely* demanded of *Teltwood*, Whether the Pope ought to be Head of their Church, or no? Against the which *Teltwood* durst not say his full mind, but reasoned within his bounds a great while. But when they were both well drunken in an hour, *Teltwood* forgetting himself, chanced to say, That every King, in his own Realm, ought to be Head of the Church, as the Head of the Church was said to be.

At the which words *Ely* was so chafed, that he rose up from the Table in a great fume, calling him *Heretic*, and all that taught was, and went bawling and clouting away the great winking of all the Company that were there.

Then was *Teltwood* very sorry to see the old man take him so grievously. Whereupon after dinner he went and sought Mr. *Ely*, and found him walking in the Body of the Church, thinking to have talked with him charitably, and to have been at one again; but ever as *Teltwood* pressed towards him, the other flumed him, and would not come nigh him, but spit at him; saying to others that walked by, Beware of this Fellow, for he is the greatest Heretic and Schismatick that ever came in *Windsor*.

Now began the matter to brew. For after that *Ely* had made his Complaint to the Deans Deputy, and other of the Canons, they were all against *Teltwood*, purposing surely at the Deans coming home (if all things had chanced even) to have put him to his trumpe. But for the sake of fortune, it was not twelve days after, ere that the Kings answer to the Supremacy passed in the Parliament House. Whereupon the Dean (*Dr. Sampson*) came home suddenly in the night brought in late, and forthwith sent for all the Canons, and Ministers of the College, from the highest to the lowest, commanding them to be in the *Chantry-house* by eight of the Clock in the morning. Then *Ely* consulted with the Canons overnight (as late as it was) and was one of King *Edward*'s four Clergymen, who were plunged: But he that layeth a snare for another shall be taken in it himself. And so was *Ely* for when the Dean, and every man were come and placed in the *Chantry House*, and that the Dean had commended the Ministers of the Church for their diligence in tending the Quire, exhorting them also to continue in the same; he began, contrary to every mans expectation, to inveigh against the Bishop of *Rome*'s Supremacy and usurped Authority, confounding the fame by manifest Scriptures and probable Reasons, so earnestly, that it was a wonder to hear; and at length declared openly, that by the whole consent of the Parliament House, the Popes Supremacy was utterly abolished out of this Realm of *England* for ever, and so commanded every man there, upon his Allegiance, to call him Pope no more, but Bishop of *Rome*; and whatsoever he was that would not so do, or did from that day forth maintain or favour his Cause by any manner of means, he should not only lose the benefit of that House, but be reputed as an utter enemy.

enemy to God, and to the King. The Canons hearing this, were all stricken in a dump. Yet notwithstanding *Elies* heart was to great, that he would fain have uttered his cankered frowne against *Telfwood*; but the Dean (breaking his face) called him old Fool, and took him up so furiously, that he was faine to hold his peace. Then the Dean commended all the Popes Pardons which hanged about the Church to be brought into the *Chapter Houfe*, and caft into the *Chimney*, and burnt before all their faces, and so departed.

#### Another cause of Telfwoods trouble.

AS it chanced *Telfwood* one day to walk in the Church at Afternoon, and beheld the Pilgrims, specially of *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, how they came in by Plumes without Candles and Images of *Woe* in their hands, to offer to good King *Henry of Windsor*, as they called him, it pined his heart to see such Idolatry committed, and how vainly the People had spent their money in coming so far to kiss a figure, and to have an old Hat put upon their Heads; infomuch that he could not refrain, but (seeing a certain company which had done their Offering, being amazed about the Church) went unto them, and with all gentleness began to exhort them to leave such false worshipping of dumb Creatures, and to learn to worship the true living God alight, putting them in remembrance what those things were, which they worshipped, and how God many times had plagued his People for running a whoring to fish Stocks and Stones, and to *Woe* plague them and their Posterity, if they would not leave it.

After this for he ascertified them so long, till at last his words, as God would, took such place in some of them, that they said they never would go a Pilgrimage more. Then he went further, and found another flock, ticking and kissing a white Lady made of Alabaster, which Image was mortuall in a wall behind the High Altar, and bordered about with pretty bowes, with flowers, made like branches with hanging Apples and Flowers. And when he saw them so superstitiously use the Image, as to wipe their hands upon it, and then to stroke them over their heads and faces, as though there had been great vertue in touching the Picture, he went up with his hand, in the which he had a Key, and from a piece of the border about the Image, down, and with the glance of the frooke chanced to break off the Images nose. Lo, good People (quoth he) you see what it is worth but earth and dust, and cannot help it self, and how then will you have it to help you? For Gods sake, Brethren, be no more deceived. And for he got him home to his Houfe, for the rumour was so great, that many came to see the Image how it was defaced. And among all other, came one *William Simons* a Lawyer, who seeing the Image to be so defaced, and to lack her nose, took the matter grievously to heart, and looking down upon the Pavement, he spied the Image gone where it lay, which he took up and put in his Purse, saying it should be a dear nose to *Telfwood* one day.

Now were many offended with *Telfwood*, the Canons for speaking against their profits, the *Vasellers* for hindering their Market, and *Simons* for the Images nose. And more then that, there were of the Canons men that threatened to kill him. Whereupon *Telfwood* kept his Houfe, and durst not come forth, minding to feed the whole matter in writing by his Wife, to *Cromwell* the Kings Secretary, who was his special Friend. The Canons hearing that *Telfwood* would send to *Cromwell*, they sent the Verger unto him, to will him to come to the Church; who sent them word again that he was in fear of his life, and therefore would not come. Then sent they two of the eldest Priests Causon to entreat him, and to assure him that no man should do him harm. He made them a plain answer, That he had no such fruit in their promises, but would complain to his Friends. Then went they not what fit to make, for of all men they feared *Cromwell*, but few in point butte for old Mr. *Ward*, Justice of Peace, dwelling three or four miles off, who being come, and hearing the Canons words, was very loath to meddle in it. But notwithstanding, through their entreaty, he went to *Telfwood*, and had much ado to persuade him, but at last he did

faintly promise him, by the Oath he had made to God and the King, to defend him from all danger and harms, that *Telfwood* was content to go with him.

And when Mr. *Ward* and *Telfwood* were come into *Telfwood* the Church, and were going toward the *Chapter Houfe*, where the Canons abode their coming, one of the Canons men drew his dagger at *Telfwood*, and would have been upon him, but Mr. *Ward* with his man resisted, and got *Telfwood* into the *Chapter Houfe*, causing the Serving-man to be called in, and sharply rebuked of their Masters, who firstly commanded them upon pain of losing their service, and further displeasure, not to touch him, nor to give him an evil word. Now *Telfwood*, being alone in the *Chapter Houfe* with the Canons and Mr. *Ward*, was gently entreated, and the matter so pacified, that *Telfwood* might quietly come and go to the Church, and do his duty as he had done before.

#### Another Cause of Telfwoods trouble.

UPON a Relick Sunday (as they named it) when every Lay Minister after their old custom should have born a Relick in his hand about a Procession, one was brought to *Telfwood*. Which Relick, as they said, was a Relick of Bishop *Becket*. And as the Sexton would have put the Relick in *Telfwoods* hands, he pushed it from him, saying, if he did give it to him, he would wipe his tail with it, and so the Relick was given to another. Then came *S. Georges* the Verger down from the high Altar with *S. Georges* Dagger in his hand, demanding who lacked a Relick. *Mr. Hake*, quoth *Telfwood*, give it to Mr. *Hake*, who stood next him, for he is a pretty man of his hands, and the Dagger was given unto him. Now *Telfwood* perceiving the Dagger in Mr. *Hake*'s hand, and being merely disposed (as he was a merry conceited man) flung forth out of his place to *Dr. Clifton*, landing directly before him in the middle of the Quire, with a glorious good Coppe upon his back, having the Cross in his hand, and said, Sir, Mr. *Hake* hath *S. Georges* Dagger. Now if he had his Horse, and *S. Martins* Cloak, and Mr. *John Shorns* boots, with King *Henries* Spurs, and his Hat, he might ride when he would, and so flung into his place again. Whereat the other changed colour, and wilt not what to say.

#### Another Cause of Telfwoods Trouble.

IN the days of Mr. *Franken*, who succeeded Doctor Mr. *Penlon* in the Denary of *Windsor*, there was a time fit up at the Quire door a certain foolish printed Paper in Meeter, all to the praise and commendation of our Lady, ascribing unto her our Justification, our Salvation, our Redemption, the Forgiveness of Sins, &c. to the great derogation of Christ. Which Paper, one of the Canons, called Mr. *Magnus* (as it was reported) caused to be fit up in despite of *Telfwood* and his Sock. When *Telfwood* saw his Paper, he plucked it down fiercely. The next day after another was fit up in the same place. Then *Telfwood* coming into the Church, and seeing another Paper fit up, and also the Dean coming a little way off, made haste to be at the Quire door, while the Dean fled to take holy Water, and reaching up *Telfwood* to his hand as he went, plucked away the Paper with him. The Dean, being come to his Stall, called *Telfwood* most unwelcome, and said, That he marvelled greatly how he durst be so bold to take the Kings Paper by his licence? *Telfwood* answered again, That he marvelled much more, that his Masterhood would suffer such a blasphemous Paper to be fit up, befecching him not to be offended with that he had done, for he would stand unto it. So Master Dean being a timorous man, made no more ado with him. After this there no more Papers fit up, but poor *Telfwood* was eaten and drunken amongst them at every meal, and an Heretic he was, and would rot a Fagot forth his geer one day.

Now Mr. *Magnus* being first offended with *Telfwood*, began for plucking down his Papers, to be revered on against him, deviled with the Dean and the rest of the Canons, to send their Letters to *Dr. Chamber*, one of their Brethren, and the Kings Physician, who lay, for the most part, at the Court, to see what he would do against *Telfwood*.

Which

Which Letters being made, were sent with speed. But whatsoever the cause was, whether he durst not meddle for fear of *Cromwell*, or whether else, I cannot tell, their fate came to none effect. Then with they not what to do, but determined to let the matter lie, till *S. Georges* Feast, which was not far off.

Now in the mean time there chanced a pretty story, between one *Robert Philip*, Gentleman of the Kings Chapel, and *Telfwood*. Which story, which it was but a merry crack of a finging man, yet it grieved his Adversary wonderfully. The matter was this: *Robert Philip* was so notable a finging man (wherein he glorieth) that wheresoever he came, the belt and longest Songs with most Countenance in it, should be fit up at his coming. And so his chance being now to be at *Windsor*, against his coming to the Anthem, a long Song was fit up called *Lauda vivit*. In which Song there was one Counterpoise toward the end, that began on this wise, *O redemptrix & salvatrix*: Which words, of all others, *Robert Philip* would sing, because he knew that *Telfwood* could not abide that Ditty. Now *Telfwood* knowing his mind well enough, joyined with him on the other part: and when he heard *Robert Philip* begin to fetch his flourish with, *O redemptrix & salvatrix*, repeating the same one in another neck, *Telfwood* was as quick on the other side to answer him again with *Non redemptrix, nec salvatrix*, and so striving there with *Old* and *Now*, who should have the mastery, they made an end of the verble. Whereat good laughing in flevres of some, but *Robert Philip* with other of *Telfwoods* enemies, were fore offended.

Within fourteen days after this, the Lords of the Garde (as there custom is yearly to do) came to *Windsor* to keep *S. Georges* Feast, at which Feast the Duke of *Northfolk* was President: unto whom the Dean and the Canons made a grievous complaint on *Telfwood*. Who being called before the Duke, he shook him up, and also to reviled him, as though he would have sent him to hang by and by. Yet nevertheless, *Telfwood* so behaved himself to the Duke, that in the end he let him go without any further troubling of him, to the great discomfort of the Dean and Canons.

Here you have heard the causes which have moved *Telfwoods* enemies to seek his destruction, and could not attain their purpose, till that wicked *Hamans*, *Dr. London* came, as shall be shewed in the Proceeding following.

#### The Original of Henry Filmers Trouble.

ABOUT the Year of our Lord, 1541. after all the Orders of superstitious and begging Friars were suppressed and put down, there chanced one Sir *Thomas Melpher*, which was before a Friar before, and changed his Friars Coat (but not his Friars heart) to be Vicar of *Windsor*. This Priest on a time made a Sermon to the Parishioners, in the which he declared to many fond and foolish tales, which his Lady should hold her Breasts to *S. Bernards* and spout her milk into his eyes, with such like Follies, that many honest men were offended therewith, and especially this *Henry Filmer*, then one of the Churchwardens: who was so zealous of Gods Word, that he could not abide to hear the glory of Christ so defaced with superstitious Fables. Whereupon he took an honest man or two with him, and went to the Priest, with whom he talked so honestly and so charitably, that in the end the Priest gave him hearty thanks, and was content at his gentle admonition to reform himself without any more ado, and so departed friendly the one from the other.

Now there was one in the Town, called *William Simons* a Lawyer (as is aforesaid) who hearing that *Filmer* had been with the Priest, and reproved him for his Sermon, took Pepper in the Nose, and got him to the Vicar, and did so animate him in his doing, that he slipped quite away from the promise he had made to *Filmer*, and followed the mind of *Simons*: who meeting with *Filmer* afterwards, also to reviled him, saying, He would bring him before the Bishop, to teach him to be so impudent. Then *Filmer*, hearing the matter renewed, which he had thought had been suppressed, stood against *Simons*, and said, That the Vicar had preached false

and ungodly Doctrine, and so would he lay to the Bishop whenever he came before him. Then *Simons* did not the matter, but went to the Vicar, and showed him his red of him and his Brethren a Letter, signified with their own hands in the Priests favour, as much as could be devised; and so departed himself, with other his Friends: to go to the Bishop, (whose name was *Dr. Capon*) and to take the Priest with them; which was a painful journey for the silly poor man, by reason he had a sore Leg.

Now *Filmer*, hearing how *Simons* went about to put him to a foil, consoling with his Friends what was best to do, who concluded to draw out certain Notes of the Vicars Sermon, and to prepare themselves to be at *Salisbury* as soon as *Simons* or before he had a sore Leg, if it might be possible. Thus both the parties being in a readiness, it chanced them to set forth of *Windsor* all in one day. But by reason the Priest, being an impotent man, could not endure to ride very fast, *Filmer* and his Company went to the Town an hour and more before the Vicar went to the Bishop and delivered up their Bill unto him, by which Bill, when the Bishop had seen and perused well, he gave them great thanks for their pains, saying, It did behoove him to look upon it, for the Priest had preached Heresie, and should be punished.

Then *Filmer* declared unto the Bishop the form of his talk he had with the Priest, and the end thereof; and how the matter, being renewed again by *Simons*, forced him and his Company to trouble the Lordship therewith. Well, said the Bishop, ye have done like honest men. Come to me to morrow, and ye shall know more, and if they departed from the Bishop to the Vicar.

And while they were there reporting themselves, *Simons*, with *Simons* and his Company, came to the Town, and (not knowing that *Filmer* and his Company were come to the Bishop in all point) hasting, taking the Priest with them. The Bishop, hearing of *Simons* men, demand-  
The Vicar of *Windsor* established as Vicar of the Town, with other more, he caused the Vicar of *Windsor* to be brought in. To whom he said, Are you the Vicar of *Windsor*? Ye aforesaid, my Lord, I quoth he. How chanceth it, quoth the Bishop, that you should be complained on? For there have been with me certain honest men of your Town, which have delivered up a Bill of erroneous Doctrine against you. If it be so, I must needs punish you; and opening the Bill, he read it unto him. How say you, quoth the Bishop, is this true or no? The Vicar could not deny it, but humbly submitted himself to the Bishop's Correction. Then was his Company called in, and when the Bishop saw *Simons*, he knew him well, and said, Wherefore came ye? *Mr. Simons*'s Plea is this: your Lordship, quoth he, we are come to speak in our Vicars cause, which is a man of good conversation and honesty, and doth his duty to be well in every point, that no man can find fault with him, except a few Fellow we have in our Town, called *Filmer*, which is so corrupt with Heresie, that he is able to poison a whole Country: and truly, my Lord, quoth *Simons*, there is no man that can preach or teach any thing that is good and godly, but he is ready to contrail it, and to say it is flark naughty. Wherefore we shall beseech your Lordship he may be punished, to the example of others, that our Vicar may do his duty quietly, as he hath done before this before. The Bishop, who was troubled with the Vicar's Lordship, said the better credit my Layings, I have brought with me a testimony of all men, that will be so impudently go about to maintain your Priest in his Error, which hath preached Heresie, and hath confided it; wherefore I may not but will not let it unpunished. And as for that foolish man, *Filmer*, on whom ye have complained, I tell you plainly he hath in this point shewed himself a great deal more honest man than you. But in hope you will no more bear out your Vicar in his evil doing, I will remit all things at this time, saying that he had done before this before. Then *Filmer*, hearing the matter renewed, which he had thought had been suppressed, stood against *Simons*, and said, That the Vicar had preached false

Some copies of *Robert Philip*, Capon, &c. of *Windsor*.

*Filmer* forced out to court by the Vicar of *Windsor*.

The Vicar of *Windsor* established as Vicar of the Town, with other more, he caused the Vicar of *Windsor* to be brought in.

The words of *Simons* to the Bishop.

*Mr. Simons*, by *Capon* called to *Simons*.

Right Ma-  
jor-Lieut-  
enant  
his Sermon.  
The great  
up his finger  
a gentle fir-  
me.

the Priests Recantation unto them; with a great charge to fee it truly observed in all points. Then *Simons* took his leave of the Bishop, and departed with a Rea in his ear, disappointed of his purpose, and free ashamed of the foil. For this cause *Simons* could never brook *Filmer's* fault; but when he met him at any time after, would hold up his finger (as his manner was he ought dis- please) & say, I will be even with you one day, trust me.

#### The Original of Anthony Pearsons trouble.

There was a certain Priest, named *Anthony Pearfon*, which frequented much to *Windsor*, about the year of our Lord 1540. and using the Talent that God had given him in preaching, was greatly esteemed among the People, who flocked so much to his Sermons which he made both in the Town and Country, that the great Priests of the Castle, with other Papists in the Town, specially *Simons*, were fore distressed: inasmuch that *Simons* at the last began to gather of his Sermons, and to mark his Auditory, where he enfolded the death of many of many of his hearers. For about a year and more, a Minister of Satan, called *Dr. London*, Warden of the *New-Colledge in Oxford*, was admitted one of the Prebendaries of *Windsor*, who, at his first coming to *Windsor*, began to utter his Romach and to force at his first residence dis- pater which he made to the Clerks (which Company for the most part at that time favoured the Gospel), all his whole talk to two Gentlemen strangers at his board (all the Table was taking up) was nothing else but of Heretics, and what a debilitation they would bring the Realm unto, if they might be fo diffused. And by *S. Mary's*, Masters, (quoth he to the Clerks at last) I cannot tell, but there growth a shrewd report abroad of this House. Some made answer it was undeserved. I pray God thee, quoth he. I am but a stranger, and have but small ex- perience amongst you; but I have heard it said before I came hither, that there be some in this House, that will neither have Prayer nor Fasting.

Then spake *Telford*. By my troth, Sir, quoth he, I think that was spoken of malice: for Prayer, as your Ma- jestyth knoweth better than I, is one of the first Leifons that Christ taught us. Yea marry, Sir, quoth he, but the Heretics will have no Invocation to Saints, which all the old Fathers do allow. What the old Fathers do allow, quoth *Telford*, I cannot tell; but Christ doth appoint us to go to his Father, and to ask our Petitions of him in Christ Name. Then you will have no mean between you and God, quoth *Dr. London*: Yea, Sir, quoth *Telford*, our mean is Christ, as *S. Paul* faith, *There is one Mediator between God and Man, even Jesus Christ*. Give us water, quoth *Dr. London*. Which being fed on the board his Grace was woful, and fo falling into their Communication with the strangers, the Clerks took their leave and departed.

When *Dr. London* had been at *Windsor* a while a- mong his Catholic Brethren, and learned what *Telford* was, and also of *Simons* (who threw him our Ladies Nose, as he called it) what a sort of Heretics were in the Town and about the same, and how they increased daily by reason of a naughty Priest, called *Anthony Pearfon*, he was fo maliciously bent against them, that he gave himself wholly to the Devil to do mischief. And he furthered his wicked purpose abed, he conspired with the forlaid *Simons* better Clerk to force these Church Curates, and other like sort, who they might compass the matter, first to have all the Arch-heretics, as they termed them, in *Windsor* and thereabout, indicted of Heresie, and fo to proceed further: They had a good ground to work upon as they thought, which was the fix Articles, whereupon they began to build and practise this. First they left on certain notes of *Anthony Pearfon* Sermons, which he had preached against the Sacrament of the Altar, and their Popish Mass. That done, they put in *Sir William Hobbs* with the good Lady his Wife, *Sir Thos. Cardine*, *Mr. Edmund Harman*, *Mr. Thomas Walden*, with *Seacab* and his Wife, as chief aiders,elpers, and maintainers of *Anthony Pearfon*. And also they noted *Dr. Haynes*, Dean of Exeter, and a Prebendary of *Windsor*, to be

a common receiver of all suspected persons. They wrote also the names of all such as commonly haunted *Anthony Pearfon* Sermons, and of all such as had the Testament, and favoured the Gospel, or did but smell thereof.

Then had they privy Spies to walk up and down the Church, to berken and hear what men said, and to mark who did not reverence the Sacrament, at the elevation time, and to bring his name to *Dr. London*. And of these Spies some were Chantry Priests; among which there was one notable Spy, whose name was called *Sir William Bens*, such a deering Priest as would be in every corner of the Church practising to himself, with his Portulie in his hand, to hear and to note the ge- fture of men towards the Sacrament. Thus when they had gathered as much as they could, and made a perfect Book thereof, *Dr. London* with two of his Catholic Bre- thren, more gave them up to the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Stephen Gardiner*, with a great complaint against the Heretics that were in *Windsor*, declaring unto him how the Town was fore distressed through their Doctrine and evil Example. Wherefore they besought his Lordships help, in purging the Town and Castle of such wicked persons. The Bishop hearing their complaint, and seeing their Book, praised their doings, and bade them make Friends and go forward, and they should not lack his help. Then they applied the matter with tooth and nail, sparing for no money nor pains taking, as *Marbeck* faith that he himself heard one of them say, who is a greater doer herein, and afterward forry for that he had done that the fore thereof cost him that year, for his part only, an hundred Marks, beside the death of three good Geldings.

Now *Bishop Gardiner*, which had conceived a further fetch in his brain that *Dr. London* had, made *Wrisley* and other of the Council on his side, and tying a time convenient, went to the King, complaining what a Com- pany of Heretics his Grace had in his Realm, and how they were not only kept into every corner of his Court, but even into his Privy Chamber, befecching therefore his Majesty that his Laws might be prosecuted, the King giving credit to the Councils words, was content his Grace should be executed on such as were Offenders. Then had the Bishop that he desired, and forthwith procured a Commission for a private Search to be had in *Windsor* for Books and Letters that *Anthony Pearfon* should find broad, which Commission the King granted to take place in the Town of *Windsor*, but not in the Castle.

At this time the Canon of Exeter (specially *Sacbar*, Treasurer of the Church, and *Dr. Brueswood* the Chan- cellor) had accused *Dr. Haynes* their Dean to the Coun- cil, for preaching against holy Bread, and holy Water, and that he should say in one of his Sermons (having occasion to speak of Matrimony) that marriage and con- venty were defuiny; upon the which they gathered Tre- ffon against him, because of the Kings marriage. The Bishop of *Windsor* (at the same time) had also infor- med the Council of *Mr. Hobbs*, how he was a bearer of *Anthony Pearfon*, and a great maintainer of Heretics. Whereupon both he and *Dr. Haynes* were apprehended and sent to the Fleet. But it was not very long after, ere that by the mediation of Friends they were both de- livered.

Now, as touching the Commission for searching for Books, *Mr. Ward* and *Fachel* of Reading were appointed Commissioners, who came to *Windsor* the Thursday before *Palm-Sunday*, in the year of our Lord 1543, forth- with began their Search about eleven of the Clock at *Windsor*. In the which Search were apprehended *Rector*, *Benet*, *Henry Elmyer*, *John Marbeck*, and *Robert Tipt*, Master of the school, for certain Books and Writings found in his House against the fix Articles, and kept in ward till *Mow* day after, when they were taken to the Council, all five *Tipt* wood, with whom the Bailiffs of the Town were charged, because he lay fore disaffected of the Gout. The other three, being examined before the Council, were com- mitted to Prison, *Filmer* and *Benet* to the Bishop of *Lon- don* Goal, and *Marbeck* to the *Marshallj*; whose Ex- amination is here set out, to declare the great good-faith of the Council, and the cruelty of the Bishop.

The first Examination of John Marbeck, before the Council, on the Monday after Palm-Sunday, 1544.

Then *Marbeck* had begun a great Work in English, called *The Concordance of the Bible*: Which Book, being not half finished, was among his other Books ta- king in the fearch, and had up to the Council. And when he came before them to be examined, the whole Work lay before the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Steph. Gardiner*, at the upper end of the board. Who beholding the poor man a while, said, *Marbeck*, dost thou know wherefore thou art sent for? No, my Lord, quoth he. Nay, quoth the Bishop, thou art a marvelous thing. For my Lord, quoth he, unless it be for a certain farch made of late in *Windsor*, I cannot tell wherefore it should be. Then thou knowest the matter well enough, quoth the Bishop, and taking up a quire of the Concordance in his hand, said, Understand thou the Latin Tongue? No, my Lord, quoth he, but simply. No, quoth the Bishop. And with that spake *Mr. Wrisley*, (then Secretary to the King) he faith but simply. I cannot tell, quoth the Bishop, but he is translated for word out of the Latin Concor- dance, and he began to declare to the rest of the Coun- cil, the nature of a Concordance, and how it was learned, compiled in Latin by the great diligence of the Learned men for the ease of Preachers; concluding with this reason, that if such a Book should go forth in English, it would destroy the Latin Tongue. And to cutting down the quire again, he read, *Heaven my faith, and the Book of Ezeke the Prophet*, and turning to the last Chap- ter, gave the Book to *Marbeck*, and asked him who had written the note in the Margent. The other looking upon it, said, Forsooth, my Lord, I wrote it. Read it, quoth the Bishop. Then he read it thus, *Heaven my faith, and the Earth is my footstool*. Nay, quoth the Bishop, as thou hast written it. Then shall I read it wrong, quoth he, for I had written it false. How hadst thou written it, quoth the Bishop. I had written it, quoth he, thus; *Heaven my faith, and the Earth is not my footstool*. Yea marry, quoth the Bishop, that was thy meaning. No, my Lord, quoth he; it was but an oversight in writing; for, (as your Lordship saith) this word (*Nos*) is blotted out. At this time came other matters in to the Council, so that *Marbeck* was had out to the next Chamber. And when he had stood there a while, one of the Council, named *Sir Anthony Wingfield*, Captain of the Guard, came forth, and calling for *Marbeck*, committed him to one *Bellon* of the Guard, saying unto him on this way, Take this man and have him to the *Marshallj*, and tell the Keeper that it is the Councils pleasure that he shall inherit him gently, and if he have any Money in his Purse, as I think he hath not much, take you it from him, lest the Prisoners do take it, and minister it unto him as he shall have need. And so the Messenger departed with *Marbeck* to the *Marshallj*, and did his Commission both faithfully and truly, both to the Keeper and to the Prisoner, as he was commanded.

#### The second Examination of Marbeck, before the Bishops Gentlemen in the Marshallj.

On the next day, which was *Tuesday*, by eight of the Clock in the Evening, came into the *Marshallj* one of the Bishops Gentlemen into the *Marshallj*, whose man brought after him two great Books under his arm, and finding *Marbeck* walking up and down in the Chappel, demanded of the Keeper why he was not in Irons. I had no such Commandment, quoth he, for the Messenger which brought him, yesterday from the Council said, It was their pleasure he should be gently used. My Lord (quoth the Gentlemen) will not be content with you; and fo taking the Books of his man, he called for a Chamber, up to the which he carried *Marbeck*, and calling the Books from him upon a Bed, sat him down and said, *Marbeck*, my Lord doth favour thee well for certain good qualities that thou hast, and hastest me hither to admonish thee to beware and take heed lest thou cast away thy self willfully. If thou wilt be plain, thou shalt do thy self much good; if not, thou shalt do thy self much harm. I assure thee, my Lord lamenteth thy case, for as much as he hath al-

ways heard good report of thee; wherefore now see to thy self, and play the wile man. These art acquaintances with a great sort of Heretics, as *Hobbs* and *Haines*; with other more, and knowest much of their secrets; it will thou wilt now open them at my Lords request, he will procure thy deliverance out of hand, and prefer thee to better living.

Alas, Sir, quoth he, what secrets do I know? I am but a poor man, and was never worthy to be conver- sant either with *Mr. Hobbs* or *Mr. Haines*, to know any part of their minds. Well (quoth the Gentlemen) make it not for frange, for my Lord doth know well enough in what situation they had both died, and *Anthony Pearfon*, for your Religion. For *Anthony Pearfon*, quoth he, I can say nothing, for I never saw him with them in all my life. And as for my self, I cannot deny but that they have always, I thank them, taken me for an honest poor man, and shewed me much kindness; but as for their secrets, they were too wile to commit them to any such as I am.

Peradventure (quoth the Gentlemen) thou fearest to Marbeck, because he is a great man, and thou art a poor fellow; left thy hearing thereof might hereafter withdraw thy to desert from them: which thou needest not to fear, for I warrant thee, for they are sure enough, and never like to pleasure thee any more, nor any man else.

With that the water flood in *Marbecks* eyes. Why weepst thou, quoth the Gentlemen? Oh Sir, quoth he, I pray you pardon me; these men have done good to me, whereas I beseech the living God to comfort them as I would be comforted my self.

Well (quoth the Gentlemen) I perceive thou wilt play the fool; and then he opened one of the Books, and asked him if he understood any Latin. But a little, Sir, quoth he. How is it then (quoth the Gentlemen) that thou hadst translated thy Book out of the Latin Concordance, and yet understand not the Tongue? I will tell you (quoth he) in my youth I learned the Principles of my Grammar, whereby I have found understanding therein, though it be very small. Then the Gentlemen asked him if he knew the Latin Concordance and English Bible which he had brought; and when he had done, and was satisfied, he called up his man to fetch away the Books, and fo de- parted, leaving *Marbeck* alone in the Chamber, the door fast shut unto him.

About two hours after, the Gentlemen came again, with a sheet of Paper folded in his hand, and fed him down upon the Beds side, (as before) and said, By my Master's Grace, *Marbeck*, your Lord doth so much willfulness in thee, that he faith it is thy duty to do good. When wast thou *How* with *Haines*? Forsooth, quoth he, about three weeks ago, I was at dinner with him. And what talk, quoth the Gentlemen, had he at his board? I cannot tell you, quoth he. No? quoth the Gentlemen, thou art not so dull witted, to forget a thing in fo short a space. Yea, Sir, quoth he, such familiar talk as men do use at their boards, is most commonly by the next day forgotten, and so it was with me. Didst thou never, quoth the Gentlemen, talk with him, nor with any of thy Fellows of the Mass, or of the blessed Sacrament? No, forsooth, quoth he. Now forsooth, quoth the Gentlemen, thou shalt be for thou hast been seen to walk with *Telford*, and other of thy Fellows, in an house together in the Church, when honest men have walked up and down before you, and ever as they have drawn near you, ye have staid your talk till they have been past you, because they should not hear thereof you talked. I deny not, quoth he, but I have walked with *Telford* and other of my Fellows, I cannot tell how oft, which maketh not that we talked either of the Mass, or of the Sacrament: for men may commune and talk of many matters, that they would not that every man should hear, and yet far from any foul thing; therefore it is good to know of my Fellows, quoth the Gentlemen, thou must be plainer with the Lord than this, or else it will be wrong with thee, and that sooner than thou weneest. How plain will his Lordship have me to be, Sir, quoth he? There is nothing that I can do and say with a false confidence, but I am ready to do that his Lordships pleasure. What tellest thou me, quoth the Gentlemen? thy Confidence? Thou must with a false Confidence utter those that be Heretics,







through the which ye are become rather Bit-theefers than true Bishops, biting and devouring the poor Sheep of Chrift, like ravening Wolves, never fatiated with blood, which God will requite you hands one day, doubt it not. Then faid *Simons* his Accufor, flanding within the Barr, faying: It is pity this fellow had not been burnt long ago, as he deferved. In Faith, quoth *Anthony*, if you had as you deferved, you were more worthy to find in this place than I: but I truſt, in the laſt day when we ſhall both appear before the Tribunal of Chrift, that then it will be known which of us two hath beſt deferved this place. Shall I have long a day, quoth *Simons*, holding up his finger? Nay then I care not; and fo the matter was jeſted out.

Robert Teftwood.

Then was *Teftwood* called, and his Inditement read, which was that he ſhould fay in the time that he ſupped up to high? what ye higher? take heed! him not fall up to high? To this *Teftwood* answered, faying, it was a thing maliciously forged of his enemies to bring him to his death. Yes (quoth the Biſhop) I thou haſt been free, when the Priſt ſhould lift up the Sacrament over thy head, then wouldſt thou look down upon thy Book or ſome other way, becauſe thou wouldſt not abide to look upon the bleſſed Sacrament. I beſeech you my Lord, quoth *Teftwood*, whereon did he king that marked me to well? Mary, quoth *Backſlayer* the Kings Attorney, he could not be better occupied, than to mark ſuch Hereticks that he deſiſed the bleſſed Sacrament.

Henry Filmer.

Then *Filmer* was called, and his Inditement read, that he ſhould fay that the Sacrament of the Altar is nothing elfe but a ſimilitude and a ceremony; and alſo if God be in the Sacrament of the Altar, I have eaten twenty Gods in my days.

Here you muſt underſtand, that theſe words were gathered of certain conceits which ſhould be between *Filmer*, and his Brother. The tale went thus:

This *Henry Filmer* coming upon a Sunday from Cleaver his Parſh Church, in the company of one or two of his neighbours, chanced in the way to meet his Brother (which was a very poor labouring man) and asked him whither he went. To the Church, faid he. And what do you do there? To do quoth he, as other men do. Nay, quoth *Filmer*, you go hear Maſſaid, and to fear your God. What if I do, quoth he? If that be God (ſhould *Filmer* ſay) I have eaten twenty Gods in my days. Turn again, ſaid he, and go home with me, and I will read thee Chapter out of the Bible, that ſhall be better than all that thou ſhalt fee or hear there.

This Tale was no ſooner brought to *Doctor London* (by William *Simons*, *Filmer* utter enemy) but he ſent for the poor man home to his houſe, where he churiſhed him with meat and money, telling him he ſhould never lack for food as he lived; that theſe poor man, thinking to have had a daily dinner of *Doctor London*, was content to do and ſay whatever he and *Simons* would have him ſay or do againſt his own Brother. And when *Doctor London* had ſeen the poor man, he retained him as one of his houſhold men, until the Court day was come, and then ſent him up to witness this foreſaid Tale againſt his Brother. Which tale *Filmer* denied utterly, ſaying, That *Doctor London*, for a little meat and drink cake, had ſe him home, and made him ſay what he pleaſure was; wherefore my Lord (quoth *Filmer* to the Biſhop) I beſeech your Lordſhip weigh the matter indifferently, forſomuch as there is no man in all this Town, that can or will ſeſſe with him, that ever he heard any ſuch talk between him and me; and if he can bring forth any that will witness the ſame with him, I reſuſe not to dye. But ſay what he could it would not prevail.

Then *Filmer* ſeemg no remedy but that his Brothers accuſation ſhould take place, he ſaid, Ah Brother, what cauſe haſt thou to ſeew me this unkindneſs? I have always been a natural Brother unto thee and thine, and

he paid you all, to my power, from time to time as thou ſeelt know; and it is this Brotherly pity, thus to reſuſe me now for my kindneſs? God forgive it thee my Brother, and give thee Grace to repent. Then *Filmer* looking over his ſhoulder, deſired ſome good body to let him fee the Book of Statutes. His Wife being at the end of the Hall, and hearing her Husband call for the Book of Statutes, ran down to the Keeper, and brought up the Book, and gat it conveyed to her Husband.

The Liſtop, ſeeing the book in his hand, ſtart him up from the Bench in a great ſmile, demanding who had given the Priſoner that book, ſomewhat it to taken from him, and to make ſure, he ſhould go to Priſon (ſwearng by the Faith of his Body, he commanded it to Priſon ſome ſaid it was his Wife, ſome ſaid he the Keeper; like enough (my Lord) quoth *Simons*, for he is one of the ſame lot, and as worthy to be here as the beſt, if he were rightly ſeized. But whoſeever it was, the mult would not be known, and ſo the Biſhop ſaid him down again.

Then ſaid *Filmer*, O my Lord, I am this day judged by a Law, and why ſhould I not fee the Law that I am judged by? The Law is, I ſhould have two lawful witnesses, and here is but one, which would not do ſo do ſo, but that is forced thereto by the flagellating of nine enemies. Nay, quoth *Backſlayer* the Kings Attorney, thine Hereticks ſo haſtious, and abhorreth thee, one Brother ſo much, that it forceth him to witness a gainſt thee, which is more than two other witnesses.

Thus (as you ſee) was *Filmer* brought unjustly to his death by the malice of *Simons* and *Doctor London*, who had incited that wretched catif his Brother, to ſee their mailier to work his confuſion. But God, who is a juſt revenger of all falſhood and wrongs, would not ſuffer that wretch long to live upon earth, but the ſame year following he being taken up for a labourer to go to *Batavia*, had not been there three days, ere that (in exonerating of nature) a Gun took him and tore him all ſize to pieces. And ſo were theſe words of *Simons* fulfilled, *A falſe witneſs ſhall not remain unpunished.*

John Marbeck.

Then was *Marbeck* called, and his Inditement read, which was that he ſhould fay; that the holy Maſs, when the Priſt doth conſecrate the Body of our Lord, is polluted, deſecrated, ſullied and open robbery of the Glory of God, from which a Chriſtian heart ought both to abhor and flee. And the elevation of the Sacrament is the ſimilitude of ſetting up of Images, of the Calveſin the Temple builded by *Jeroboam*; and that it is more abomination, than the Sacrifices done by the Jews in *Jeroboam* Temple to thoſe Calves. And that certain and ſure it is, that Chriſt himſelf is made in the Maſs man laughing-ſtock.

To this he answered and ſaid, That theſe words whereof they had indicted him were not his, but the words of a learned man called *John Calvine*, drawn out of a certain Epistle which the ſaid *Calvine* had made, which Epistle he had but only written out; and that long before the fix Articles came forth; ſo that now he was diſcharged of that ſentence by the Kings General Pardon, declaring that he might enjoy the benefit thereof. And ſo being ſeized was the Jury called, which were all Farmers belonging to the College of *Windfor*, whereof few or none had ever ſeen thoſe men before, upon whole life and death they were. Therefore the Priſoners (counting the Farmers as partial) deſired to have the *King's Attorney* called in, who began to ſpeak; and ſaid ſen their daily conversations, in the place of the Farmers, or elfe to be equally judged with them, but that would not prove the matter was otherwise forced and determined.

Now when the Jury had taken their Oath and all, *Backſlayer* the Kings Attorney began to ſpeak; and ſaid he alleged many reaſons againſt *Anthony Pearſon*, to perſuade him an Heretick. Which when *Anthony* would have diſproved, the Biſhop ſaid; Let him alone Sir, he ſpeaketh for the King; and ſo went *Backſlayer* forth with his matter making every mans cauſe as his own, to the ſaid what he would, then Sir *Humphrey Foſter* ſpoke ſo ſo to the Queſt in the favour of *Marbeck* on this wit: *Marbeck*.

*Maſters*, quoth he, you ſee there is no man here that can ſeſſe or lay any thing to the charge of this poor man *Marbeck*, leaving his hands with certain things of other Maſters ſaying, with his own hand, whereof he is diſcharged by the Kings general Pardon; therefore ye ought to have a Conſcience therein. Then turned up *Fachel* at the lower end of the Bench, and ſaid, What can we ſay whether they were written before the Pardon or after? They may as well be written ſince as afore, for any thing that we know. Theſe words of *Fachel* (as every man ſaid) were the cauſe of *Marbeck* calling that day.

Then went the Jury up to the Chamber over the place where the Judges ſat, and in the mean time went all the Knights and Gentlemen abroad, ſaving the Biſhop, Sir William *Elſer*, and *Fachel*, which three fate fill upon the Bench till all was done. And when the Jury had been together above in the Chamber about the ſpace of a quarter of an hour, up goeth *Simons* (of his own accord) and came down again, and tarried there a pretty while, and came upon again. After that came one of the Jury down to the Biſhop, and talked with him and the other two in a good while: Whereby many conjectured that the Jury could not agree of *Marbeck*. But whether it was ſo or not, it was not long after his going up again, that he came down to give their Verdict; and being required according to the form of the Law to ſay their minds, one called *Hides*, dwelling beſide *Alington* in a Lordſhip belonging to the College of *Windfor*, ſpeaking as the Mouth of the reſt, ſaid they were guilty.

Then the Judges beholding the Priſoners a good while (ſome with watery eyes) made curſeſe who ſhould give judgment. *Fachel* requiring the Biſhop to do it, he ſaid He might not. The other alſo being required ſaid They would not. Then ſaid *Fachel*, It muſt be done, one ſaid it is, and if no one will ſay ſo. And to *Fachel*, being lookeſt all the Bench gave Judgment. Then *Marbeck*, being the laſt upon whom Sentence was given, cried unto the Biſhop, ſaying, Ah my Lord, you told me otherwiſe when I was before you and the other two Biſhops. You ſaid then, that I was in better caſe than any of my Fellows, and is now ſaying come to this? Ah my Lord, ſaid he, you have deceived me. Then the Biſhop, catching up his hand, ſaid, He could not do with all.

Now the Priſoners being condemned and had away, prepared themſelves to dye on the morrow, comforting one another in the Death and Puffon of their Maſter *Chrift*, who had led the way before them, truſting that the ſame Lord, which had made them worthy to truſt ſo far for his ſake, would not now withdraw his ſtrength from them, but give them ſtedfaſt Faith and Power to overcome thoſe fiery Torments, and of his free mercy receive their Souls. Thus lay they all the night long till very deep ſleep took them, calling to God for his aid and ſtrength, and praying for their Perſecutors, which of blind zeal and ignorance had done they wit not what, and that God of his merciful goodneſs would forgive them, and turn their hearts to the love and knowledge of his bleſſed and holy Word; yet, ſuch heavenly talk was amongst them that night, that the hearers watching the Priſon without, whereof the Sheriff himſelf was ſaved divers Gentlemen more, were constrained to ſneak out plenty of tears, as they themſelves confided.

Then the next morning, which was Friday, as the Priſoners were all preparing themſelves to go to ſuffer, word was brought them that they ſhould not dye that day. The cauſe was this, The Biſhop of *Sarum*, and they a ſort of the Sheriff diſcharge, delivering the ſame thing to the Sheriff, called Mr. *Proſer*, to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (the Court being then at *Oſking*) in the favour of *Marbeck*. At the ſight of which Letter the Biſhop ſtraightway went to the King, and obtained his Pardon.

Which being granted, he cauſed a Warrant to be made out of hand for the Sheriff diſcharge, delivering the ſame thing to the Sheriff, called Mr. *Proſer*, to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (the Court being then at *Oſking*) in the favour of *Marbeck*. At the ſight of which Letter the Biſhop ſtraightway went to the King, and obtained his Pardon.

ſhip of *Sarum* and the other Commiſſioners, that the Letter was ſent.

Some ſaid again, That it came of the Biſhop of *Sarum* and *Rachels* firſt motion, being pricked in Conſcience for that they had ſlenderly call him away. Other thought again that it was a Policy purpoſed, ſaving the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, of *Sarum*, and of *Dr. London*, becauſe they ſhould ſeem to be merciful. Which conjecture roſe upon this occaſion: There was one *Sadock* dwelling in the Town which was great with *Dr. London* and *Simons*; and he ſhould fay four days before theſe began, that the Priſoners ſhould be all cut and condemned, but *Marbeck* ſhould have his Pardon.

Other there were that thought the forcible Biſhops, with *Dr. London*, had done it for this purpoſe; that he now, having his life, would rather utter ſuch men as they would have him to do, than to come in like manner again. Which conjecture roſe upon this; *Simons* meeting with *Marbeck* Wit, ſaid thus unto her; Your Husband may thank God and good friends; my Lord of *Wincheſter* is a good Lord to him, which hath got his Pardon. But *Marbeck* reſerved to ſee others, ſhall I tell you, quoth he; his Pardon will be to none of us, except he will tell the truth of his going to my Lord, and of the Council, when he ſhall be demanded, for ſure to that purpoſe only is he referred. Alas Sir, quoth he, what can he do? Well woman, quoth *Simons*, I tell thee plain, if he do not lo, never look to have thy Husband out of Priſon; and ſo departed from him.

The like meaning did Mr. *Arch* make to *Marbeck* himſelf on the Saturday in the morning, that the men ſhould be burnt, when he came to conſeſt them. I have nothing, quoth he, to ſay unto you, *Marbeck*, at this time, but beſeech you you muſt be content to do as ſhall be enjoined you; meaning, he ſhould be forced to do ſome unſeemly thing, or elſe to lie in perpetual Priſon. And this was moſt likely to have been attempted, if they had proceed longer in their purpoſe; whole intent was to have gone through the whole Realm, in like fort as they had begun at *Windfor*, as the Biſhop of *Sarum* commonly ſaid, That he craved the Chief-martyr-day following to viſit and cleanse a good part thereof. But moſt commonly God ſendeth a ſhrewd Court horns, or elfe many a thouſand in *Wincheſter* had ſmattered.

The Saturday in the morning that the Priſoners ſhould go to Execution, came in to the Priſon two of the Canon of the College, the one called *Dr. Blithe*, and the other Mr. *Arch*, which two were ſent to be their Confeſſors: Mr. *Arch* asked them if they would be conſeſt; and they ſaid, Yea. Then he demanded if they would receive the Sacrament: Yea, ſaid they, with all our hearts. I am glad, quoth *Arch*, to hear you ſay ſo; but the Law is ſuch, that it may not be miniſtered to any that are condemned of Heretie. But it is enough for you that ye receive the Sacrament.

The Pope Law, ſaid they, that we may die as Chriſt did, and be ſaved.

Now as the Priſoners paſſed through the people in the Streets, they deſired all the faithful people to pray for them, and to ſtand ſtill in the Truth of the Goſpel, and death. They were not to be moved at their Afflictions for it was the happieſt thing that ever came to them. And ever as *Doctor Blithe* and *Arch* (who rode on each ſide the Priſoners) would perſwade them to turn to their Mother holy Church; *Awake*, would *Anthony* cry, away with your Romiſh Doctrines and all your trimmings; for we will no more of it: When

Filmer



ness (without the suit of any man) gave to the foresaid Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber, and other his Servants with their Wives, his gracious Pardon. And as God would have the matter further known unto his Majesty, as he rode one day a hunting in *Glifford-park*, and four backs together, he called them unto him, and asked of them, how his Laws were executed at *Windsor*. Then they beseeching his Grace of Pardon, told him plainly that in all their lives they never saw on matter under his Graces Authority, that went so much against their Consciences, as the death of these men did, and up and told his Grace of pitiful a Tale of the casting away of these poor men, that the King turning his Horse head to depart from them, said, Alas poor innocents.

After this the King withdrew his favour from the Bishop of *Winchester*, and being more and more informed of the Conspiracy of Doctor *London* and *Simons*, he commanded certain of his Councel to search out the ground thereof.

Whereupon Doctor *London* and *Simons* were apprehended and brought before the Councel, and examined upon their Oath of Allegiance: And for denying their malicious and traitorous purpose, which was manifestly proved to be false, they were both perjured, and in fine adjudged, as perjured persons to wear *Papavens* *Windsor*; and *Ockwoto* stand upon the Pillory in the Town of *Newbury* where he was born.

The judgment of all these three was to ride about *Windsor*, *Reading*, and *Newbury*, with Papers on their heads, and their faces turned to the Horse tails, and so stand upon the Pillory in every of these Towns, for an hour full accusation of the forenamed Martyrs, and for Perjury.

And thus much touching the persecution of these good Sins of *Windsor*, according to the Copy of their own Acts, received and written by *John Marbeck*, who is yet alive both a present witness, and also was then a party of the said doings, and can testify the Truth thereof.

*An Answer to the cavilling Adversaries touching John Marbeck.*

Wherefore against these crooked Cavillers, which make so much ado against my former Book, because in a certain place I chanced to say that *Bennet* and *Filmer* had their Pardon (when indeed it was *Bennet* and *Marbeck*) be it therefore known, protested, denounced, and notified to all and singular such Carpers, Wranglers, Exclaters, Depravers, with the whole Brood of all such whisperers, railers, quarrel-pickers, corner-creepers, fault-finders, and spider-catchers, or by what name else fever they are to be titled, that here I openly say and affirm, protest, hold, maintain, and write the same as I said and wrote before in the latter castigations of my Book: that is, That *John Marbeck* was with the other condemned, but not burned; cast by the Law, but by Pardon saved: appointed with the rest to die, and yet not dead, but liveth, God be praised, and yet to this present singeth merrily, and plaith on the Organs, not as a dead man amongst *Foxes* Martyrs (as it hath pleased some in the Court to encounter against me) but as one witness and testified truly in the Book *Foxes* Martyrs to be alive. And therefore such manner of Persons, if the disposition of their nature be such that they must needs find faults, then let them find them where they are, and where those faults by their finding may be corrected. But whereas they be corrected already and found to their hands, and also amended before, let then these Legend-writers look on their own Legends, and there cry out of lies, where they may find enow and cease their biting there where they have no just cause to bark.

And admit that I had not foreseen and corrected this escape before, touching the matter of *John Marbeck*, but that the place still had remained in the Book as it was, that is, that the said *John Marbeck*, which is yet alive, had then died and suffered with the other three, the same time at *Windsor*: yet what gentle or courteous Reader could have therein any just matter to triumph and insult against me, seeing the judicial Acts, the Records and

Registers, yea and the Bishops Certificate, and also the Writ of execution remaining yet on Record, sent to the King, did lead me so to say and think? For what man writing Histories, who cannot be in all places to see all things but following his Records, and Registers, wherein he seeth the said *Marbeck* to be judged and condemned with the rest, would otherwise write or think, but that he also was executed and burned in the same Company.

But now I correct and reform the same again, and first of all other, I find the fault, and yet I am bound withal. I correct my self, and yet I am corrected by others. I warn the reader of the Truth, and yet am a liar. The Book it self sheweth the escape, and biddeth in stead of four, to read three burned, and yet is the Book made a Legend of lies.

Briefly, where I prevent all occasion of cavilling, to the uttermost of my diligence, yet cannot I have that Law which all other Books have, that is, to recognize and reform mine own Errata.

Wherefore to conclude, these men whatsoever they are, if they will be satisfied, I have said enough; if they will not, whatsoever I can say, it will not serve, and so I leave them: I would I could better satisfy them. God himself amend them.

*The Persecution in Calice, with the Martyrdom of George Buckner, otherwise called Adam Damlip and others.*

At what time *John Marbeck* was in the *Marshalsea*, *John* which was about the year of our Lord, 1544, there was in the said Prison with him one *George Buckner*, named otherwise *Adam Damlip*, who having continued in the said Prison three or four years, at the last, by the commandment of *Winchester*, was had to *Calice* by *John Maffie*, the Keeper of the *Marshalsea*, and there hanged, drawn, and quartered for Treason prenticed, which was a little before the Condemnation of the *Windsor* men aforesaid, as is by the Letters of the said *John Marbeck* to me signified.

Touching which Story of *Adam Damlip*, forasmuch as it includeth matter of much trouble and Persecution that happened in *Calice*, to digest therewith and comprise the whole narration thereof in order, first I will enter (the Lord willing) the Story of *Damlip*, and so proceed in order to such as by the said occasion were afflicted and persecuted in the Town of *Calice*.

#### Persecution in the Town of Calice.

| Persecutors.                                                                                    | Persons Persecuted.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>John Dove</i><br>Prior of the<br>Grey Friars<br>in Calice.                                   | <i>George Buckner</i> , or else called <i>Adam Damlip</i> .<br>A poor Labouring-man.<br><i>W. Stevens</i> . <i>Thomas Lencaster</i> .<br><i>John Butler</i> Commissary.<br><i>W. Smith</i> Priest. <i>Ralph Hare</i> .<br><i>Jacob</i> a Chirurgeon. A Fleming.<br>Clement <i>Philip</i> Servant.<br><i>Jaffery</i> Leveday.<br>Dodde.<br>Sir <i>Edmond</i> Priest.<br><i>William</i> Toucher, Postmaster.<br><i>Peter</i> Bucken. <i>Anthony</i> Pickering Gent.<br>leman. |
| <i>Sir Gregory</i><br><i>Burill</i> ,<br>Priest.                                                | <i>Henry</i> <i>Tourney</i> Gentleman.<br><i>George</i> <i>Darby</i> Priest.<br><i>John</i> <i>Shepard</i> . <i>W. Pellam</i> .<br><i>W. Kewell</i> .<br><i>John</i> <i>Whitward</i> .<br><i>John</i> <i>Boote</i> . <i>Ro. Cloddet</i> .<br><i>Coppen</i> de <i>Hane</i> , alias <i>James</i> <i>Cock</i> .<br><i>Matthew</i> <i>Hownd</i> .<br><i>W. Crasbounmaker</i> .                                                                                                  |
| <i>Steven</i> <i>Gardiner</i> Bishop<br>of <i>Winchester</i> .<br><i>John</i> <i>Whitward</i> . |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>Dr. Sampson</i><br>Bishop of<br><i>Chichester</i> .                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>Dr. Clerk</i><br>Bishop of<br><i>Bath</i> .                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |

#### Their Causes.

IN the Year of our Lord 1539, the Lord *Cromwell* being yet alive, there came to *Calice* one *George Buckner*, alias *Adam Damlip*, who had been in time past

## Persecutors.

## Persons persecuted and their Causes.

Dr. Roffe  
Bishop of  
Norwich.

Harvey,  
Commissary  
in Calice.

Adam Dam  
is requested  
by Card.  
Pole to carry  
at Rome.

Lady Ho-  
nor, Wife  
to L. Life  
Deputy of  
Calice.

This French  
Crown was  
bought, for  
by the time  
he was  
preached of  
Treason W.  
Garrow, T.  
Lancaster.

Sir Thomas  
Palmer,  
Knight.

In. Reek-  
wood, Es-  
quire.

Calice  
brought to  
the Lord  
Deputy of  
Calice.

Richard  
Long, Sou-  
dier of Ca-  
lice.

Adam well  
liberal of the  
Deputy and  
Council of  
Calice.

Francis  
Hafings  
Souldier.

Hugh Com-  
fel. Servant.

## Persecutors.

## Persons Persecuted and their Causes.

Sir Ralph  
Ellerker  
Knight.

Sir John  
Gage.

Adam Dam  
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by Card.  
Pole to carry  
at Rome.

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at Rome.

him to be caly to good unto him, as to appoint him some quiet and honest place in the Town where he might not be disturbed or molested, but have opportunity to give himself to his Books, and he would daily once in the forenoon, and again by one a Clock in the afternoon, by the grace of God, preach among them according unto that Talent that God had lent him. At which answer the Lord Deputy greatly rejoiced, and thereupon sent for the foresaid William Stevens, whom he earnestly required to receive and lodge the said Adam in his house, promising him, that he would demand, to fee it paid by the Lord; with the most; and moreover would send every meal from his own melf a dith of the best unto him; and indeed to do, albeit the said Deputy refused that offer, shewing his Lordship that this diet was most convenient for students. Yet could not that refrain him, but that every meal he sent it.

This godly man by the space of twenty days or more, once every day at Even of the Clock, preached very godly, learnedly, and plainly, the Truth of the blessed Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, mightily inveighing against all Papistry, and confuting the same, but especially those two most pernicious Errors or Heresies, trifling Transubstantiation, and the pellicious Proprietary Sacrifice of the Romish Mass, by true conference of the Scriptures, and applying of the ancient Doctors, earnestly therewith oftentimes exhorting the People to return from their Popery, declaring how Popish he himself had been, and how by the detestable wickedness that he did fee universally in Rome, he was returned to fee farward, and now became an enemy, through Gods grace, to all Papistry, shewing therewith that if gain or ambition could have moved him to the contrary, he might have been entertained of Cardinal Pole (as you have heard before), but for very Confidence false joined with true knowledge, grounded on Gods most holy Word, he now utterly abhorred all Papistry, and would them most earnestly to do the same.

And thus he continued while reading in the Chapter-house of the white Friars; but the place being not big enough, he was defired to read in the Pulpit, and so he did, and his Lectures (wherein he declared how the world was deceived by the Roman Bishops, which had set forth the damnable Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the Real presence in the Sacrament, as is aforesaid) he came at length to speak against the Pageant or Picture set forth of the Returrion which was in St. Nicholas Church, declaring the same to be but mere Idolatry, and an Illusion of the French-men before Calice was English.

Upon which Sermon or Lecture there came a Commission from the King to the Lord Deputy, Master Greenfield, Sir John Butler Commissary, the Kings Master and Smith, with others, that they should see whether there were any was put in writing and under Bull and Parol (three Hosts lying upon a Marble Stone be sprinkled with Blood; and if they found it not, for that immediately it should be plucked down, and it was. For in searching thereof, as they brake up a Stone in a Corner of the Tomb, they, in the midst of three Hosts, found the Pulpit, in the Grofs of Marble lying upon the Sepulchre, three plain white Counters, which they had painted like unto Hosts, and a bone that is in the tip of a three pronged fork, which they had put in the hole of the Pulpit, and after that they were sent by the Lord Deputy to the King.

Notwithstanding, the Devil stirred up a Dove (he might be well called a Cormorant) the Prior of the white Friars of Dorch, who with Sir G. Butell, Chaplain to the L. Life, began to bark against him. Yet after the said Adam had 3, or 4, or 5, Sermons confuted the said Friars Erroneous Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and of the Proprietary Sacrifice of the Mass; the said Prior outwardly seemed to give place, ceasing openly to inveigh, and secretly practised to preach him by Letters sent unto the Clergy here in England: so that, within eight or ten days after, the said Deputy was sent for to appear before the Bishop of Canterbury, with whom was assistant Steven Gardiner, Bp. of Winchester, Dr. Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, and divers others, before whom he most constantly affirmed and defended the Doctrine which he had taught, in such sort answering, confuting, and soluting the Objections, as his Adversaries, yet even among the others learned, godly, and blessed Martyr, Cranmer, then yet but a Laytherne, marvelled at it, and said plainly, that the Scriptures knew not such term of Transubstantiation. Then began the other Bishops to threaten him, shortly to confine him with their accustomed Argument, I mean Five-and-Fifty Pages, if he would fland to the defence of that he had spoken. Whereunto he constantly answered, that he would the next day deliver unto them fully so much in writing as he had said, whereunto also he would stand, and so was dismissed.

Transubstantiation, and of the Proprietary Sacrifice of the Mass; the said Prior outwardly seemed to give place, ceasing openly to inveigh, and secretly practised to preach him by Letters sent unto the Clergy here in England: so that, within eight or ten days after, the said Deputy was sent for to appear before the Bishop of Canterbury, with whom was assistant Steven Gardiner, Bp. of Winchester, Dr. Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, and divers others, before whom he most constantly affirmed and defended the Doctrine which he had taught, in such sort answering, confuting, and soluting the Objections, as his Adversaries, yet even among the others learned, godly, and blessed Martyr, Cranmer, then yet but a Laytherne, marvelled at it, and said plainly, that the Scriptures knew not such term of Transubstantiation. Then began the other Bishops to threaten him, shortly to confine him with their accustomed Argument, I mean Five-and-Fifty Pages, if he would fland to the defence of that he had spoken. Whereunto he constantly answered, that he would the next day deliver unto them fully so much in writing as he had said, whereunto also he would stand, and so was dismissed.

The next day at the hour appointed to appear, when they looked surely to have apprehended him, in the mean season he had secret intimation from the Bishop of Canterbury, that if he did any more personally appear, he should be committed unto Ward, not like to escape cruel death. Whereupon his playing indeed then somewhat old Adams part, for such is man, left in his own hands) had him commended unto them, and sent them four sheets of Paper learnedly written in the Latin Tongue, containing his Faith with his Arguments, conferences of the Scriptures, and allegations of the Doctors, by a Messenger or Friend of his. Which done, he, having a little money given him in his purse by his Friends, stepped aside, and went into the West-Country, and there kept all the time, while great trouble kindled against Gods People in Calice upon the same; as ye shall hear, the Lord permitting.

After his departure, the Kings Majesty was advertised, that there was great diffention and diversity of Persecution Opinions in his said Town of Calice, greatly tending to the danger of the same. Whereupon, under yet the days of the Lord Cromwel, were sent over Doctor Champion, Doctor of Divinity, and Mr. Gerret, who after was burned, two godly and learned men, to preach and instruct the People, and to confute all Persecution Errors, who in effect preached and maintained the same true Doctrine which Adam Damlip had before set forth, and by reason thereof they left the Town at their departure very quiet, and greatly purged of the slander that had run on it.

After the departure of the said Champion and Gerret, one Sir William Smith Curate of our Ladies Parish in Calice (a man very zealous, though but meanly learned) did begin to preach, and earnestly to inveigh against Papistry and wilful ignorance, exhorting them obediently to receive the word, and no longer to contemn the same, lest Gods heavy plagues and wrath should fall upon them, which always followed the contempt of his holy word. Which Sir William Smith, for that sometime he would be very fervent and zealous, sharply inveighing against the delifiers of the world, was moved by some of the Council there, who would seem to favour Gods Word that he should not be so earnest against them that yet could not away with the same, willing him to bear with such, for by bearing with them they might hap to be won.

Well, well, said the same Smith, (openly in the Pulpit one day as he preached) some say I am too earnest, and will me to bear with such as continue open Enemies against Christs holy Gospel, and refuse; may forbid that one should read the Bible or holy Scripture within their house, but let all such take heed, for before God, I fear that God for their contemning of his word will not long bear with them, but make them in such case as of them shall not have a Head left in them upon their shoulders to bear up their Cap which, which also after came to pass.

This Smith continued in the diligent following of his Talent there, till shortly after the Devil got such

hold in the hearts of a number of Gods Enemies, that he with divers other godly men were called over into England, and charged with erroneous Opinions worthy of great punishment, as hereafter more at large shall appear.

First the Lord Life the Kings Deputy there, whom we flew to be the maintainer of Damlip (albeit he were himself of a most gentle nature, and of a right noble Blood, the base Son of that Noble Prince V. Edw.) being fiercely set on and incited by the wicked Lady Honor his Wife, who was an utter Enemy to Gods honor, and in Idolatry, Hypocrites, and Pride incomparably evil, the being daily and hourly therunto moved and provoked by Sir Thomas Palmer Knight, and John Rockwood Esquires, two Enemies to Gods Word, beginning now to flourish at Calice: the first I say, with certain other of the Council of the said Town of Calice, to the number of 7. more besides themselves, seeking occasion or rather a quarrel where no lustice was given, began to write very heinous Letters and grievous complaints unto the Lords of their Privy Council, against divers of the Town of Calice, affirming that they were horribly infected with Heresies and Pernicious Opinions: As first the foresaid Adam Damlip, who, though he were for a time escaped their laze, yet lived still in their remembrance from time to time, until at last the innocent man was cruelly put to death as a Traitor, as hereafter shall appear.

Also besides this Damlip, they complained of Thomas Brock, R. Har, likewise of Sir John Butler, then Commissary, Sir William Smith, John Cope, then of Har, 2. Barker, and other, and the names of all them sent over. Of which Persons, first the said T. Brock, and Ralph Har, Cope, de Harne and James Barker, were apprehended and sent over, and committed to Prison in Westminster Gate, and then commanded to appear before the Archdeacon of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop of Chichester, and ten other appointed by the Kings Majesties Commission for the Examination of them: and their accusers were sent over with Letters from the Council there unto his Privy Council, here by the utterance of their malicious lies against those honest men, with certain special Letters directed unto the Lord Fitzwilliam, then Earl of Southampton, great Admiral of England, to the Lord Sands, Lord Chamberlain of the Household, likewise also to Sir William Kingston Knight, Controller of the Household, and to Doctor Sampson then Bp. of Chichester, and other tending all to one effect, that is to say, the utter destruction of these godly men, if God, after his wonted manner, had not mightily preserved them, and as it were overwhelmed them with the wings of his mercy.

That the same may the better appear, you shall understand, that first Ralph Har, a man rude and so unlearned that he could scarce read, yet through Gods grace was very zealous, and therewith lead go godly and temperate a life, as not one of his Enemies could accuse or blame the same his sober life and conversation. This Ralph Har was charged to be one that had spoken against auricular Confession, against holy Bread and holy Water: yea, and beside that, he was one which would not lightly swear an Oath, nor use almost any manner of oaths, nor good Fellowship, as they term it, but was always in a corner by himself, looking on his Book. This poor simple man being charged by the Commissioners that he was a naughty man and erroneous, and that he could not be otherwise, coming out of a Town so infected with pernicious Errors and Scissas that was, was willed by them to take good heed to himself, lest through obduracy he incurred his erroneous Opinions plain Heresie: for an Error defended is Heresie.

My good Lords, said the poor man, I take God to record, I would not willingly maintain any Error, or Heresie. Wherefore I beseech you let my Accusers come to see face before me. For if they charge me with that which I have confessed, I will never deny it. Moreover, if it be Truth, I will stand unto it; and otherwise, if it be an Error, I will with all my heart utterly forsake it, I mean if it be against Gods holy Word for the Lord is my witness, I seek and daily pray to God that I may know the Truth and flee from all Errors, and I trust the Lord will give me and preserve me from them.

R 2.

Alia.

The answer  
face to face before me.

The Council  
of Calice  
Letters a-  
gainst the  
Protestants;

The trouble  
of R. Har  
Souldier of  
Calice.

Helped  
Harred  
charged.

The answer  
face to face before me.

R 2.

Alia.

Winstanley's  
cavillation  
about the  
Lord and  
our Lord.

The words  
of the Arch-  
bishop of  
Canterbury  
to R. Hare.

Venance I  
joynd to  
Ralph Here

The Examination  
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The Breach

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accusers a-  
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G. Lavender.

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The exam  
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John Butler

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See Butler  
confronted  
the Priests  
in the  
Marshall's  
Court  
Acquainted  
between John  
Marshall and  
John Damlip  
called Adam  
Damlip.

the Prisoners there, was enforced to come upon *Essex*-  
day to Sir George aforesaid, to be confined, who was  
then Confronted to the whole House. By this occasion  
*John Marshall*, which had never seen him before,  
entering into conference with him, perceived what he was,  
what he had been, what troubles he sustained, how long  
he had lain there in Prison, by whom and whereof,  
and he declared moreover his mind to *Marshall*, to the  
effect as followed: And now because, fad he, I think

they have forgotten me, I am fully minded to make my  
humble suit to the Bishop of *Winchester*, in an Epistle,  
declaring therein mine obedience, humble submission,  
and earnest desire to come to Examination. I know the  
work: I can but lofe my life present, which I had rather  
do than to here remain, and not to be suffered to ulmy  
Talent to Gods glory. Wherefore (God willing) I will  
furely put it in prose.



Adam Damlip  
well  
among the  
Prisoners,  
especially of  
the Keeper,  
Major Keppel  
of the  
Marshall's.

This *Damlip* for honest and godly behaviour was be-  
loved of all the whole House, but especially of the  
Keeper himself, whose Name was *Mally*, whom he al-  
ways called *Mally*, and being suffered to go at liberty  
within the House whither he would, he did much good  
among the common and rascal sort of Prisoners, in re-  
buking Vice and Sin, and kept them in fitch good order  
and saw, that the Keeper thought himself to have a great  
Treasure of him. And no less also *Marshall* himself  
confessed, to have found great comfort by him. For  
notwithstanding the straight Precept given by the Bishop  
of *Winchester*, that no man should come to him, nor he  
to speak with any man; yet the said *Adam* many times  
would find the means to come and comfort him.

Ad Damlip  
written to the  
Bishop of  
Winchester.

Now when he had made and drawn out his Epistle,  
he delivered the same to his Master the Keeper, upon  
*Saturday* in the Morning, which was about the second  
Week before *Whitsunday* following, desiring him to de-  
liver it at the Court to the Bishop of *Winchester*.  
The Keeper said, he would, and so did. The Bishop, who  
quick spied he made for his dispatch I know not, but  
thus it fell out as ye shall hear.

See Damlip  
written out  
a Precept  
for the Ex-  
amination of  
Ad Damlip.

The Keeper came home at night very late, and when  
the Prisoners (which had tarried Supper for his coming)  
saw him so fad and heavy, they desired something to be  
amiss. At last the Keeper calling up his eyes upon Sir  
*George*, said, O *George*, I can tell thee tidings. What is  
that, *Marshall*, quoth he? Upon *Monday* next thou and I  
must go to *Calice*. To *Calice* *Marshall*? What to do? I  
know not, quoth the Keeper, and pulled out of his Purse  
a piece of Wax with a little label of Parchment hanging  
out thereof, which seemed to be a Precept. And when  
he saw it, he said, Well, well, *Marshall*, now I know  
what the matter is. What, quoth the Keeper? Truly  
*Marshall* I shall die in *Calice*. Nay, quoth the Keeper, I  
trust it to be not so. Yes yes, *Marshall*, it is most true, and I  
praise God for his goodness therein. And for the Keeper  
and they went together to Supper, with heavy cheer  
for Sir *George*, as they there called him. Who notwith-

standing was merry himself, and did eat his Meat as well  
as ever he did in all his life: inasmuch that some of the  
Board said unto him, that they marvelled how he could  
eat his Meat so well, knowing he was so near his death.  
Ah *Masters*, quoth he, do you think that I have been  
God Prisoner so long in the *Marshall's*, and have not  
yet learned to die? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God  
will strengthen me therein. *Ex Listeri Joh. Mar-*  
*becki.*

And so, upon *Monday* early in the Morning before  
day, the Keeper with three other of the Knight Mar-  
shall's Servants, setting out of *London*, conveyed the  
said *Adam Damlip* to *Calice* upon the *Ascension* Even, and  
there committed him to the Mayors Prison. Upon which  
day *John Butler* the Commiffary aforesaid, and Sir *Da-*  
*nial* his Curate of *St. Peter* were also committed to the  
same Prison, and commandment given no man to speak  
with *Butler*.

Upon *Saturday* next was the day of Execution for  
*Damlip*. The cause which first they laid to his charge  
was for Heretic. But because by an Act of Parliament  
all such offences, done before a certain day, were pardoned  
(through which Act he could not be burdened  
with any thing that he had preached or taught before)  
yet for the receiving of the forefend French Crown of  
Cardinal *Poll* (as you heard before) he was condemned of  
Treason, and in *Calice* cruelly put to death, being drawn,  
hanged and quartered.

The day before his Execution came unto him one  
*Mr. Mote*, then Parson of our *Lady Church* in *Calice*,  
saying, Your four Quarters shall be langed at four parts  
of the Town. And where shall my Head be, said  
*Damlip*? Upon the *Lanterne-Gate*, said *Mote*. Then the con-  
science of *Damlip* answered, Then shall I not need to provide for  
my burial. At his death, Sir *R. Ellerker* Knight, then  
Knight Marshall there, would not suffer the innocent and  
godly man to declare either his Faith, or the Cause he  
died for, but said to the Executioner, Disparage the Knave,  
have done. For Sir *W. Mote*, appointed there to preach  
declared

See Butler  
confronted  
the Priests  
in the  
Marshall's  
Court  
Acquainted  
between John  
Marshall and  
John Damlip  
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declared to the People, how he had been a fower of  
obedient Doctrine; and albeit he was that that pardoned  
by the General Pardon, yet he was condemned for being  
a Traitor against the King. To the which when *Adam*  
*Damlip* would have replied, and purged himself, the fower  
said Sir *R. Ellerker* would not suffer him to speak a word, but  
commanded him to be had away: And so most meekly,  
patiently, and joyfully, the blessed and innocent Martyr  
took his death, Sir *R. Ellerker* saying, that he would not a-  
way before he saw the Traitors here: But shortly after,  
the said Sir *Ralph Ellerker*, in a skirmish or road between  
the French men and us at *Bulaine*, was among other  
 slain. Whose only death sufficed not his Enemies, but  
after they had stripped him stark naked, they cut off  
his Privy Members, and cut the heart out of his Body,  
and so left him a terrible example to all bloody and  
merciless men. For no cause was known why they flew  
with such indignation against the said Sir *Ralph Ellerker*,  
more than against the rest, but that it is written, *Faciens*  
*Justitiam Dominus & judicium omnibus injuria preflis*.

Another  
written to  
the Bishop  
of Winchester  
and Sir  
Daniel his  
Curate.

As touching *John Butler* and Sir *Daniel* his Curate,  
upon Sunday next following they were committed to *John*  
*Mally* aforesaid, Keeper of the *Marshall's*, and his  
Company, and brought to the *Marshall's*, where he  
and his Curate continued nine months and more. At last,  
being fore layed unto by Sir *George Gages*, Sir *John*  
*Baker*, and Sir *Thomas Arundell* Knights, for the retain-  
ing of *Adam Damlip*, yet by Friends soliciting the  
Kings Highness for him (namely Sir *Leonard Mulgrave*,  
and his Brother *Banffier*, who were bound for his ap-  
pearance in a thousand pounds,) he at length by li-  
cense labour and long time was discharged, and at last by li-  
cense permitted to return to *Calice* again: *Ex scriptis*  
*testimoniis Gallesium.*

See Butler  
confronted  
the Priests  
in the  
Marshall's  
Court  
Acquainted  
between John  
Marshall and  
John Damlip  
called Adam  
Damlip.

Furthermore, as touching *William Stevens* aforesaid,  
mentioned, who remained all this while Prisoner in the  
Tower, the same was also condemned with *Adam Dam-*  
*lip* of *Treason*, which was for Note and Crime of Po-  
pery, in lodging *Adam Damlip*, which came from *Can-*  
*tical* Pod the Traitor, in his House, at the Lord Deputys  
commandment. Notwithstanding the King after-  
wards understanding more of the said *William Stevens*,  
how innocuous he was from that Crime, being known to  
all men to be a earnest and zealous Protestant, gave him  
his Pardon, and sent him home again to *Calice*, and so li-  
kewise all the other fifteen here mentioned.

#### The Story of a poor Labouring-man in Calice.

A poor man  
burned at  
Calice for  
heresy  
Faith of the  
Incarnate.

BY the credible information and writing of the said  
*Calice* men, which were then in trouble, it is re-  
ported of a certain poor labouring man of *Calice*, that  
after the preaching of *Adam Damlip*, being in a certain  
Company, he said that he would never believe that a  
Priest could make the Lords Body at his pleasure.  
Whereupon he was then accursed, and also condemned by  
one *Harvey* Commiffary there. Which *Harvey* in con-  
sequence of his Judgment inveighing against him with  
words, said that he was an Heretic, and should die a  
vile death. The poor man (whose name yet I have not  
certainly learned) answering for himself again, said that  
he was no Heretic, but was in the Faith of Christ. And  
whereas thou saidst (said he) that I shall die a vile death,  
thou thy self shalt die a vile death, and that shortly:  
thou thy self shalt die, for within half a year after, the said  
*Harvey* was hanged, drawn, and quartered for *Treason*  
in the fad Town of *Calice*.

Another  
written to  
the Bishop  
of Winchester  
and Sir  
Daniel his  
Curate.

Another History of one Dod a Scottish-man, burned in  
*Calice*.

AFTER the burning of this poor man, there was also  
another certain *Scholar*, counted to be a Scottish-  
man, named *Dod*, who coming out of *Germany*, was  
taken with certain German Books about him, and  
being examined thereupon, and standing constantly to  
the Truth that he had learned, was therefore condemned  
to death, and there burned in the fad Town of *Calice*,  
within the space of a year or thereabout after the other  
godly Martyr above mentioned.

And furthermore as I am presently in hand with mat-  
ters of *Calice*, I cannot pass from silence without the  
memory of another certain honest man of the same name  
to whichnamely *Burton*, *Marshall's* *Croshaw-maker*, who lived  
the time of this Story is a little more ancient in years;  
which Story is this.

*William Croshaw-maker*, a Soldier of *Calice*, and the  
Kings Servant, being a man (as some naturers) be some-  
times pleasantly disposed, used when he met with Priests,  
to demand of them certain merry questions of pulings;  
as this: Whether if a man were suddenly taken, and  
wanted another thing, he might not without offence oc-  
cupy one of the Popes Pardons in stead of a broken Pa-  
per.

Another Question was, Whether in the world might  
better be wanting, Dogs or Priests. And if it were an-  
swered that Dogs might rather be spared; so that he  
would reply again and infer, that if there were no Dogs  
we could make no more, but if there lacked ignorant  
Priests, we might soon and too soon make too many of  
them.

It happened in the time of Doctor *Darby*, Parson of  
our Ladies Church in *Calice*, being Commiffary there  
for Archbishop *Warham*, there came a Black Priest to  
*Calice* with the Popes pardons, who for four pence would  
deliver a Soul out of Purgatory. The Priest was called of  
Romish virtues, for what many came for pardons by  
day, he bought no Land with it at night. This fore-  
said *William Burton* Alias *Croshaw-maker*, coming to  
the pardoner, and pretending that he would deliver his  
Father and Friends Souls, asked if he his holy Father  
the Pope could deliver Souls out of Purgatory? The  
Priest said, there is no doubt of that. Why then, quoth  
*Burton*, doth not he of Charity deliver all the Souls  
thereout? Of which words he was accused to the Commis-  
sary: who at his appearing before the fad Commiffary,  
confessed to have asked such questions. The Commis-  
sary being angry therat, said, Doubtless thou shouldest  
the Priest Heretic? There was standing by a Black Friar  
named *Capel*, an English man, who said to the Commis-  
sary, There be ten thousand of these Heretics between  
*Graveling* and *Tyre*. *Burton* answered, Master Friar,  
all men you may keep silence: for your Coat hath been  
twice cut off from the Faith; the first time thy wearisome  
Order was enjoyed to have your black Coat shorter than  
your white, and for the second time your Order must go  
to the further part of their Church, and there sing the  
Antiphon of our Lady. The Commiffary called at these  
words, calling *Burton* Heretic, with many other oppro-  
brious words. Then said *Burton* to the Commiffary; If  
your Holy Father the Pope may deliver Souls out of  
Purgatory, and will not of Charity deliver them, then  
I would to God the King would make me Pope, and I  
would surely deliver all out without mercy. At these  
words the Commiffary raged, and reviled *Burton* exceed-  
ingly causing him to bear a Bill, and procured his wages w. Cap.  
which was six pence a day) to be taken from him. Then  
went *Burton* to the Kings Majesty, declaring all the whole  
matter to his Grace: Who sent him to *Calice* again,  
and gave him after that eight pence a day.

Another Example, wherein may appear as well the  
delight of Doctor *Darby* and other Papists against  
the Gospel, as also the Fidelity of a *Morton* re-  
warded for his Faith.

OF whom as mention was made a little before of  
Doctor *Darby*, I will now mention more of the  
kind of Papists. This Doctor *Darby* was Warden of  
the New College in *Oxford*, where it happened that cer-  
*London*, and sold to a Gold-Smith named *William Cal-*  
*laway*. This *Callaway* was a man of good and honest  
name and reputation among his Neighbours, but greatly  
earnest and zealous towards the Gospel, and a great  
maintainer thereof. He had oftentimes before bought w. Cal.  
much Plate of the same man without any peril, or dan-  
ger, wherefore he doubted the less of his Fidelity.

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*Calice*.

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another certain *Scholar*, counted to be a Scottish-  
man, named *Dod*, who coming out of *Germany*, was  
taken with certain German Books about him, and  
being examined thereupon, and standing constantly to  
the Truth that he had learned, was therefore condemned  
to death, and there burned in the fad Town of *Calice*,  
within the space of a year or thereabout after the other  
godly Martyr above mentioned.

This Principal  
was a  
Chaplain of  
our said  
College.

At the last the principal of Thee being taken and the Goldsmith also that was the Buyer being known; Dr. London, when he understood him to be a favourer of the Gospel (whereof he was an extreme Adversary) began straightways to be in a rage, and to fowen great and deep Oaths, that he would spare neither labour nor cost, but would bring the Goldsmith to the Gallows, although it should cost him five hundred pounds. To be forthwith good Goldsmith was arraigned as Accessory, and an Action of Felony brought against him. He contriveth alledged, That they ought not to proceed against him, the Principal being alive. Dr. London on the contrary part affirmed that the Principal was hanged; which was most false, for he was one of the same College, and was alive, and but lately at liberty. To be brief, he being found guilty, the Judge asked him, how he could alledge why he should not die? He required to have the privilege of his Book, according to the ancient custom and manner. But here it was objected against him that he was *Bigamus*, and therefore he might not have his Book by the Law; notwithstanding that he never had two Wives, but because his Wife had two Husband, it was imputed to him for *Bigamy*.

Calvary  
climbs  
the  
priest-  
hood of  
his  
Book.  
Bigamy,  
that is, a  
man that  
hath had  
two Wives.

Thus this good Goldsmith being fledged from all hope of life, by the crafty spirit of his malignant Adversaries; his Wife, being a Woman of proved honesty and good fame, came in before the Judge, and pleading her former Marriage to be hurtful unto her Husband, to save her Husband's life, she took an Oath before the Judges that she was not *Bigamus*, and that the said was never married to more men than to the said Goldsmith; and although she had children by her other Husband, and continued divers years with him, yet the Judge that she was never married unto him. Thus this Woman by defaming of her self, to her great grief and singular example of love, delivered her innocent Husband; thinking it better for her to live with ignominy and reproach than for her Husband to die, left continuing the lot of her good name and of his life. *Ex. 24. 15.*

A singular  
example of  
a faithful  
Widow  
her husband.

True love  
between  
Man and  
Wife.

As touching the quality of this Fact or Perjury, I intermeddle not here to discuss, but leave it at large to the judgment of Lawyers to define upon. Truth it is, that Perjury neither in man nor woman is to be commended, neither ought to be defended. But yet the true love and faithful love between this Man and his Wife, counterpoising again as much or more on the other side, the more rare and strange I see it in many Couples now a days, the more I think it worthy, not only to be praised, but also for Example sake to be notified. But in the mean time, what shall we say to these Priests and Adversaries, who in such sort violently do preface and force the poor Sheep of Christ with peril of their Conscience unto such Perjury, and that in such cases, where no such truth is fought, but innocency oppressed, true Religion persecuted, and only their flight and wrath against God Work wreaked.

During the time of these six Articles aforesaid, which brought many good men unto death; yet it happened by another contrary Act forth before for the Kings Supremacy (as ye have heard) that great company of such also of the Papists was not all in quiet. For besides the death of *Mor*, and the Bishop of *Rochester*, and the other *Cherrier-Houls* Monks, and Friars and Priests above specified, about this year also was condemned and executed by the same Law two other, of whom one was a Priest of *Wolsey*, named *Lark*, which was put to death at *London* for defying the Bishop of *Rome* Supremacy above the Kings Authority: The other was *Germaine Gardiner* (near *Kintman* to *Steven Gardiner*, and yet more near to his secret counsellor as is supposed) who likewise in praefiding for the Pope against the Kings Jurisdiction, was taken with the same manner, and brought unto the Gallows.

Lark Priest  
of Wolsey,  
condemned  
Gardiner  
Treason  
against the  
Kings Su-  
premacie.

Upon the detection of that *Germaine Gardiner*, being Secretary to *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester* his Kintman, it seemed to some, and to was also infamized unto the King not to be unlike; but that the said *Germaine* neither would nor durst ever attempt any such matter of Popery, without some fitting one, or consent of the Bishop, he being so near unto him, and to all secrets as he was. Whereby the King began somewhat more to incline

and misdo the doings of the Bishop; but yet he so covertly and clearly conveyed his matters, playing under the Board, after his wonted fetches, in such sort as (I cannot tell how) still he kept in with the King, to the great indignation of the public State of the Realm, and especially of Church Christi.

In declaring the dreadful Law before forth of the six Articles, which was, *An. 1540.* ye have heard what Penality was appointed for the breach of the same, in like manner should follow. This severity was a little mitigated by another Parliament, holden afterward, *An. 1544.* by the which Parliament it was decreed, that such Officers, which were convicted in the said Articles, for the first time should be admitted to recant and renounce their Opinions. And if the party, which was convicted, did form as should be laid unto him by his Ordinary, after his Recantation if he effusions offended again, then for the second time he should be admitted to abjure and bear a Fagot. Which if he denied to do, or else being abjured if he the third time offended, then he to sustain punishment according to the Law. *Sec. 1.* Although the straightness and rigor of the former Act was thus somewhat tempered, as ye see, and reformed by this present Parliament, yet notwithstanding the venom and poison of the Errors and mischief of those Articles remained still behind not removed, but rather confirmed by this Parliament aforesaid. By the which Parliament moreover many things were provided for the advancement of Popery under the colour of Religion; for that all manner of Books of the old and new Testament, bearing the name of *William Tyndale*, or any other having Prologues, or containing any Matters, Annotations, Prefables, Words, or Sentences contrary to the six Articles, were declared. In like manner all Songs, Plays and Interludes, with all other Books in English, containing matter of Religion, tending any way against the said Articles were abolished.

In the which Parliament furthermore it was provided, that the Text of the New Testament or of the Bible be prohibited to all Women, Artificers, Prentices, Journey-men, Serving-men, Yeomen, Husbandmen and Labourers; yet was permitted notwithstanding to Noblemen, and Gentlemen and Gentlewomen to read and peruse, to their edifying, so that they did it quietly without arguing, discussing or expounding upon the Scripture.

Over and besides, whereas before the Offender or De-fraudant might not be suffered to bring in any Witnesse to purge and try himself: In this Parliament it was per-mitted to the party defamed, or complained on, to try his Cause by Witnesse, as many, or more in number, as the other which deposited against him, &c.

#### Other qualifications of the All of the Six Articles.

After this Parliament moreover followed another Parliament the year following, *Anno 1545.* where-in other qualifications more special of the six Articles were provided; that whereas before the cruel Statute of the six Articles was so stringent that any of the Kings Sub-jects had been complained of by any manner of person as well being his Enemy as otherwise, he should be indicted presently upon the same, without any further examination or knowledge given to the party so accused, and so there-upon attached, committed, and in like condemned; it was thereby by this Parliament provided, that all such Prefatements and Indictments should not be brought before the Commissioners, otherwise than by the Oaths of Twelve men or more, of honesty and credit, without corruption or malice according.

Item, That no such Indictments or Prefatements should be taken, but within one year after the offences, committed, or else the said Indictments to stand void in the Law.

Item, That no person accused upon any such offence against the six Articles, should be attached, or committed to Ward before he were herself indicted, unless by special warrant from the King.

Item, By the Authority of the said Parliament it was considered and enacted, that if any Preacher or Reader, for any word spoken, supposed to be against the six Articles, should

Sec. 1.  
Reg. Hen. 8.

The figure  
of the six  
Articles is  
intended.

Art. 1.  
of the  
Canon  
Law.

Anno  
1545.

The mean-  
ing of  
judgement.

should be heard, not within the space of forty days of the said his reading or preaching, then the party accused to be acquitted.

Item, That the Justices or Inquirers of such prefatements should have full power to alter and reform all panes of Iniquity, returned before them, in like manner as the Justices of Peace may do in their Sessions upon any other Inquiries.

Item, That the party so accused or indicted, upon his trial should have all manner of challenges (peremptory ex-cepted) as other persons arraigned for felony may have by the Laws of this Realm.

K. Hen. 8.  
Sec. 1.

By the qualifications and moderations of the six Articles it may appear that the King began somewhat to grow out of favour with *St. Gardiner*, and to detest his doings, whereby he was the more forward to incline somewhat in furthering the defolate cause of Religion, as may appear both by the premises, and also by other provisions and determinations of the fore said Parliament *An. 1545.* wherein it was decreed by Act of Parlia-ment, that the King should have full Power and Authority to appoint two and thirty persons, to wit, fifteen of the Clergy, and fifteen of the Temporality, to peruse, over-see, and examine the Canons, Constitutions and Or-dinances of the Canon Law, as well Provincial as Synod-ical, and according to their discretions, to see and ex-amine, and in order of the Ecclesiastical Law, as should be thought by the King and them convenient to be re-ceived and used within this Realm. Which Statute as it is most needful for the Government of the Church of England so would God it had been brought to perfection.

Anno  
1545.

In this year, touching matters of History, we read no great thing worthy of Memory, but only of two Per-sons *John Astle*, and *John Haywood*. Of which two we find first *John Astle* to be indicted by the Kings Wit-nesses for certain wrongs against the Sacrament, which in the indictment are specified to be twelve. That he would be so believe in the things which the Knave Priest made, neither in that which *Longe Wife* felch; but only in God that is in Heaven. And when it was told him that God through his word could make it Fleth and Blood, he answered; so he might, if he would, turn it into a Chickens leg, and make the Sacrament of the Altar.

The same year also followed the Recantation of *John Haywood*; who although he was tached for Treason, for denying the Kings Supremacy, yet using the clemency of the King, upon his better reformation and amend-ment, made an open and Solemn Recantation in the face of all the people, abandoning and renouncing the Popes usurped supremacy, and confiding of the King to be chief supreme Head and Governour of this Church of England, all foreign Authority and Jurisdiction being ex-cluded. The tenour and effect of whose Recantation here follows.

#### The Recantation of John Haywood.

I am come hither at this time (good people) willing, and of mine own desire (not, to please, and declare unto you briefly, First of all, the great and insupportable clemency and mercifulness of our most sovereign and re-nowned Prince the Kings Majesty, the which his highness hath most graciously used towards me a wretched, most justly and worthily condemned to dye for my manifold and outrageous offences, shamefully and unwisely committed against his Majesty and his Laws. For whereas his Ma-jesties Supremacy hath so often been opened unto me both by writing and speaking (if I had Grace, either to open mine eyes, so to see it, or mine ears to hear it) to be surely and certainly grounded, and established upon the very true Word of God: yet for lack of Grace I have most wilfully and obstinately refused my self to fall to such blindness, that I have not only thought that the Bishop of Rome hath been and ought to be taken the chief and Supreme Head of the Universal Church of Christ here in earth, but also, like to true Subjects, committed and in-jured myself as I have known or thought to be of that op-inion. For the which most detestable Treason and In-juristics, I here most humbly and with all my heart first of all ask of the Kings Majesty forgiveness, and (secondarily of the world, beseeching all these that either now do, or

hereafter shall hear of these my great transgressions, to take this mine example for an instruction for them to call for grace, that they thereby be saved from falling at any time into such miserable blindness and folly.

Moreover, hereafter God and you (good Christian people) do utterly and with all my heart revere and revoke all mine aforesaid erroneous and traitorous opinions. And (as my Conscience now doth force) I protest that even with my heart I firmly think, and undoubtedly believe, that the Bishop of Rome neither now hath, nor at any time hath had, or can have by any Law of God or Man, any mere Authority, without the precinct of his own Country about him, than any other Bishop hath within his Diocese. Wherby I utterly reject the shewing of the pretended and usurped Power or Authority of the Bishop of Rome out of this Realm, to be done justly and truly by the Law of God. And also I take our Sovereign Lord the Kings Highness to be Supreme Head, immediately near under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland, and all other his Graces Dominions, both of the Spirituality and Temporality. And I confess not only that his Majesty is by the Law of God, but also his Progenitors, Kings of this Realm hath been, and his Highness Heirs and Successors Kings of this Realm shall be.

Thus have I shewed you my mind as well as I can, and neither so well as I would, nor so fully as I should, namely concerning the multitude of mercy which my most gracious Prince hath shewed toward me, not only for leaving my Body after worthy condemnation to death, as aforesaid, but also for leaving my Soul from perishing, if my Body had perished before the receiving of such abundant Counsel, as I had at his Highness most charitable assignment. And of this Confession declared un-der my (I say as far forth as I can) I heartily pray you all to bear me record, and most entirely pray Almighty God for the long estate of his Majesty, that he vouchsafe Lord the Kings Majesty in all his affairs and proceed-ings.

By me John Haywood.

Moreover, *quod supra scripta Affertio per Recantatorem facta fuit & publice edita per premonitionem Johanne Haywood die dominica, Sexto viz. die Julii, Anno millesimo quingentesimo quadringesimo quarto, apud Cracum Posnam, tempore Concilii visum.*

In this year of our Lord God 1545, as there was no other thing done in England worthy to be noted, so now the order of story here requireth by the course of years, next to infer the discourse of the troubles and perfec-tions which happened in Scotland, against Master *George Wishart* and divers other good Men of the same Country, about the same year of our Lord, 1545, and somewhat before. But because now we are come to the latter end almost of King Henrys Reign, we will make an end of the Lord willing) with a few other English Stories pertaining to that time; and that finished, we will fit upon those matters of Scotland, joining them all together. The tractation whereof thou shalt see (good Reader) in the latter end and closing up of this Kings Reign.

Kerby, and Roger Clarke of Suffolk, Marriages.

Coming now to the year of our Lord 1546. first Anno passing over the Priest, whose name was *Saxey*, which was hanged in the Porters Lodge of *Steven Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, and that as it is supposed, not without the content of the said Bishop and the secret con-spiracy of that bloody generation; to pass over also one *Henry* with his Servant burned at Colchester; I will now proceed to the story of *Kerby* and *Roger Clarke* of *Mendham*, who were apprehended by *Isabel*, *An. 1546.* the Saturday before *St. Andrews*, and brought a great appointed there to face upon their examinations, judgments, and causes. The night before they were arraigned, at the Town House Door (by whom, or by what way it was unknown) and brought the next day into the Court.

Isabel  
the  
Governor  
of  
Kerby &  
Clarke

Lord Wentworth; who answered, That it was good Counsel. Which Bill in the Lenten and fast days.

In the mean time Kerby and Roger being in the Gaol-house, named John Bird, an honest and a good Man (who had checks divers times at the Barr, that he was more meet to be kept, than to be a Keeper) came in Master Robert Wingfield, Son and Heir of Humphrey Wingfield Knight: with Master Busell of Warrance; who then having Conference with Kerby/being then in a several Chamber separate from the other) Master

The words of Mr. Wingfield said to Kerby, Remember the fire is hot, take heed of thine enterprise, that thou take no more upon thee than thou shalt be able to perform. The terror is great, the pain will be extreme, and life is sweet. Better it were betime to flie to mercy, while there is hope of lightning safely to begin, and then to shrink; with such like words of persuasion. To whom he answered again,

Ab, Master Wingfield, be not burning and you shall say, there standeth a Christian Soldier in the fire: for I know that fire and water, and sword, and all other things are in the Hands of God, and he will suffer no more to be laid upon us than he will give strength to bear. Ah

Kerby, said Master Wingfield, if thou be at that point, I will bid thee farewell, for I promise thee I am not so strong that I am able to burn. And so both the Gentlemen saying that they would pray for them, shook Hands with them, and so departed.

Now first touching the behaviour of Kerby and Roger when they came to the Judgment-seat, the Lord Wentworth with all the rest of the Iudices there ready, the Commiffary also, by virtue of the Statute ex Officio, fitting next to the Lord Wentworth, but one between; Kerby and Roger lifted up their Eyes and Hands to Heaven with great devotion in all mean time, making their prayers fervently to God for a space of time, whilst they might say the Lords prayer five or six times.

That done, their Articles were declared unto them with all Circumstances of the Law: and then it was demanded and required of them, Whether they behered, that after the words spoken by a Priest (as Christ spake them to his Apostles) there were not the very Body and Blood of Christ, Flesh, Blood, and Bone, as was born of the Virgin Mary, and no Bread after.

Unto the which words they answered and said, No, they did not so believe; but that they did believe the Sacrament which Christ Jesus did institute at his last Supper Munday Thurfday at night to his Disciples, was only to put all Men in Remembrance of his Precious Death and Blood shedding for the Remission of Sins, and that there was neither Flesh nor Blood to be eaten with the teeth, but Bread and Wine, and yet more than Bread and Wine, for that it is Consecrated to an Holy use. Then with much perswasions, both with fair means and threats beside (if it would have served) were these two poor men hardly layed to; but most at the Hands of Ffiter an inferior Iudice, not being learned in such knowledge.

But these two continued both faithful and constant, chusing rather to die than to live, and so continued unto the end.

Then Sentence was given upon them both, Kerby to be burned in the field of Owen the next Saturday, and Roger to be burned at Burg the Gang Monday after. Kerby, when his Sentence was given by the Lord Wentworth, with most humble Reverence holding up his hands and bowing himself devoutly, said, Praised be Almighty God, and so stood still without any more words.

Then did the Lord Wentworth talke discreetly, putting his hand behind another Justice that fate between them. The said Roger perceiving that, said with a loud voice, I speak out my Lord, and I have any thing contrary to your Conscience, ask God mercy, and we for our parts come before a Judge, and then make answer openly, even before him that shall judge all men; with other like words.

The Lord Wentworth somewhat blushing and changing his countenance, through remorse as it was thought, said, I did speak desiring of you, nor have I done any thing unto you, but as the Law is. Then was Kerby and Roger sent forth; Kerby to Prison there, and Roger to Saint Edmunds Burg. The one of the two burning

out with a loud voice (Roger it is supposed) thus spake with vehemency, Fight, said he, for your God, for he hath not long to continue.

The next day, which was Saturday, about ten of the clock, Kerby was brought to the Market place; where a Stake was ready, Wood, Broom, and Straw, and did off his clothes unto his fliers, having a night cap upon his head, and so was fastened to the Stake with Irons, there being in the Gallery the Lord Wentworth, with the most part of all the Iudices of those Quarters, where they might see his execution, how every thing should be done, and also might hear what Kerby did say; and a great number of people, about two thousand by estimation. There was also standing in the Gallery by the Lord Wentworth, Doctor Rugham, which was before a Monk of Bury, and Sexton of the House, having on a Surplice and a Sole about his neck. Then silence was proclaimed, and the Doctor began to dilaible himself, as not meet to declare the Holy Scriptures being unprovided because the time was so short, but that he hoped in Gods Assistance it should come well to pass.

All this while Kerby was trimming with Irons and Fagots, Broom, and Straw, as one that should be married with new garments, nothing changing cheer nor countenance, but with a most meek Spirit glorified God; which was wonderful to behold. Then Mr. Doctor at last entered into the first chapter of St. Iohn. Who in handling that matter so off as he alleged the Scriptures, and applied them rightly, Kerby told the people that he said true, and bad the people believe him. But when he did otherwise, he told him again. You say not true, believe him not good people. Whereupon, as the voice of the people was, they judged Doctor Rugham a false Prophet. So when Mr. Doctor had ended his collation, he said unto Kerby, Thou good Man, dost not thou believe that the blessed Sacrament of the Altar is the very Flesh and Blood of Christ, and no Bread, even as he was born of the Virgin Mary; Kerby answering boldly, I do not so believe. How dost thou believe, said the Doctor. Kerby said, I do believe that in the Sacrament that Jesus Christ instituted at his last supper on Munday Thurfday to his Disciples (which ought of us likewise to be done) his death and passion and his bloodshedding for the Redemption of the world, to be remembered, and (as I said before) yet Bread, and more than Bread, for that it is consecrated to a holy use. Then was Master Doctor in his dumps, and spake not one word more to Kerby after.

Then said the under Sheriff to Kerby, I bid thou any thing more to say? Ya sir, said the Sheriff, if you will give me leave. Say on, said the Sheriff.

Then Kerby, taking his night cap from his head, put it under his Arms as though it should have done him service again; but remembering himself, he callt it from him, and lifting up his Hands, he said the Hymn, Te Deum, and the belief, with other prayers in the English Tongue. The Lord Wentworth, whilst Kerby was doing this, did shroud himself behind one of the Posts of the Gallery, and wept, and so did many other. Then burning said Kerby, I have done: you may execute your office, good Mr. Sheriff. Then fire was fet to the wood and with a loud voyce he called unto God, knocking on his breast, and holding up his Hands so long as his remembrance would serve, and so ended his life, the people giving shouts, and praising God with great admiration of his constancy, being so simple and unlearned.

On the Gang Monday, An. 1546. about ten of the clock, Roger Clarke of Mendenham was brought out of Prison, and went on foot to the Gate, called Southgate in Bury, and by the way the Profection met with them, but he went on, and would not bow, cap, nor knees, but with most vehement words rebuked that Idolatry and Superstition, the Officers being most offended. And with-out the Gate, where was the place of execution, the Stake being ready, and the wood lying by, he came and knelt down, and said Magnificat in the English Tongue, which he declared how that the blessed Virgin Mary, who might as well rejoice in purgents, as any other, yet humbled her self to our Saviour. And what sayest thou John Baptis, said he, the greatest of all Mens Children?

Behold



Men

Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the World. And thus with a loud voice he cried unto the People, while he was in fastening unto the Stake, and then the fire was fet to him, where he suffered pains unbearably; for the Wood was green, and would not burn, so that he was choked with smoke, and moreover being fet in a Fitch-barrel, with fume Pitch tickling fide by the fides, he was therewith fore pained, till he had got his feet out of the Barrel. And at length one standing by took a Faggot-tick, and striking at the Ring of iron about his necks, so puffed him, and strook him betwixt upon the Head, that he thrunk down on the one side into the fire, and so was diffolved.

In the beginning of this story of Kerby and Roger, mention was made of a certain Bill put upon the Townshouse Door, and brought to the next day to the Lord Wentworth, the words of which Bill were these.

The Bill set upon the Town-house Door in Ipswich.

Juste iudicate filii hominum; yet when ye shall judge, multiply your Justice with Mercy. A fearful thing it is to fall into the hands of the Living God: he ye learned therefore in true knowledge, ye that judge the Earth, tell the Lord he angry with you.

The blood of the righteous shall be required at your hands. What though the wall hangeth before Moloch face ye as Christs death is full down.

The Stones will speak, if thyself should hold their peace; therefore barden not your hearts against the Verity.

For fearfully shall the Lord appear in the day of Vengeance to the troubled in Conscience. No excise shall there be of ignorance, but every Ear shall stand on his own bottom. Therefore have remorse in your Conscience; fear him that may kill both Body and Soul.

Beware of innocent Blood-shedding, take heed of Justice ignorantly misjudged, work discreetly as the Scripture doth command: look to it, that you make not the Truth to be forsaken.

We beseech God to save our King, King Henry the Eighth, but he must be led out of Temptation So be it.

This year also it was ordained and decreed, and solemnly given out in Proclamation by the Kings Name and Authority, and his Council, that the English Proce-

dure should be used throughout all England, according as it was fet forth by his said Council, and none other, to be used throughout the whole Realm.

About the latter end of this year 1545. in the month of November after that the King had libbued the Scots, and afterwards, joyning together with the Emperour, had invaded France, and had got from them the Town of Bullain, he summoned his High Court of Parliament. In the which was granted unto him, besides other Subsidies of Money, all Colledges, Chantries, free Chappells, Hospitals, Fraternities, Brotherhoods, Guilds and Perpetuities of stipendary Priests, to be disposed at his will and pleasure. Whereupon in the Month of December following, the King after his wonted manner, came into the Parliament-House to give his Royal assent to such Acts as were there passed: where after an eloquent Oration made to him by the Speaker, he answering again unto the same, not by the Lord Chancellor (as the manner was) but by himself, uttered this Oration word for word, as it is reported and left in story.

In the Contents of which Oration, first eloquently and lovingly he declared his grateful heart to his loving Subjects for their Grants and Subventions, offered unto him. In the second part, with no less vehemency he exhorted them to concord, peace and unity. Whereunto if he had also joynd the third part, that is, as in words he exhorted to unity, for he had begun indeed first himself to take away the occasion of division, disobedience and disturbance from his Subjects, that is, had removed the Stumbling-block of the Six Articles out of the Peoples way, which fet Brother against Brother, Neighbour against Neighbour, the Superiour against the Subject, and the Wolves to devour the poor flock of Christ: then he had not only spoken, but also done like a worthy Prince. But of this more shall be said in the sequel hereof, God willing.

The Kings Oration in the Parliament-House.

Although my Chancellor for the time being hath been made for this time used very eloquently and substantially to make answer to such Oration: nevertheless here in this High Court of Parliaments, yet is he not so able to open and (at first) my mind and meaning, and the secrets of my heart, in so plain and ample manner, as I myself am and can do. Wherefore I taking upon me to answer your eloquent Oration, Master Speaker, say, Just

The Scots libbued, Zealand won, A Parliament, Colledges, Chantries, free Chappells, Hospitals, Fraternities, Brotherhoods, Guilds and Perpetuities of stipendary Priests, to be disposed at his will and pleasure. 17 Reg. H. 8.

That where you in the Name of our well-beloved Com-  
monwealth have both praised and extolled me for the pure  
qualities that you have conceived to be in me, I most  
heartily thank you all, that you put me in remembrance of  
my duty, which is, to endeavour my self to obtain and  
get such excellent qualities, and necessary virtues, as a  
Prince or Governor should or ought to have; of which  
gifts I recognize my self both here and here.

The Kings  
Thanks to  
his Com-  
mons.

But for such perfect qualities as God hath ended me  
withal, I render to his goodness; my most humble thanks,  
intending with all my wit and diligence to get and ac-  
quire to me such notable virtues and Princely qualities,  
as you have adjudged to be incorporated in my person.

These Thanks for your loving admonition and good  
counsel I first remembered, I give you thank you again, be-  
cause that you considering our great charges that for our  
pleasure but for your defence, not for our gain but to  
our great cost which we have lately sustained, as well  
in defence against our and your Enemies, as for the  
conquest of that Fortref, which was to this Realm most  
displeased and noxious, and shall be by Gods Grace here-  
after to our Nation most profitable and pleasant, have  
freely of your own mind granted to us a certain Subsidy  
here in Act specified, which verily we take in good  
part, regarding more your kindness than the profit there-  
of, as that I thank more by your loving favour, than  
by your substance. Besides this hearty kindness, I cannot  
a little rejoice, when I consider the perfect trust and  
sure confidence which you have put in me, as men having  
undoubted hope, and unfeigned belief in my good deeds  
and just proceedings, for that you, without my desire or  
request, have committed to mine order and disposition all  
Chanceries, Colleges, Hospitals, and other places specified  
in a certain Act, firmly trusting that I will order them  
in the favour of Gods and the profit of our Commonwealth.

The Kings  
Presents  
for the well  
behaving  
of Christian  
and Col-  
leges.

Surly if I contrary to your expectations, should suffer the  
Ministers of the Church to decay, or Learning, which is  
so great a Jewel, to be diminished; or poor and miserable  
People to be unrelieved; I might say that I, being put  
in so special a trust as I am in such cases, were no truly  
Friend to your charitable Aim to mine own Christian,  
neither a lover of the poor, nor a true friend to that  
favored God, to whom account must be rendered of all our  
doings. Doubt not I pray you that your expectation shall  
be served more godly and gently than you will wish or  
desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceive.

Now since I find such kindness on your parts to-  
ward me, I cannot chafe but love and favour you, af-  
firming that no Prince in the World more favoureth his  
Subjects than I do you, nor any Subjects, or Common-  
wealth more love and obey their Sovereign Lord, than I perceive  
you do me, for whose defence my Treasure shall not be  
hidden, nor if necessity require, shall my Person be unad-  
vised. The although I wish you, and you wish me, be  
in this perfect love and concord, this friendly amity can-  
not continue, except you my Lords Temporal and you my  
Lords Spiritual, and you my loving Subjects, study and  
take pains to amend one thing, which is fairly amity and  
far out of order, to the which I must heartily require  
you; which is, that Charity and Concord be not among  
you, but Difford and Diffusion heart be in every  
place. St. Paul saith to the Corinthians in the 13th Chap-  
ter, Charity is gentle, Charity is not envious, Charity is  
not proud, and so forth in the said Chapter. Behold then  
the wealth he saith, let charity be among you, when the  
things most call for it, Hereticks and Schismatics, and be called  
recalcitancy. But how again Papists, Hypocrites, and Pharisees. Be these  
tokens of Charity amongst you? Are these the signs of  
Fraterna Love between you? No, no, I assure you that  
this lack of Charity amongst you shall be the true  
drance and offence of the young Love between us  
er I said before, except this wound be closed and healed,  
true worship made whole. I must needs judge the fault and occasion  
of this Difford to be partly by the negligence of you the  
Fathers and Preachers of the Spirituality. For if I know  
a man which liveth in Avidity, I must judge him to be  
lecherous and carnal person. If I see a man which  
brag himself, I cannot but deem him a proud man. If he  
formeth, he formeth, that of violence and bear daily, That you of the Clergy preach one against  
another, reach one contrary to another, invade one  
another, gainst another, without charity or discretion. Some be too

\* Charity  
and Concord  
in Common-  
wealth be  
things most  
call for it,  
Hereticks  
and Schismatics,  
and be called  
recalcitancy.

stiff in their old Mumpimus, other be too busy and ca-  
rious in their new Sumptuous.  
Thus all men alive be in variety and discord, and  
few or none do preach truly and sincerely the Word  
of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I now judge  
you charitable persons, doing this? Nay, I cannot do so.  
Alas, how can the poor Souls live in concord, when you  
Preachers (as amongst them, in your Sermons, debates  
and discords) Of you they look for light, and you bring  
them to darkness. Amend these Crimes, I exhort you and  
forbid Gods Word, both by true preaching and good  
example giving, or else I have both appointed by Gods  
Word and his Ministers, will be your destruction, but  
truth, and the Enormities corrected, according to my very  
duty or else I am an unprofitable Servant, and an unwor-  
thy Officer.

Although (as I say) the Spiritual men be in some  
faintly, that Charity is not kept amongst you, yet you of  
the Temporality be not clean and unpurged of malice and  
envy; for you rail on Bishop, speak slanderously of Pre-  
lates and rebuke and taunt Preachers, both contrary to good  
order and Christian Fraternity. If you know surely that  
a Bishop or Preacher erreth or teacheth perverse Doctrine,  
as much as declare it to be false of our Common, or that  
you are committed by the Authority to reform and  
order such Causes and Behaviours, and be not Judge  
your selves of your own philosophical Opinions, and vain  
Expositions; for in such high Causes ye may lightly err. And  
although you be permitted to read Holy Scriptures, and to  
have the Word of God in your hearts, yet you may not  
understand, that it is lawful for you to do, only to inform  
your own Conscience, and to instruct your Children and  
Family, and not to dispute and make Scripture a railing tool,  
and a stinging Stick against Priests and Preachers, as the  
many light Persons do. I am very sorry to know and of  
how how unprofitable they travel the World, who  
Word of God is despised, railed, sung, and sung in  
every Ale-house and Tavern, contrary to the true mean-  
ing and Doctrine of the same. And yet I am even as  
much sorry that the Readers of the same follow it in  
doing so faintly and coldly. For of this I am sure, that  
Charity was never so faint amongst you and verily and  
godly Living was never less well, nor was God himself so  
amongst Christians ever less revered, honoured, or  
loved. Therefore (as I said before) be in charity one with  
another like Brother and Brother: Love, dear and  
for God to the which I, as your Supreme Head and true  
Sovereign Lord, exhort and require you: and then I shall  
doubt not but that Love and League that I spoke of in  
the beginning, shall never be dissolved nor broken between  
us. And as touching the Laws which be now made and  
concluded, I exhort you the Makers to be as diligent in  
purging them in execution, as you were in making and  
furthering the same, or else your labour shall be in vain,  
and your Commonwealth nothing relieved.

#### Notes upon the foregoing Exhortation.

Princes which exhort to Concord and Charity do  
well; but Princes which seek out the causes of dis-  
cord, and reform the same, do much better. The Papist  
and Protestants, Hereticks and Pharisees, the old Mump-  
imus and the new Sumptuous, be terms of variance and  
diffension and be, I grant, Symptoms of a sore wound  
in the Commonwealth: but he that will amend this  
wound, must first begin to search out the causes, and to  
purge the occasion thereof; otherwise, to cure the Sore  
outwardly, which inwardly doth fester and rankle fill it,  
is but vain.

The root and ground of all this grievance lying  
of the Prelates and Clergy of Rome, neither as it seemeth  
altogether after riches, pomp and honour of this  
World; who (to maintain the same under pretence of  
Religion) do in very deep filthy Religion: under  
the name of the Church, they bring into the Church many  
left Errors and Aburdities intolerable, who pretending  
to be Fathers of the Church, if they transgressed but in  
manners and lightness of Life, or negligence of Govern-  
ment, they might be born withal for Peace and Concord  
take, and live modestly, civility, quietness, unity, and  
charity.

Charity might have place amongst model natures.  
But now they obscure the glory of the Son of God,  
which in no cause ought to be suffered; they extinguish  
the light and grace of the Gospel; they clogge men-  
tality; they fet up idolatry, and maintain idols;  
they bring in false invocations, and refrain lawful  
trinitism, whereby growth filthy pollution, Adultery,  
and Whoredom in the Church unpleasing; they cor-  
rupt the Sacraments; they wrest the Scripture to wor-  
ly purposes; they kill and persecute Gods People. Brie-  
fly, their Doctrine is damnable, their Laws be impious,  
their doings are detestable. And yet after all this, they  
creep craftily into the hearts of Princes, under the Title  
of the Church, and colour of concord; making Kings  
and Princes believe that all be Hereticks and Schismatics,  
which will not be subject to their ordinary Power. Now  
Almighty God, who is a jealous God, and not suffer-  
ing the glory of his name to be defaced, nor his Truth to  
be trodden under foot, stirreth up against the hearts  
of his People to understand his Truth, and to defend his  
cause. Whereupon of those two parts, as two mighty  
flames thus kindling together, cometh out the sparkle of this  
division, which by no wile can be quenched, but that  
one part mult needs yield and give over. There is no  
neutrality nor mediation of peace, nor exhortation to  
agreement, that will serve between these two contrary  
Doctrines, but either the Popes errors must give place  
to Gods Word, or else the victory of God must give  
place to untruth.

Wherefore as the good intent, and plausible Oration  
of the King in this behalf, was not to be discommoded  
in exhorting his Subjects to Charity, he had to do much  
more deferred commendation. For he thought the right  
way to work Charity, and to help innocency amongst  
his Subjects, by taking away the Impious Law of the  
Six Articles, the Mother of all division and manslaughter.  
For what is this to the purpose, to exhort in words ne-  
ver so much to Charity, and indeed to give a Knife to  
the murderers hand to run upon his naked Brother,  
which never in Conscience can leave his cause, nor yet  
hath power to defend himself; as by experience here  
followeth to be seen, that Charity ended after this ex-  
hortation of the King to Charity, by the racking and  
burning of good Anne Askew, with three other poor  
Subjects of the Kings, within half a year after; whereof  
thorly you shall hear more declared.

When these Chanceries and Colleges thus by Act  
of Parliament were given into the Kings hands as a  
home remembered: which was about the month of De-  
cember, Anno 1545, the next Lent following, Doctor  
Crome preaching in the Mercers Chappell, among other  
reasons and perorations to rouse the People from the  
vain Opinion of Purgatory, inferred this, grounding  
upon the said Act of Parliament: That if 7 rentals and  
Chauntry Masses could avail the Souls in Purgatory,  
then did the Parliament not well in giving away Monas-  
teries, Colleges, and Chantries, which served prin-  
cipally to that purpose. But if the Parliament did well  
(as no man could deny) in dissolving them, and bestow-  
ing the same upon the King, then it is a plain calf, that  
such Chantries and private Masses do nothing to confer  
and relieve them in Purgatory. This Dilemma of Dr.  
Crome, no doubt, was insoluble. But notwithstanding,  
the charitable Prelates, for all the Kings late exhortation  
upon the said Act, were for charitable unto him, that on  
Easter next they sought him Crome Nobis, where they fo  
handed him, that they made him to recede. And if he  
had not, they would have dissolved him and his Argu-  
ment in burning fire, so burning hot was their Charity,  
according as they burned Anne Askew and her fellows  
in the month of July the year following. Whole Tra-  
geical Story and cruel handling now consequently, the  
Lord willing, you shall hear.

The first examination of Mrs. Anne Askew, before the  
Inquiries, Anno, 1545.  
To satisfy your expectation, good People (said she)  
this was my first examination in the year of our  
Lord, 1545; and in the month of March.  
The first ex-  
amination of  
Mrs. Anne Askew, before the  
Inquiries, Anno, 1545.

First Christopher Dacre examined me at Sadlers-Hall,  
being one of the Quest, and asked, if I did not believe  
that the Sacrament hanging over the Altar was the ve-  
ry Body of Christ really. Then I demanded this Quest  
of him; Wherefore was Saint Stephen stoned to death?  
And he said, he could not tell. Then I answered,  
That no more would I afford his vain Question.

Secondly, he said, that there was a Woman, which I  
did testify that I should read, how God was not in Tem-  
ples made with hands. Then I shewed him the seventh  
and eighteenth Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles,  
what Strow and Paul had said therein. Whereupon  
he asked me how I took those Sentences? I answered, I  
would not throw pearls before Swine, for Acorns  
were good enough.

Thirdly, he asked me, wherefore I said, I had rather be  
dead than five lines in the Bible, than to fear five Masses  
in the Temple. I confessed that I said no less; for the  
dispraise of either the Epistle or the Gospel, but be-  
cause the one did greatly edifie me, and the other no-  
thing at all. As Saint Paul doth witness in the 14. Chap-  
ter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians, whereas he  
saith, if the Trumpet give an uncertain sound, who will  
prepare himself to the Battel?

Fourthly, he layed unto my charge, that I should say  
if an ill Priest ministered, it was the Devil and not God.  
My answer was, that I never spake any such thing.  
But this was my saying, That whosoever he were, that  
sanctified unto me, his ill condition could not hurt my  
Faith, but in Spirit I received nevertheless the Body and  
Blood of Christ.

Fifthly, he asked me what I said concerning Confession: The fifth  
I answered him my meaning, which was as Saint James  
saith, that every man ought to knowledge his faults to  
other, and the one pray for the other.

Sixthly, he asked me what I said to the Kings Book? The sixth  
I answered him that I could say nothing to it, be-  
cause I never saw it.

Seventhly, he asked me if I had the Spirit of God  
in me: I answered I had not; I was but a Reprobate,  
or call-away. Then he said he had sent for a Priest to  
examine me, which was here at hand.

The Priest asked me what I said to the Sacrament of  
the Altar, and required much to know my meaning  
therein. But I desired him again to hold me excused  
concerning that matter: none other answer would I  
make him, because I perceived him to be a Papist.

Eighthly, he asked me, if I did not think, that private  
Masses did help the Souls departed; I said, it was great  
idolatry to believe more in them, than in the death which  
Christ died for us.

Then they had me thence unto my Lord Mayor, and  
he examined me, as they had before, and I answered the  
him directly in all things as I answered the Quest be-  
fore. Besides this, my Lord Mayor laid one thing to my  
charge, which was never spoken of by me, but of them,  
that was, whether a moult eating the Host, received  
God or no? This Question I did never ask, but indeed  
they asked it of me, whereunto I made them no answer  
but smiled.

Then the Bishop Chanceller rebuked me, and said  
that it was most to blame for uttering the Scriptures. For  
St. Paul he said forbade Women to speak or to talk of the  
Word of God. I answered him that I knew Pauls mean-  
ing as well as he, which is in the 2. Corin. 14. that a hidden  
Woman ought not to speak in the Congregation by the  
way of teaching. And then I asked him how many Wo-  
men he had seen go into the Pulpit and preach? he said  
he never saw any. Then I said, he ought to find no  
fault in poor Women, except they had offended the Law.

Then the Lord Mayor commanded me to ward, I answered  
asked him if Surtees would not serve me; and he made  
me short answer, that he would take none. Then he  
said I was to the Counter, and there remained eleven L. Mayors  
days, no friend admitted to speak with me. But in the  
mean time there was a Priest sent unto me, which said that  
he was commanded of the Bishop to examine me, and to  
give me good counsel, which he did not. But he first asked  
me for what cause I was put in the Counter, and I told him I  
could

could not tell. Then he said, it was great pity that I should be without cause, and concluded that he was very sorry for me.

Secondly he said, it was told him that, I should deny the Sacrament of the Altar. And I answered again, That that I have said I have said.

Thirdly he asked me, If I were content to be thriven. I told him, so that I might have one of these three, that is to say, *Dr. Cromer, Sir Guillen, or Huntington*, I was contented, because I knew them to be men of wit, and would not disgrace, because As for you, or any other, I would not have you think but that I, or any other that shall be brought you, shall be as honest as they: for if we were not, you may be sure the King himself would not suffer us to preach, *By commencing with the wife I may learn wisdom, but by talking with a fool I shall take scars.* Prov. 1.

Fourthly he asked, if the Host should fall and a Beast did eat it, whether the Beast did receive God or no? I answered, Seeing that you have taken the pains to ask the question, I desire you also to afford it your self: I will not do it, because I perceive you come to tempt me. And he said it was against the order of Schools, that he which asked the Question should answer it. I told him I was a Woman, and knew not the course of Schools.

Fifthly he asked me, If I intended to receive the Sacrament at *Essex*, or no? I answered, that if I were no Christian Woman; and therat I did rejoyce that the time was so near at hand. And then he departed thence with many fair words.

The 23. day of *March*, my Cousin *Britain*, came into the Counter unto me, and asked me whether I might be put to Bail, or no? Then went he immediately unto my Lord Mayor, desiring him to be so good, as to call that I might be bailed. My Lord answered him, saying that he would be glad to do the best that in him lay. Howbeit he could not bail me, without the consent of a Spiritual Officer; requiring him to go and speak with the Chancellor of London. For he said, like as he could not commit me to Prison without the consent of a Spiritual Officer, nor more could he bail me without the consent of the same.

So upon that he went to the Chancellor, requiring of him as he did before of my Lord Mayor. He answered him, that that matter was so heinous, that he durst not of himself do it, whereas my Lord of London were made privy thereto. But he said he would speak unto my Lord in it, and bade him repair unto him the next Morrow after the Morrow after, he came thither, and spoke both with the Chancellor and with the Bishop of London. The Bishop declared unto him that he was very well contented that I should come forth to communication, and appointed me to appear before him the next day after, at three of the Clock at Afternoon. Moreover he said unto him, that he would there should be at the Examination such Learned men, as I was afflicted with, that they might see, and also make report that I was handled with no rigor. He answered him, that he knew no man that I had more affection to, than to another. Then said the Bishop, Yes, as I understand, he is afflicted to *Dr. Cromer, Sir Guillen, Huntington, or Huntington*, that he might hear the matter, for he did know them to be the mightiest hear of a goodly Judgment. Also he required my Cousin *Britain*, that he should earnestly persuade me to utter even the very bottom of my heart; and he swore by his fidelity, that no man should take any advantage of my words, neither yet would he lay ought to my charge for any thing that I should there say; but if I said any manner of thing amiss, he with other more would be glad to reform me therein, with most good counsel.

On the Morrow after, the Bishop of London sent for me at one of the Clocks he being appointed at three; and as I came before him, he said he was very sorry for my trouble, and desired to know my Opinions in such matters as were laid against me. He required me also in my wife, boldly to utter the secrets of my heart, bidding me not to fear in any point, for whatsoever I did say in

his House, no man should hurt me for it. I answered, and forthwith as your Lordship appointed three of the Clocks, and my Friends will not come till that hour, I desire you to pardon me of giving answer till they come. Then said he, that he thought it meet to feed those four men which were appointed and appointed. Then I desired him not to put them to pain, for it should be need, because the two Gentlemen which were my Friends, were able enough to testify what I should say. Anon after he went into his Gallery with *Mr. Spelman*, and willed him in any wise that he should exhort me to utter all that I thought. In the mean while he commanded his Archdeacon to commune with me, who said unto me, *Admirer*, wherefore are you accused and thus troubled here before the Bishop? To whom I answered again and said; Sir, ask, I pray you, my Accusers, for I know not as yet, what took he my Book out of my hand, and said, Such Books as this have brought you to the trouble that you are in. Beware, said he, beware, for that he made this Book, and was the Author thereof, was a Heretic, I warrant you, and burned in *Smithfield*. And then I asked him if he were certain and free that it was true that he had spoken. And he said, he knew well the Book was of *John Prins* making. Then I asked him if he were not allowed no judge of the Book before he saw it whether yet knew the truth thereof? I said also, that such unadvised hasty judgment is taken apperant of a very flender wit. Then I opened the Book and shewed it him. He said he thought it had been another, for he could find no fault therein. Then I desired him no more to be so unduly rash and swift in Judgment, till he thoroughly knew the truth, and so he departed from me. Immediately after he came, my Cousin *Britain*, in with divers others, as *Mr. Hall of Graynes*, and such other like. Then my Lord of London, who persecuted my Cousin *Britain*, as he had done of before, which was, That I should utter the bottom of my heart in any wise. My Lord said that unto me, that he would I should credit the counsel of such as were my Friends and Well-willers in this behalf, which was, that I should utter all things that he desired my Confidence for he endured me that I should not need to stand in doubt to say any thing. For like as he promised them (he said) he promised me, and would perform it; which was, that neither he, nor any man for him, should take me at advantage of any word that I should speak, and therefore he bade me say my mind without fear. I answered him, that I had nought to say, for my Confidence (I thanked God) was burdened with nothing.

Then brought he forth this unfavoury similitude; that if a man had a wound, no wile Chirurgion would minister help unto him, if he had seen it uncovered. In like case, faith he, can I give you no good counsel, unless I know whereunto your Confidence is burdened. I answered, That my Confidence was clear in all things, and to lay a Plaintiff unto the whole skin, it might appear most folly.

Then you drive me (faith he) to lay to your charge upon your own report, which is this; You did say, He that doth receive the Sacrament by the hands of an ill Priest, or a Simier, receiveth the Devil, and not God. To that I answered, that I never spoke such words. But, as I said before, both to the Queen and to my Lord Mayor, so I say to you now again, that the wickedness of the Priest should not hurt me, but in spirit and faith I received no less than the Body and Blood of Christ. Then said the Bishop unto me, what saying is this in Spirit? I will not take you at the advantage. Then I answered, My Lord, without faith and spirit, I cannot receive him worthily.

Then he said unto me, that I should say that the Sacrament remaining in the Pixer, but Bread. I answered, that I never said so, but indeed the Queen asked me such a question, whereunto I would not answer, I said, till such a time as they had assailed me this question of mine. Wherefore *Stephen* was stoned to death? They said they knew not. Then said I again, no more would I tell them what it was.

Then said my Lord unto me, that I had allowed a certain Text of the Scriptures, answered that I alleged the same, one other but *St. Paul's* own saying to the *Athenians*, in the eighteenth Chapter of the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, That God dwelleth not in Temples made with hands. Then

Then asked he me what my Faith and Belief was in that matter? I answered him, I believe as the Scripture doth teach me.

The Archbishop asked me, what if the Scripture doth say, that it is the Body of Christ? I believed, said I, the Scripture doth teach me. He asked me again, what if the Scripture doth say that it is not the Body of Christ? My answer was still, I believe as the Scripture informeth me. And upon this Argument he carried a great while, to have driven me to make him an answer to his mind. Howbeit, I would not, but concluded this with him, that I believe therein and in all other things as Christ and his Apostles did leave them.

Then he asked me why I had so few words? And I answered, God hath given me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance; and *Salomon* saith, That a Woman of few words is the gift of God, Prov. 19.

Fifthly, my Lord laid unto my charge, that I should say that the Maids was superstitious, wicked, and no better than idolatry. I answered him, no, I said not so. Howbeit, I say the Queen ask me whether private Maids did relieve Souls departed or no? Unto whom then I answered, O Lord, what idolatry is this that we should rather believe in private Maids than in the healthful death of the dear Son of God? Then said my Lord again, what an answer is that? Then he said to me, said I, yet it is good enough for the question.

Then I told my Lord, that there was a Priest which did hear what I said there before my Lord Mayor and others. With that the Chancellor answered, which was the same Priest? So he spoke it in very deed, faith he before my Lord Mayor and me.

Then were there certain Priests, as *Dr. Standish* and others, which tempted me much to know my mind. And I answered them always thus; that I said to my Lord of London, I have told. Then *Dr. Standish* desired my Lord to bid me say my mind concerning the same Text of *St. Paul's* learning, that I bring a Woman should interpret the Scriptures, specially where so many wile learned men were.

Then my Lord of London said, he was informed that one should ask of me if I would receive the Sacrament at *Essex*, and I made a mock of it.

Then I desired that mine Accuser might come forth, which my Lord would not. But he said again unto me, I sent one to give you good counsel, and at the first word you called him Pupil. That I denied not, for I perceived he was no less my made him more answer unto it.

Then he rebuked me, and said that I should report, that there were bent against me therefore Priests at *Lincoln*. Indeed, quoth I, I said so. For my Friends told me, if I did come to *Lincoln*, the Priests would assault me and put me to great trouble, as theretofore they had made their boast; and when I heard it, I went thither indeed, not being afraid, because I knew my matter to be good. Moreover I remained there nine days, to see what would be said unto me. And as I was in the *Minster* reading upon the Bible, they rebuked unto me by two and two, by five and by six, minding to have spoken unto me, yet went they their ways again without words speaking.

Then my Lord asked if there were not one that did speak unto me. I told him yes, that there was one of them at the last which did speak unto me indeed. And my Lord then asked me what he said? And I told him his words were of small effect, for that I did not now remember them. Then said my Lord, there are many that read and know the Scriptures, and yet follow it not, nor live thereafter: I said again, my Lord, I would with that I might have known my conversation and living in all points; for I am sure my life this hour that there are none able to prove any dishonesty by me. If you know that any can do it, I pray you bring them forth. Then my Lord went away, and said he would entitle somewhat of my meaning, and so he wrote a great circumstance. But when it was, I have not in my memory; for he would not suffer me to have the Copy thereof. Only do I remember this small portion of it.

Be it known, faith he, of all men, that I Anne Askew do confess this to be my Faith and Belief, notwithstanding many Reports made to the contrary. I believe

that they which are banded at the hands of a Priest, receive not whether his consecration be good or not, do receive the Body and Blood of Christ in substance really. Also I do believe, that after the consecration, whether it be received or refused, it is no less than the very Body and Blood of Christ in substance. Finally, I do believe in this and in all other Sacraments of holy Church in all points, according to the old Catholic Faith of the same. In witness whereof, I the said Anne have subscribed my Name.

There was somewhat more in it, which because I had not the Copy, I cannot now remember. Then he read it to me, and asked me if I did agree to it. And I said again, I believe to much thereof, as the holy Scripture doth agree unto: wherefore I desire you, that you will add that thereto. Then he answered, that I should not teach him what he should write. With that he went forth into his great Chamber and read the same Bill before the Audience, which invigiled and willed me to set to my hand, saying also, that I had favour shewed me. Then said the Bishop, I might thank others for many. Then I said for the favour that I have at his hand; and not my self considered, he said, that I had good Friends, and also that I came of a fruitful Stock.

Then answered one *Christopher*, a Servant unto Mr. *Denny*. Rather you, to you, my Lord, to have done it in such case for Gods like than for man. Then my Lord laid down, and took me the Writing to let thereto my hand, and I wrote after this manner: I Anne Askew do believe all manner of things contained in the Faith of the Catholic Church.

And forasmuch as mention here is made of the Writing of Boxes, which this gaily Woman set before her had not in memory, therefore I thought in this place to insert the same, both with the whole circumstance of Boxes, and with the Title therewith prefixed by the Reader, and also with her own Subscription: to the intent the Reader, seeing the same Subscription might to agree with the time of the Title above prefixed, might the better understand and thereby what credit is to be given hereafter to such Bishops, and to such Registers. The tenour of Boxes Writing proceeding thus.

The true Copy of the Confession and Belief of Anne Askew, otherwise called *Kne Kyme*, made before the Bishop of London the twentieth day of March, in the year of our Lord God, after the computation of the Church of England, 1545, and subscribed with her own hand in the presence of the said Bishop and others, whose Names hereafter are recited, set forth and published at this present, to the intent the World may see what credit is to be given unto the same Woman, who in so short a time hath so dunnably altered and changed her Opinion and Belief; and therefore rightly in open Court arraigned and condemned. *Ex Regis.*

Be it known to all faithful People, that as touching the Copy of the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, I do firmly and undoubtedly believe, that after the words of Consecration be spoken by the Priest, according to the common usage of this Church of England, there is present really offered in the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whole and undivided, under the Minister which doth consecrate be a good man or a bad man; and that also whenever the said Sacrament is received, whether the Receiver be a good man or a bad man, he doth receive it really. And moreover; I do believe, that whether the said Sacrament be then received of the Minister, or otherwise, be it put into the Pixer, or to be brought to any person that is impotent or sick, yet there is the very Body and Blood of our said Saviour; so that whether the Minister or the Receiver be good or bad, yet, whether the Sacrament be received or refused, always there is the blessed Body of Christ really.

And this thing, with all other things touching the Sacrament and other Sacraments of the Church, and all things else touching the Christian Religion, which are taught and declared in the Kings Majesty's Book, lately set forth for the edification of the Christian People, I Anne Askew, otherwise called *Kne Kyme*, do truly and perfectly believe, and so here presently confess and acknowledge.

W. Regis.  
Lond.

And here I do promise, that henceforth I shall never  
(as nor do they think against the premises, or against any  
of them. In witness whereof, I have said Anne have  
subscribed my Name unto these presents.

Written the 23rd day of March, in the year of our  
Lord God 1545. Es. Regis.

By me Anne Askew, other-  
wise called Anne Kyme.

Witnesses.

Edmund Bishop of London.

John Bishop of Bath.

Owen Oglethorpe Doctor of Divinity.

Richard Smith Doctor of Divinity.

John Ruddle Bachelor of Divinity.

William De Bachelor of Divinity.

John Wymfley Archdeacon of London.

John Cook.

Robert John.

Francis Spilman.

Edward Hall.

Alexander Brat.

Edmund Butts.

With divers other more being then present.

And  
his  
Register  
reported  
with  
true  
truth.

Here may this note, gentle Reader, in this Confes-  
sion, that in the Bishop and his Register, a double  
sight of false conveyance. For although the Confession  
purport the words of the Bishops writing, whereunto he  
did set his hand, yet by the title prefixed before, a main  
point is that both his was arraigned and condemned be-  
fore this was Required, and also that he is fully re-  
ported to have put to her Hand, which indeed by his be-  
haviour. Book appeareth not so to be but after this manner  
and condition; 1 Anne Askew do believe all manner of  
things contained in the Faith of the Catholic Church,  
and not otherwise. I followeth the confession in the story.

And  
his  
Register  
reported  
with  
true  
truth.

Thus began he in the Bishop and his Register, I  
do believe in the Chamber in a great fury. With that, my  
Cousin Britan followed, desiring him for Gods sake to be  
a good Lord unto me. He answered, that I was a Woman,  
and that he was not willing to be so. Then my  
Cousin Britan desired him to take me as a Woman, and not  
to let my weak Women say to his Lordship great wis-  
dom.

Dr. Wylm.

Then went in unto him Dr. Weston, and said, That the  
cause why I did write there the Catholic Church, was  
that I understood not the Church writing afore. So with  
much ado they persuaded my Lord to come out again, and  
to take my Name, with the Names of my Sisters, which  
were my Cousin Britan and Master Spilman of Grays-  
Inne.

This being done, we thought that I should have been  
sent to bail immediately, according to the order of the  
Law. Howbeit he would not suffer it, but committed me  
from thence to Prison again unto the next Morrow,  
and then he would me to appear in the Guild-Hall, and  
so I did. Notwithstanding they would not put me to bail  
there neither, but read the Bishops Writing unto me, as  
before, and so commanded me again to Prison. Then were  
my Sisters appointed to come before them on the next  
morrow in Pauls Church, which did so indeed. Notwith-  
standing, they would once again have broken off with  
me, because they would not be bound also for another  
Woman at their pleasure, whom they knew not, nor yet  
what matter was laid unto her charge. Notwithstanding  
as the last, after much ado and reasoning to and fro,  
they took a Bond of them of Recognizance for my forth-  
coming: and thus I was at the last delivered.

Written by me Anne Askew.

The latter apprehension and Examination of the worthy  
Martyr of God Mrs. Anne Askew, Anno 1546.

And  
his  
Register  
reported  
with  
true  
truth.

I do perceive (dear Friend in the Lord) that thou art  
not yet perfectly thoroughly in the Truth, con-  
cerning the Lords Supper, because Christ said unto his  
Apostles, Take eat, this is my Body which is given for  
you.

In giving forth the Bread as an outward sign or token  
to be received by the mouth, he minded them in perfect  
belief to receive that Body of his which should die for  
the People, and to think the death thereof to be the  
only health and salvation of their Souls. The Bread and  
the Wine were left us for a Sacramental Communion,  
or a mutual participation of the ineffable benefits of his  
most precious death and bloodshedding, and that we  
should in the end thereof be thankful together for the  
most necessary grace of our Redemption. For in the  
closing up thereof he said thus, This do ye in remem-  
brance of me. Yea, so oft as ye shall eat it or drink it,  
Lk. 22. 19. and 1 Cor. 11. Else should we have been for-  
gotten of that we ought to have in daily remembrance,  
and also have been altogether unthankful for it; there-  
fore it is meet that in our Prayers we call unto God to  
graft in our Foreheads the true meaning of the Holy  
Ghost concerning this Communion. For St. Paul teacheth,  
The Letter killeth, the Spirit is it only that giveth life. 2 Cor. 3. 6. Mark well the sixth Chapter of John, where all  
is applied unto Faith: is more also the fourth Chapter  
of St. Pauls second Epistle to the Corinthians, and in the end  
thereof ye shall find, that the things which are seen are  
temporal, but they that are not seen are everlasting. Yea,  
look in the third Chapter to the Hebrews, and ye shall  
find that Christ was Son (and not Servant) ruled over his  
House, which House are we, and not the dead Temple,  
if we hold fast the confidence and rejoicing of that hope  
unto the end. Wherefore, as said the Holy Ghost, To day  
if ye shall hear his voice harden not your hearts, Eccl. 12. 1.

The sum of my Examination before the Kings Council  
at Greenwich.

YOUR Request as concerning my Prison-fellows I am  
not able to satisfy, because I heard not their Ex-  
aminations. But the effect of mine was this. I being  
before the Council, was asked of me by Mr. Kyme. I an-  
swered, that my Lord Chancellor knew already my mind in  
that matter. They with that answer were not contented,  
and so said it was the Kings pleasure that I should open the  
matter unto them. I answered them plainly, I would  
not do so; but if it were the Kings pleasure to hear me,  
I would shew him the truth. Then they said it was  
not meet for the King to be troubled with me. I an-  
swered, that Solomon was reckoned the wisest King  
ever lived, yet misliked he not to hear two poor com-  
mon Women, much more his Grace a simple Woman  
and his faithful Subject. So in conclusion, I made  
them none other answer in that matter. Then my Lord  
Chancellor asked of me my Opinion in the Sacrament.  
My Answer was this, I believe that so oft as I in a  
Christian Congregation do receive the Bread in remem-  
brance of Christs death, and with thanksgiving, accord-  
ing to his holy Institution, I receive therewith the fruits  
also of his most glorious Passion. The Bishop of Win-  
chester made me a direct answer: I said, I would  
not sing a new Song of the Lord in a strange Land, but  
that which I had sung in my own Land. He answered,  
The Bishop said I spake in Parables. I answered,  
it was best for him, for if I shew the open truth (which please  
me) ye will not accept it. Then he said I was a Parrot.  
I told him again, I was ready to suffer all things at his  
hands, not only his rebukes, but all that should follow  
besides, yea, and all that shall.

Then said I divers rebukes of this Council, because  
I would not express my mind in all things at they would have  
me. But they were not in the mean time unan-  
swered for all that, which now to rehearse were too  
much, for I was with them there three full hours.  
Then the Clerk of the Council conveyed me from  
thence to my Lady Garnish.

The next day I was brought again before the Coun-  
cil. Then would they needs know of me what I said  
to the Sacrament. I answered, That I already had said  
what I could say. Then after divers words they again  
me go by. Then came my Lord Life, my Lord of Ely,  
and the Bishop of Winchester, requiring me earnestly  
that I should confess the Sacrament to be flesh, blood and  
bone. Then said I to my Lord Parry and my Lord Life,  
that

that it was a great shame for them to Counsel contrary  
to their knowledge. Whereunto in few words they did say,  
that they would gladly all things were well.

Then the Bishop said he would speak with me famili-  
arly. I said, So did Judas; when he unfriendly betrayed  
Christ. Then desired the Bishop to speak with me a-  
lone. But that I refused. He asked me why; I said,  
that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every mat-  
ter should stand, after Christs and Pauls Doctrine.  
Math. 18. 2 Cor. 13.

Then my Lord Chancellor began to examine me  
again of the Sacrament. Then I asked him how long  
he would halt on both sides. Then would he needs  
know where I found that I said in the Scriptures, 3  
Reg. 18. Then he went his way. Then the Bishop  
said I should be burnt. Unanswered, That I had searched  
all the Scriptures, yet could I never find that either Christ  
or his Apostles put any creature to death. Well, well  
said I, God will laugh your threatenings to scorn. 1 Psal.  
2. Then was I commanded to stand aside. Then came  
me Doctor Cox, and Dr. Robinson. In conclusion, we  
could not agree.

Then they made me a Bill of the Sacrament, willing  
me to let my hand thereto, but I would not. Then  
they sent me the Sunday for five weeks time, to let them to see  
Therefore I desired to speak with Master Latimer, but he  
would not be. Then was I sent to Newgate in my  
extremity of sickness; for in all my life a soul was never  
in such pain. Thus the Lord strengthen us in the  
Truth. Pray, pray, pray.

The Confession of me Anne Askew, for the time I was  
in Newgate, concerning my Belief.

I Find in the Scripture (said she) that Christ took  
the Bread and gave it to his Disciples, saying, Eat, this  
is my Body which shall be broken for you, meaning  
in Substance, his own very Body, the Bread being there  
of an only sign or Sacrament. For after like manner  
of speaking, he said he would break down the Temple,  
and in three days build it up again, signifying his own  
Body for the Temple, as Saint John declareth, John. 2.  
and not the stony Temple it self. So that the Bread is  
but a remembrance of his death, or a Sacrament of  
thanksgiving for it, whereby we are knit unto him by a  
Communion of Christian love, although there be many  
that cannot perceive the true meaning thereof, for the  
Veil that Moses put over his face before the Children of  
Israel, that they should not see (be clean) thereof, Exod. 34.  
and 2 Cor. 3. I perceive the same Veil remain-  
eth to this day. But when God shall take it away, then  
shall they blind men (see. For it is plainly expressed in the  
History of Bell in the Bible, that God dwelleth in un-  
thing material. O King (said Daniel) not deceived,  
for God will be in nothing that is made with hands of  
men. Dan. 14. Oh, what stiff-necked People are these,  
that will always resist the Holy Ghost? But as their Fa-  
ther have done, so do they, because they have flown  
hearts.

Written by me Anne Askew,  
that neither without death,  
nor fear of his might, and as  
mercy as one that is bound  
towards Heaven.

Ruth is laid in Prison, Luke 21. The law is turned  
to wormwood, Amos 6. And there can no right  
judgment go forth, Isa. 59.

Of forgiveness to all our sins, and receive us graciously,  
do for the works of our hands, we will no more call  
upon them. For is it thus Lord that our God. Thus  
themselves over mercy unto the fatherless.

Oh if they would do this (saith the Lord) I would  
lead their foes, yea, what my heart would I love  
them.

O Ephraim, what have I to do with idols, any more?  
who is his wife, shall understand this: And he that is  
rightly instructed will regard it: for the ways of the  
Lord are righteous. Such as are godly will walk in them,  
and as for the wicked, they will stumble at them, Hol. 14.

Solomon (saith St. Stephen) builded an House for the  
God of Jacob. Howbeit, the biggess of all dwellers was  
in a Temple made with hands, as saith the Prophet, Hea-  
ven is my Seat, and Earth is my footstool. What house  
ye will build for me, saith the Lord? or what place is it  
that I shall rest in? Have not my hands made all things?  
Acts 7.

Whom believe me, (saith Christ to the Samaritans) Acts 7.  
the time is at hand, that ye shall neither in this Moun-  
tain, nor yet at Jerusalem worship the Father. Ye know  
salvation cometh of the Jews: But the hour cometh, and  
is now, when the true worshippers shall worship the Fa-  
ther in Spirit and in Truth, for the Father seeketh such  
Labour not (saith Christ) for the meat that perisheth, John 6.  
but for that which endureth unto everlasting life, which  
the Son of Man shall give you: for him hath God the Father  
Sealed, John 6.

The sum of the Condemnation of me Anne Askew at  
the Guild-Hall

They said to me there, That I was an Heretic, and  
condemned by the Law, if I would find in mine  
own conscience. I answered, That I was no Heretic, neither  
yet deferr'd any death by the Law of God. But as  
concerning the Faith which I used and wrote to the Salu-  
cation of my Soul, I would not deny it, because I knew  
it true. Then would they needs know if I would deny  
the Sacrament to be Christs Body and Blood. I said,  
ye Virgin Mary is now glorious in Heaven, and will come  
again from thence at the latter day like as he went up.  
Acts 1. And as for that ye call your God, it is a piece of  
Bread. For a more proof thereof, mark it when you  
eat, let it be in the Box three months, and it will be  
mouldy and so turn to nothing that is good. Where-  
upon I am persecuted that it cannot be Bread.  
After that, they would me have a Preach. And then with  
I finished. Then they asked me if it were not good; I  
would confess my faults unto God, for I was sure  
that he would hear me with favour. And so we were  
condemned with a Quest.

My belief which I wrote to the Council was this, That the belief  
the Sacramental Bread was left us to be received with  
thanksgiving, in remembrance of Christs death, the only  
remedy of our Souls recovery; and that thereby we also  
received the whole benefits and fruits of his most glori-  
ous Passion. Then would they needs know how  
the Bread in the Box was God or no: I said, God is a  
Spirit, and will be worshipped in Spirit and Truth, John 4.  
Then they demanded, Will you plainly deny Christ  
to be in the Sacrament? I answered, that I believe  
faithfully the eternal Son of God not to dwell there;  
in witness whereof I recited again the History of Bell,  
and the nineteenth Chapter of Daniel, the seventh and  
seventeenth of the Acts, and the four and twentieth of  
Matthew: concluding thus; I neither with death, nor  
yet fear his might, God have the praise thereof with  
thanks.

My Letter sent to the Lord Chancellor.

The Lord God, by whom all creatures have their be-  
ings, bless you with the light of his knowledge. The Letter  
of Anne Askew.  
My duty to your Lordship remembered, &c. it might  
please you to accept this my bold face, as the site of one  
which upon due consideration is moved to the same, and  
hoped to obtain. My request to your Lordship is only  
that you please the same to be a mean for me to the  
Kings Majesty, that his Grace would be satisfied of the  
few lines which I have written concerning my belief,  
which when it shall be truly conferred with the hard  
judgment given me for the same, I think his Grace shall  
well perceive me to be weighed in an uneven pair of Bal-  
ances. But I remain my matter and cause to Almighty  
God, which rightly judgeth all things, and shall com-  
mend your Lordship to the governance of him, and fel-  
lowship of all Saints, Amen.

By your Handmaid, Anne Askew.







The King  
sometimes  
country  
of the  
Catharine  
Anglican.

The King's Majesty, as you have heard, milked to be contented within in any kind of argument. This humoured him, although the Queen would not cross in his matters, yet in cases of Religion as occasion served, she would not flinch in her Terms and humble talk, entering with him into discourse, with found reasons of Scripture now and then to contrary. The which the King was so well accustomed unto in those matters, that at her Hands he took all in good parts, or at the least did never these countenance of offence threaten. During which time, perceiving her to thoroughly grounded in the Kings Favour, they durst not for their lives once open their Lips unto the King in any respect to touch her, either in her presence, or behind her back. And so long the continued this her accustomed usage, not only of her hearing Private Sermons (as is said) but also of her free Conference with the King in matters of Religion, without all peril, until at the last by reason of his fore legg (the anguish whereof began more and more to increase) he waxed feebly and there-within forward, and difficult to be pleased.

The King  
waxeth  
feebly  
and  
difficult  
to be  
pleased.

In the time of this sickness he had left his accustomed manner of coming and visiting of the Queen: and therefore the, according as the understood him, by his affected intelligence at the last about him, he was disposed to have her company, sometimes being sent for, other sometimes of her self would come to visit him, either at dinner or after Supper, as was most fit for her purpose. At which time the would not fail to use all occasions to move him, according to the manner, zealously to proceed in the Reformation of the Church. The sharpness of the disease had sharpened the Kings accustomed patience, for that he began to have some tokens of milking; and contrary unto his manner, upon one day breaking off that matter, he took occasion to enter into other talk, which somewhat amazed the Queen. To whom notwithstanding in her presence he gave neither evil word nor countenance, but knit up all Arguments with gentle words and loving countenance; and after other pleasant talk, she for that time took her leave of his Majesty. Who after his manner bidding her farewell sweet heart (for that was his usual Term to the Queen) licenced her to depart.

The Bishop  
of Winchester  
takes his  
occasion to  
work his  
milked.

At this visitation chance the Bishop of Winchester aforesaid to be present, as also at the Queens taking her leave (who very well had printed in his Memory the Kings sudden interrupting of the Queen in her tale, and falling into other matter) and thought that if the Iron were beaten whilst it was hot, and that the Kings humor were holpen, such milking might follow to reward the Queen, as might both overthrow her and all her endeavors; and he only awaited some occasion to renew into the Kings memory the former milked Argument. His expectation in that behalf did nothing half him; for the King at that time showed himself no less prompt and ready to receive any information, than the Bishop was maliciously bent to stir up the Kings indignation against her. The King, immediately upon her departure from him, used these or like words: A good hearing, quoth he, it is when Women become flesh Clerks, and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old days to be taught by my Wife.

The Bishop  
of Winchester  
words to  
the King.

The Bishop hearing this, seemed to mislike that the Queen should be so much forger by his Majesty, whom he to find in any Argument, as to take upon her to his face extol for her vertues, and specially for his learned Judgment in matters of Religion, above not only Princes of that and other ages, but also above Doctors professed in Divinity, and said that it was an uncomon thing for any of his Majesties Subjects to reason and to argue with him for malapertie, and grievous to him for his part, and answer of his Majesties Counsellors and Servants, to hear the same; and that they all by proof knew his wisdom to be such, that it was a matter in any for any to put him in mind of any such matters; in answer moreover how dangerous and perilous a matter it was over his Subjects Hands: who as they take boldness to contrary their Sovereign in words, so want they no will, but only power and strength to overthrow them in deeds.

Besides this, that the Religion by the Queen so stiffly maintained did not only disallow and dissolve the policy and politike Government of Princes, but also taught the people that all things ought to be in common; so that what colour soever they pretended, their opinions were indeed so odious, and for the Princes Estate so perilous, that (having the reverence they bear unto her for his Majesties sake) they durst be bold to affirm that the greatest injury in this Land, speaking those Words that the did speak, and defending likewise those Arguments that she did defend, had with indifferent justice by law deserved death.

Hobbit for his part, he would not, nor durst not, without good Warrant from his Majesty, speak his knowledge in the Queens case, although very apparent reasons made for him, and such as his dutiful affection towards his Majesty, and the Zeal and preservation of his estate, would induce give him leave to conceal, though the uttering thereof might through her, and her faction, be the utter destruction of him, and of such as indeed did chiefly tender the Princes safety, without his Majesty would take upon him to be their Protector, and as it were their Buckler. Which if he would do (as in respect of his safety he ought not to refuse) he with others of his faithful Counsellors could within short time disclose such treason, cloaked with this cloak of Heresie, that it might to a Serpent in his own Boleam: Howbeit he would not for his part willingly do to the matter both for reverence respect aforesaid, and also for fear lest the faction was grown already too great, there with the Princes safety to discover the same. And therewithal, with heavy countenances, and whispering together with them that Sect there present, held his Peace.

These and such other kinds of *Winchester's* flattering phrases marvellously vexed the King, who began to be jealous and mistrustful of his own estate. For the assurance whereof of Princes self it were scrupulous to do any thing: Thus then *Winchester* with his flattering words, seeking to frame the Kings disposition after his own pleasure, so far crept into the King at that time, and with doubtful fears he, with other his Followers, so filled the Kings mistrustful mind; that before they departed the place, the King (to see belike what they would do) had given commandment, with Warrant to certain of them made for that purpose, to consult together about the drawing of certain Articles against the Queen, wherein her life might be touched; which the Kings by their perflavours pretended to be fully resolved not to spare, having any rigor or colour of law to countenance the matter. With this Commission they departed for that time from the King, resolved to put their pernicious practise to as mischievous an execution.

During the time of Deliberation about this matter, they failed not to use all kind of policies, and mischievous practises, as well to furnish Accusers, as otherwise to his betray her, in seeking to underhand what Books by law she forbidden her had in her Closet. And the better to bring their purpose to pass, because they would not upon the sudden but by means deal with her, they thought it best, at the first, begin with some of those Ladies, whom they knew to be great with her, and of her Blood. The chiefest whereof, as most of estimation, and Privy Council, being those, where the; the Lady *Hersford*, afterward Countess of *Penbrooke*, and Sister to the Queen, and chief of her Privy Chamber; the Lady *Lane*, being of her Privy Chamber, and also her Cousin german; the Lady *Tyrant*, of her Privy Chamber, and for her vertuous disposition in very great favour credit with her.

It was devised that these three above named should first of all have been accused and brought to answer unto the six Articles, and upon their Apprehension in the Courts her Closets and Coffers should have been searched, that somewhat might have been found whereby the Queen might be charged, which being found, the Q. herself presently should have been taken, and likewise by Force carried by night unto the Tower. This platform thus devised, but yet in the end coming to no effect, the King by those aforesaid was forthwith made Privy unto the device by *Winchester* and *Wendy*, and his confident thereto demanded. Who (belike to prove the Bishops

*Winchester*  
the Queen  
the King.

*How Win-*  
chester  
and  
other  
to  
the  
Queen  
the King.

*The Queen*  
the King.

*Lady Lane*  
the King.

*Lady Tyrant*  
the King.

*Winchester*  
the King.

malice, how far it would presume) like a wife politick Prince, was contented (dissimbling) to give his comfort, and to allow of every Circumstance (knowing notwithstanding in the end what he would do.) And thus the day, the time, and the place of these apprehensions aforesaid was appointed, which device yet after was changed.

The King at that time lay at *Whitehall* and used very seldom, being not well at ease, to stir out of his Chamber or Privy Gallery; and few of his Council, but by especial commandment, referred unto him; these only except, who by reason of this practise used other than ordinary to repair unto him. This purpose he first handled, that it grew now within few days of the time appointed for the execution of the matter, and the poor Queen neither knew nor suspected any thing at all, and therefore used her accustomed manner, when he came to visit the King, still to deal with him touching Religion, as before the did.

The King at this while gave her leave to utter her mind at the full without contradiction; not upon any evil mind or milking (ye must concei e) to have her freely dispute, but rather chiefly dissimbling with them, to try out the uttermost of *Winchester's* tricks. Thus after her accustomed Conference with the King, when he had taken her leave of him (the time and day of *Winchester's* final day approaching fast upon) it chanced that the King of himself, upon a certain night after her being with him, and her leave taken of him, in milking of her Religion, brake the whole practise unto one of his Physicians, either *Dr. Wendy*, or *elic Owen*, but rather *Wendy*, as is supposed: pretending unto him, as though he intended not any longer to be troubled with such a Dred as the was; and also declaring what trouble was in working against her by certain of her Enemies, but yet charging him withal, upon peril of his life, not to utter it to any Creature living: and thereupon declared unto him the Parties above named, with all Circumstances, and when and what the final resolution of the matter should be.

*The wills*  
of the  
Kings  
and  
Wendy  
the King.

The Queen all this while, compassed about with Enemies and Persecutors, perceived nothing of all this, nor what was working against her, and what Traps were layd for her by *Winchester* and his Fellows; so closely was the matter conveyed. But see what the Lord God (who from his eternal Throne of Wisdom seeth and comprehendeth all the inventions of *Achitophel*, and comprehendeth the wily beguile themselves) did for his poor Handmaiden in rescuing her from the Pit of Ruin, whereinto she was ready to fall unawares.

*The Queen*  
the King.

For as the Lord would, so came it to pass, that the Bill of Articles drawn against the Queen, and subscribed with the Kings own hand (although dissimblingly by the said Understellers, was found and taken up of some forward Counsellors, was brought and taken unto the Queen, who reading there the Articles committed against her, and perceiving the Kings own hand unto the same, for the sudden fear thereof fell incontinent into a great melancholy and agony, bewailing and taking on in such sort, as is lamentable to see, as certain of her Ladies and Gentlewomen being yet alive, which were then present about her, can testify.

*The Queen*  
the King.

The King hearing what perplexity she was in, almost to the peril and danger of her life, sent his Physicians unto her.

*Dr. Wendy*  
the King.

Who travelling about her, and seeing what extremity she was in, did what they could for her recovery. Then *Wendy*, who knew the cause better than the other, and perceiving by her words what the matter was, according to that the King before had told him, for the comforting of her heavy mind, began to break with her in secret manner, touching the said Articles devised against her, which he himself, he said, knew right-well to be true: although he stood in danger of his life, if ever he were known to utter the same to any living Creature. Nevertheless, partly for the safety of her life, and partly for the discharge of his own conscience, having remembrance to continue to the healing of innocent blood, he could not but give her warning of that mischief that hangd over her head, beseeching her most intently to use all secrecy in that behalf, and exhorted her somewhat to frame and conform her self unto the Kings mind, say-

*The advice*  
of the  
Kings  
and  
Wendy  
the King.

ing, he did not doubt, but if he would do so, and show her humble Submission unto him, he should find him gracious and favourable unto her.

It was not long after this, but the King hearing of the dangerous fate wherein the yet still remained, came unto her himself. Unto whom after that she had uttered to him her grief, fearing lest in his Majesty she should take delight with her, and had utterly forsaken her, he like a loving Husband, with sweet and comfortable words, so refreshed and appeased her careful mind, that the upon the same began somewhat to recover; and so the King, after he had tarried there about the space of an hour, departed.

After this the Queen, remembering with her self the words that *Mr. Wendy* had said unto her, devised how by some good opportunity the might repair to the Kings presence. And to first commanding her Ladies to convey away their Books which were against the Law, the next night following after Supper, the (waited upon only by the Lady *Hersford* her Sister, and the Lady *Lane*, who carried the Candle before her) went unto the Kings Bed-chamber, whom the found sitting and talking with certain Gentlemen of his Chamber. Whom when the King did behold, very courteously he welcomed, and breaking off the talk, which before her coming he had with the Gentlemen aforesaid, began of himself, contrary to his manner before accustomed, to enter into talk of Religions, seeming as it were desirous to be relieved by the Queen of certain Doubts which he promoued.

The Queen perceiving to what purpose this talk did tend, not being understood in what sort to behave herself towards the King, with such Answers related his Questions as the time and opportunity present did require, mildly, and with reverent Countenance, answering again after this manner:

*Your Majesty*, quoth they, doth right well know, nei. The Queen that I myself am ignorant, with great imperfection and weakness; by my first Creation it is directed unto me, as woman, to be ordained and appointed as inferior and subject unto man as our Head, from which Head all our direction ought to proceed, and that as God made man to his own shape and likeness, whereby he, being indeed with more special gifts of perfection, might rather be forced to the contemplation of heavenly things, and to the earnest endeavour to obey his Commandments, even so also made he woman of man, of whom and by whom she is to be governed, commanded and directed. Whole womanly weakness and natural imperfection ought to be tolerated, aided and borne withal, so that by this wisdom (such things as are lacking in her ought to be supplied).

Since therefore that God hath appointed such a natural difference between man and woman, and your Majesty being so excellent in gifts and ornaments of wisdom, and a filly your woman, so much inferior in all respects of nature unto you, how then cometh it new to pass that your Majesty, in such difficult Causes of Religion, will seem to receive my judgment? Which for these reasons uttered and said what I can, yet must I, and will I, refer my judgment in this, and in other such cases, to your Majesties wisdom, as my only Anchors, Supreme Head and Governour here in Earth, next under God, to lean unto.

Not to be *S. Mary*, quoth the Kings; you are become a Doctor, Kate, to instruct us (as we take it) and not to be instructed or directed by us.

If your Majesty takes it so, quoth the Queen, then hath your Majesty very much mistaken, who have ever been of the opinion, to think it very unbecomely and preposterous for the woman to take upon her the office of an Instructor or Teacher to her Lord and Husband, but rather to learn of her Husband, and to be taught by him. And where I have with your Majesty leave heretofore been bold to hold talk with your Majesty, wherein sometimes in Opinion, there hath been some difference, I have not done it so much to maintain Opinion, as I did it rather to minister talk, not only to the end your Majesty might with less grief judge.



was heard among them of the Privy Chamber, the King hearing them whispering together (which he could never abide) commanded them to tell him the matter. Whereupon the matter being opened, and fate made to the King, especially by the good Earl of Bedford, then Lord Privy Seal, the King being offended with their doings, that they would come to near him, and even into his Privy Chamber, without his knowledge, sent for Wisley, commanding citizens to draw out his Pardon himself, and so he was let at liberty. Who coming after to the Kings Presence; *As my self* (with the King to him, for so he was wont to call him) *Yes, said he, if your Majesty had not been better to me than your Bishop were, your Pige had been rosted ere this time.*

But to let this matter of Sir George Blage pass, we will now reduce our Story again to Anne Askew and her fellow Martyrs, who the same week were burned, and could find no Pardon.

Then the Catholic Fathers, when they had brought this Christian Woman, with the residue (as above hath been declared) unto their Kelt, they being now in their Ruff and Triumph, like as the Pharaoh when they had brought Christ to his Grave, devoted with themselves how to keep him down still, and to over-lead Truth for ever. Whereupon consulting with certain of the Council, they made out a freight and hard Proclamation, authorized by the Kings Name, for the abolishing of the Scripture, and all such English Books which might give any light to the feting frock of Gods true Word, and Grace of the Gospel. The Copy and Tenour of which Proclamation is this, as followeth.

ANNO  
1546.

A Proclamation for the abolishing of English Books, after the death of Anne Askew, (et forth by the King, Anno 1546. the eighth day of July.

**T**he Kings most excellent Majesty understanding how, under the pretence of expounding and declaring the truth of Gods Scripture, divers lewd and evil disposed persons have taken upon them to utter and (now abroad, by Books imprinted in the English Tongue, sundry pernicious and detestable Errors and Heresies not only contrary to the Law of this Realm, but also repugnant to the true sense of Gods Law and his Word, by reason whereof certain men of late, to the destruction of their own Bodies and Souls, and to the evil example of others, have attempted arrogantly and maliciously to impugn the Truth, and therewith trouble the quiet and godly Religion, wanted and established under the Kings Majesty in this Realm; his Highness minding to foresee the dangers that might ensue of the said Books, as enforced to use his general Prohibitions, Commandment, and Proclamation, as followeth.

**F**irst, That from henceforth no man, woman, or person, of what estate, condition, or degree, soever he be, shall after the last day of August next ensuing, receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession, the Text of the New Testament of Tindals or Coverdales Translation in English, nor any other that is permitted by the said Parliament made in the Session of the Parliament holden at Westminster in the four and thirtieth and five and thirtieth year of his Majestys most noble Reign; nor after the said day shall receive, have, take or keep in his or their possession, any manner of Books printed or written in the English tongue, which be, or shall be forth in the names of William Tyndall, Wickliffe, Joy, Roy, Balli, Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner, Tracy, or by any of them, or any other Book or Books, containing matter contrary to the said Act made in the year thirty four, or thirty five, but shall, before the last day of August next coming, deliver the same English Book, or Books, to his Master in this Household, if he be a Servant, or dwell under any other, and the Master or Ruler of the House, and such other as dwell at large, shall deliver all such Books of these sorts as they have, or shall come to their hands, delivered as afore or otherwise, to the Master, Bailiff, or chief Constable of the Town where they dwell, to be by them delivered over openly within forty days next following after the said delivery, to the Sheriff of the Shire, or to the

Bishop, Chancellor, or Commissary of the same Diocese, to the intent the said Bishop, Chancellor, Commissary, and Sheriff, and every of them, may cause them incontinently to be openly burned: which thing the Kings Majestys pleasure is, that every of them shall see executed in most burning official form, and of them thereof make Certificate Books, to the Kings Majestys most honourable Council, before the first day of October next coming.

And to the intent that no man shall mistrust any & that the danger of such Penal Statutes as be passed in this behalf, for the keeping of the said Books, the Kings Majesty is most graciously contented by this Proclamation to pardon that offence to the said time appointed by this Proclamation for the delivery of the said Books, and commandeth that no Bishop, Chancellor, Commissary, Master, Bailiff, Sheriff, or Constable, shall be curious to mark who brings forth such Books, but shall only order and burn them openly, as is in this Proclamation ordered. And if any man after the last day of August next coming, shall have any of the said Books in his keeping, or be proved, and convicted by sufficient witnesses before four of the Kings most honourable Council, to have hidden them, or after them, or any Copy of any of them, or any part of them, whereby it shall appear that he willingly hath offended the true meaning of this Proclamation, the same shall not only suffer imprisonment and punishment of his Body at the Kings Majestys will and pleasure, but also shall make such fine and ransom to his Highness for the same, as by his Majesty, or four of his Graces said Council, shall be determined, &c.

Finally, His Majesty straightly chargeth and commandeth, that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, from the day of this Proclamation, presume to bring any manner of English Book, concerning any manner of Christian Religion, printed in the parts beyond the Seas, into this Realm, to sell, give or distribute any English Book printed in outward parts, or the Copy of any such Book, or part thereof, to any person, dwelling within this his Graces Realm, or any other his Majestys Dominions, unless the same shall be specially licensed [so to do by his Highness] express Grant to be obtained in writing for the same, upon the pains before limited, and therewithal to incur his Majestys extreme indignation.

Forasmuch as it is, and always hath been the common guise and practise of the Popes Church, to extinguish, condemn, and abolish all good Books and wholesome Treatises of Learned men, under a false pretence of Errors and Heresies, whereof Examples now abundantly appear in this History above: Now for the better trial hereof, to fee and try the impudent and shameless vanity of these Catholic Clergy-men, in milking, falsifying, depraving, blaspheming, and flandering where they have the same on cause against all right and honest dealing, yea, a setting of the people against their own knowledge, confidence, and manifest giving of Gods Word; I shall therefore desire the attentive Reader, before we pass any further, to consider and expend here two things by the way: First, What Opinions and Articles these men gather out of their Books for Errors and Heresies. Secondly, How wickedly and willingly they wrest, pervert, and misconstrue their sayings and writings, in such sense as the writers never spake nor meant, and all to bring them into hatred of the world, after they have burned their Books.

So did they before with John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Hierome. So did they before with John Lutter, articles of Tindall, Frisk, Lambert, Barnes, Joy, Roy, Seton, and briefly yet to do fill with all the Protestants, either pupils, perverting their sayings otherwise than they meant, or noting for Heresies such as are clearly faithful Principles, and Grounds of our Religion: or else falsly belying them, or utterly mistaking them, either in mangling the places, or adding to their words, as may serve for their most advantage, to bring them out of credit with Princes and all the People.

For the more evident probation and experience whereof, thou shalt fee here (Christian Reader) as in a Table laid before thee eyes, the Book or Catalogue of such Errors, Blasphemies and Heresies, which the Catholic Pa-

The Tenor  
of the same.

pists in their own Registers have extracted out of their Books, whom in this, and other Proclamations, they have condemned. Whereunto moreover, we have annexed the very places all of the Authors, out of which every Article is gathered, keeping also the same signature of verbe and page, which in their Registers do stand unto us. So that with little diligence thou shalt now, loving Reader, easily perceive, conferring the Articles and Places together, what truth and fidelity the bloody Catholics have used toward the Children of God: First in burning up their Bodies, then in confuting and abolishing their Books, and afterward drawing out Articles, both not to lift themselves, out of their Works, to make the People believe what damnable Heresies they were as by their Articles hereunder infusing, collected and contained in their own Registers, may well appear. In all which Articles, there is not one (speaking of these Writers which here they have condemned) but either it is a perfect Truth and a Principle of Christian Doctrine, or else it is fully gathered, or perversely recited, or craftily handled, and maliciously mangled, having either something cut from it, or some more added, or else racked out of its right place, or wrested into a wrong meaning, which the place giveth not, or else which some other place following doth not better expound and declare. This false and malicious dealing hath always been a common practise amongst Gods enemies from the beginnings, to falsify, wrack, and deprave all things whatsoever, both not to their faction and affection, but it never to true truth and just. So began they with Stephen, the first Martyr of Jesus Christ, and so have they continued full, and yet to this present day.

Long it were to recite, but more grievous to behold what spite and falsehood were used in the Articles of *Alvington, Waldeslee, Wickliffe, Swinbroke, Brute, Thorpe, Armachans, Sir John Oldcastle, John Hus, the Bohemians*, and such other. Which thing, if by the Book and Places whence these Articles were gathered against them had been suffered to remain, we might have more plainly understood. In the mean while, as touching these Articles here present, for so much as the Bishops own Registers have offered them unto us, and do yet remain with the self same Books from whence they are excerpted, I shall therefore desire thee (friendly Reader) first to consider the Articles, and by them with the places which the Registers themselves do give, and then judge thy self what it is to be thought thereof. The Articles gathered out of the forelaide Books with the Bishops Deceit preface before the fame, is as hereunder followeth.

A Publick Instruction by the Bishops, for the abolishing of the Scripture, and other Books, to be read in English.

**I**n the Name of God, Amen. Be it known to all and singular a true and faithful People, to whom these present Letters testimonial, or this present publick and authentic Instruction shall come to be seen, read, heard, or understood, and whom this under written shall or may touch, or appertain unto in any manner of wise time, that William by the letters of Alvington God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Pri-mate of all the Realm of England, sendeth greeting in our Lord God everlasting. We signify unto you all, and let you well to wit and know by these presents, that the King our Sovereign Lord, bearing of many Books in the English Tongue, containing many detestable Errors, and damnable Opinions, printed in the parts beyond the Seas, to be brought into divers Towns, and sundry parts of this his Realm of England, and from abroad in the same, to the great decay of our Faith Catholic, and virtuous conversion of his People, which things recently were briefly provided; his Highness willing evermore to employ all his study and mind, in the high degree which Almighty God hath called him unto, to the welfare of his Subjects, that they might live not only in tranquillity and peace, but also be kept pure in a clean of all Conscience, and pure Opinions in Christ Religion; considering also that he, being Defender of the Faith, would be full loath to

offer such evil Seed sown amongst his People, and so take root that it might overthrow the Cause of the Catholic Doctrine before sitting in the Scale of his Subjects; for the repelling of such Books, calling out of them of their good qualities and gracious dispositions, we only certain of the chief Priests and Clergy of his Realm, but also of each University a certain number of the chief Learned men, preposed with the said Books, as his Grace had ready to be read unto them, requiring to hear in that behalf their advice and judgement of them. Whose, both by great diligence and mature deliberation, perusing every one of the Books, found in them many Errors and Heresies, with detestable and damnable, bring of such sort, that they were like briefly to corrupt a great part of his People; (if they might be suffered to remain in their hands any space) gathering also out of many great Errors, and Pervious Heresies, and noting them in writing to the intent to show for what cause, they required the said Books damnable, of which hereafter out of each Book gathered many do ensue: albeit many more there be in the said Books, which Books really do swear full of Heresies and detestable Opinions.

Heresies and Errors collected by the Bishops out of the Book of Tindall, named the *Wicked Mammon* with the places of the Book annexed to the fame, out of which every Article is collected.

**F**irst, which is justifiab, Fol. 59. This Article being a Principle of the Scripture, and the ground of our Salvation, is plain enough by S. apostles, and the whole Body of the Scripture: neither can any man be so foolish as to call it a Heresy, but it is an Heretic, and flew themselves enemies unto the promises of Grace, and to the Cross of Christ.

2. The Law maketh us to hear God, because we be sinners, born under the power of the Devil. Fol. 59.

3. It is impossible for us to conform to the will of God. Fol. 59.

The place of Tindall from whence these Articles are wrested, is in the *Wicked Mammon*, at followeth. Which place I beteech thee indifferently to read, and then to judge.

In the faith which we have in Christ, and in Gods Word is promised, find we mercy, life, favour, and peace. In the Law we find death, damnation, and wrath, moreover, we see the cause and vengeance of Gods wrath upon us. And it, that is which is to say the Law, is called of Paul, the ministration of death and damnation. In the Law we are proved to be the Servants of sin, and that we have him. For how can we

be at peace with God, and love him, seeing we are conceived and born under the power of the Devil, and are his possession and kingdom, his captives and bondmen, and led at his will, and he holdeth our hearts, so that it is impossible for us to conform to the will of God? Much more impossible it is for a man to fulfill the law of his own strength and power, seeing that we are by birth and nature the heirs of eternal damnation, &c.

The Law requireth impossible things of us. Fol. 59. Read the place. The Law when it commandeth that thou shalt not lust, giveth thee no power so to do, but thou shalt not because thou canst not so do. If thou wilt therefore be at peace with God, and love him, then must thou turn to the Promises and to the Gospel, which is called of Paul the ministration of righteousness, and a Grace of the spirit.

5. The Spirit of God turneth us and our nature, that we do good, as naturally as a Tree doth bring forth fruit. Fol. 59.

The place is this: The Spirit of God accompanieth this place with faith, and bringeth with her light, whereas a man be obedient himself in the Law of God, and seeketh his own comfortable bondage and captivity, and humbly himself, and abhorreth himself. She bringeth Gods promise of all good things to him in Christ: God worketh with his word, and in his word he keepeth pure in a clean of all Conscience, and pure Opinions in Christ Religion; considering also that he, being Defender of the Faith, would be full loath to

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the same hath the same Spirit, and earnest of everlasting life, which the Prophet hath, and is clearest as the Prophet is.

Now if thou compare dead to dead, there is great difference betwixt wallowing in idleness, and preaching the Word of God. But as touching to please God, none at all. For neither that nor this pleases him, as far forth as God hath chosen a man, hath put his Spirit in him, and purified his heart by faith and trust in Christ, &c.

22. Article. *23. Cerecenes of the Church have brought the World from God, fol. 86.*

Read the speech of Tindall, "Seek the Word of God in all things, and without the Word of God do nothing, though it appear never so glorious. Whatsoever is done without the Word of God, that count Idolatry. The Kingdom of Heaven is within us. Luke 7. Wonder therefore at no monstrous appearance, nor at any outward thing without the Word. For the World was never drawn from God, but without outward show, and glorious appearance and thing of Hypocrite, and of fained and unperfected faith, praying, watching, fasting, offering sacrifices, following of Superstitious Ceremonies, and monstrous disguising, &c."

22. Article. *24. Beware of good intents: They are Damned of God. Fol. 87.*

21. Article. *25. See thou do nothing but that God biddest thee. Fol. 87.*

The words of Tindall out of these two Articles be gathered are these. Beware of thy good intent, good mind, good affection, or zeal as they call it. Peter of good mind, and of a good affection or zeal, called Christ, because he did that he must go to Jerusalem, and there be slain. But Christ called him Satan for his labour, a Name that belongeth to Devils, and said that he perceived not Godly things, but worldly. Of a good intent, and of a fervent affection to Christ, the Sons of Zebedee would have had fire to come down from Heaven to consume the Samaritanes; but Christ rebuked them, saying, that they thought not of what Spirit they were; that is, that they understood not how that they altogether worldly and worldly minded. Peter loved Malchus of a good zeal, but Christ condemned his deed. The Jews of a good intent, and of a good zeal loved Christ and persecuted the Apostles, as Paul beareth them record, Rom. 10. I bear them record (saith he) that they have a fervent mind to God-ward, but not according to knowledge. It's another thing then to do of a good mind, and to do of knowledge. Labour for Knowledge that thou mayest know Gods Will, and what he would have thee to do.

Our mind, intent, and affection, or zeal, are blinded, and all that we do of them is Damned of God, and for that cause hath God made a Testament between him and us, wherein is contained both what he would have us to do, and what he would have us to ask of him. Therefore that thou do nothing to please God withal, but that he commandeth, neither ask any thing of him but that he hath promised thee, &c.

26. Article. *26. Churches are for Preaching only, and not as they be used now. Fol. 88.*

This Article containeth neither Error nor Heresie, but is plain enough of it self, to all them that have their minds exercised in the Scriptures of God.

27. Article. *27. To worship God otherwise than to believe that he is with and true in his promise, is to make God an Idol. Fol. 87.*

Read the words of Tindall with this Article. God is honored on all fides, in that we count him righteous in all his Laws and Ordinances, and also true in all his Promises. Other worship of God is none, except we make an Idol of him, &c.

28. Article. *28. Pharaoh had no power to let the people depart, at Gods pleaure. Fol. 95.*

29. Other Prelates, in sin say they have power. Fol. 95.

Read the place in the *Wicked Man*, out of the which these two Articles are gathered. Saint Paul faith, If thou confest with thy Mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believe with thine heart that God raiseth him from death, thou shalt be saved. That is, it is thou believest that he raised him up again for thy Salvation. Many believe

that God is rich and almighty, but not unto themselves: as that he will be good to them, and defend them, and be their God: Pharaoh for pain of the Plague was compelled to confest his Sins, but had yet no power to submit himself unto the Will of God, and to let the Children of Israel go, and to let go great profit for Gods pleasure. As our Prelates confest their Sins, saying, I though we be never so evil, yet we have the power. And again, the Scribes and the Pharisees, say they, fate in Moses Seas, do as they teach, but not as they do. Thus confest they that they are abominable, &c.

Here follow other Heresies and Errors, collected by the Bishops out of the book Named, The Obedience of a Christian Man, with the places of the Book annexed to the same.

1. The faith, We are bound to make satisfaction to our Neighbour, but not to God. Fol. 132.

Satisfaction is a full recompence or amends making to the Neighbour, which recompence we are bound to make one man to another, and are bound to do, but to God no man can make any amends or recompence, but only Gods own Son Christ Jesus our Saviour: for else if man could have made satisfaction to God, then had Christ died in vain. Gal. 2. Loc, what Heresy or Error is in this Article?

2. He faith, That Children ought not to marry without the consent of their parents. Fol. 130.

The words of Tindall in the Obedience be these: Let the Fathers and Mothers mark how they themselves were disposed at all ages, and by experience of their own infirmities, help their Children, and keep them from occasions. Let them provide marriages for them in fadon, teaching them also to know, That the first his Wife which the Son taketh over her Husband which the Daughter taketh without the consent or good will of their Elders, or them that have Authority over them. If their friends will not marry them, then are they not to be blame if they marry themselves. Let the Fathers and Mothers always take the uttermost of their Authority of their Children, but at all times suffer with them and bear their weakness as Christ doth ours, &c.

3. He faith that Vows are against the Ordinance of God. Fol. 129.

They that say that this Article is a Heresie, let him show where these Vows in all the New Testament be ordained of God, especially such Vows of single life and will of poverty, as by the Canon Law be ordained to young Priests and Nuncios. St Paul plainly forbiddeth any Widows to be admitted under the Age of thre score years: nor then how true you a perillous Heresie?

4. He faith, that a Christian Man may not resist a Prince living in an Infidel and an Eshime. This taketh away freewill. Fol. 132.

Saint Peter willeth us to be subject to our Princes, 1 Pet. 2. Saint Paul also doth the like, Rom. 13. Who was also himself subject to the power of Nero: and although every Commandment of Nero against God he did not follow, yet he never made resistance against the authority and Rule of Nero, as the Pope doth to do against the Rule not only of Infidels, but also of Christian Princes.

5. Whatsoever is done before the Spirit of God cometh is sin, and is against his light, is a damnable Sin. This is against mores writers. 113.

What Heresie Aristotle in his Ethics can find with this Article, cannot tell. Sure I am, that the Word and Spirit of God will confidered, can find none, but rather will pronounce the contrary to be a damnable Heresie.

6. He reproacheth men that make holy Saimes their Advocates to God, and there be faith, That Saints were rewarded in Heaven for their holy works. Fol. 114.

The words of Tindall be these: They turn from the place of the Word, and put their trust and confidence in the merit of Saints, and make an Advocate rather a God of the Saints, &c. They advocate Heaven to their imaginations and mad inventions, and receive it not of the liberty of God by the merits and deservings of Christ, &c.

7. God moved the Hearts of the Egyptians to hate his people; likewise he moved Kings, &c. Fol. 118.

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The words in the Obedience be these: In the hundred and sixteenth Psalm thou readest, He destroyed the Rivers, and dried up the Springs of Water, and turned the fruitful Land into barrenness, for the Inhabitants thereof. When the Children of Israel had forgotten God in Egypt, and to subdue them with their craft and wyliness, Psalm 105.

In the second Chapter of the first Book of the Kings, He was angry with his people, and moved David to number them, when David and the other Lords wondered why he would have them numbered, and because they feared lest some evil should follow, diffused the Kings eye: it holpe not, God fo \* hardened his heart in his purpose, to have an occasion to lay the wicked people.

8. Paul says of higher Authority than Peter. Fol. 125.

The words in the Obedience be these: I suppose (saith he, speaking of Paul) that it was not behind the high priest, and ministering the Spirit. And in the same Chapter he proveth by the Doctrine of Christ, that he was greater than the high Apostles: For Christ faith, To be great in the Kingdom of God, is to do service, and take pain for others. Upon which Rule Paul difputeth, saying, If he be the Minister of Christ, I am more. In labour more abundant, in stripes above measure, in Prison more plentiful, in death oft, &c. If Paul Preached Christ more than Peter, and suffered more for his Congregation, then is he greater than Peter, by the willingness of Christ, &c.

9. A Priest ought to have a Wife for two causes. Fol. 133.

The words of Tindall be these: He must have a Wife for two causes; one, That it may thereby be known who is meant for the room: he is unsup for lo chargeable an Office, which had never hold to rule. Another cause is, That Chastity is an exceeding feldom gift, and unchastity exceeding plentiful for that degree, in such as the people look as well unto the living as unto the Preaching, and are hurt as once if the living disfigure, and fall from the Faith, and believe not the word, &c.

10. He condemneth Auricular Confession, Fol. 140.

Of this read above.

11. Every Man is a Priest, and we read no other Priest to be a man for us unto God. Fol. 144.

The words in the Obedience be these: There is a word called in Latin *Sacerdos*, in the Greek, *hieros*, in Hebrew *Kohens*, that is a Minister, an Officer, a Sacrificer, or a Priest, as Aaron was a Priest, and Sacrificed for the People, and was a mediator between God and them, and in the English it should have had some other Name, than Priest, but Antichrist hath deceived us with unknown and strange Terms to bring us into confusion and Superstition, &c. Of that manner is Christ a Priest for ever, and all we are Priests through him, and need no more of any such Priest to be a man for us unto God, &c.

12. He doth reject the Sacraments of Matrimony and Orders. Fol. 144.

As truly as Matrimony and Orders be Sacraments, so truly is this Article a Heresie.

13. He faith that Purgatory is the Papes invention, and therefore he says there is no Purgatory. Fol. 150.

One of the Papes own Writers faith thus, Souls being in Purgatory are under the Papes jurisdiction, and the Pope may, if he will, evacuate all Purgatory. Furthermore the old Fathers make little mention of Purgatory: Saint Augustine doubteth of Purgatory, and the Scriptures plainly disprove Purgatory. Saint John faith, The Blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God purgeth us from all Sin. And the Pope faith, Sin cannot be purged but by the Fire of Purgatory. Now whose invention can Purgatory be, but only the Pops?

14. Saints be saved not by their merits, but only by the merits of Christ. Fol. 151.

What can be more manifest and plain by the Scriptures, than that St. Eloy faith, All we have erred, every man in his own way, and God hath layd upon him all our iniquities, &c.

15. He faith, no Man may be bound to pray, Fol. 155.

The words in the Obedience be true, which are these: To pray one for another are we equally bound, and to pray is a thing that we may always do, whatsoever we have in hand; and that to do, may no man here another: Christ himself hath bid us already, &c.

16. Why should I trust, saith he, in Pauls Prayer or in Antioch, Helings? If Saint Paul were alive, he would compare himself to Saint Paul, and be as good as he, Fol. 159.

The words of Tindall be these: Why am I not I also a false Prophet? If I teach thee to trust in Paul, or in his Holiness or Prayer, or in any thing living in Gods Word, as Paul did? If Paul were here and loved me, as he loved them of his time, to whom he was a Servant to teach Christ, what good could he do for me as now will me, but preach Christ, and pray to God for me to open my heart, to give me his Spirit, and to bring me to the full knowledge of Christ? Untouch that Port or Haven when I am once come, I am as safe as Paul, joynt heir with Paul of all the promises of God, &c.

17. He faith that all that be baptized, receive Christ in himself. Fol. 163.

With this Article confer the words of the Obedience, which be these. In *Matth. 25*, faith Christ, In as much as ye have done it to one of the least of these my Brethren, ye have done it to me. And in as much as ye have not done it to one of the least of these, ye have not done it to me. Here teach thou that we are Christs Brethren, and even Christ himself, and whatsoever we do one to another, that we do to Christ, &c.

18. He faith that the Children of Faith be under no Law. Fol. 163.

The words of Tindall be these. I serve thee not because thou art my Mother or King, for hope of reward, or fear of pain, but for the love of Christ. For the Children of Faith are under no Law, as thou feest in the Epistle to the Romans, to the Galatians, and the first of Timothy, but are free. The Spirit of Christ hath written the lively Law of love in their hearts, which direct them to work of their own accord, freely and willingly, for the great love fake only which they lie in Christ, and therefore need no Law to compel them, &c.

19. There is no deed so good, but that the Law cometh to destroy it. Fol. 177.

The place in the Obedience is this. Thou halt the story of Peter, how he smote off Malchus eare, and how Christ healed it again: There halt thou in the plain Text great fault, and great evil, which I put over: There come I, when I preach of the Law, and the Gospel, and borrow this example to expre the nature of the Law, and of the Gospel, and to point it unto thee before thine eyes, and of Peter and his Sword make I the Law, and of Christ the Gospel, saying, as Peters Sword cutteth off the ear, so doth the Law. The Law dameth, the Law killeth, and mangeth the Conscience. There is no ear so righteous, that can abide the hearing of the Law. There is no deed so good, but that the Law dameth it. But Christ, that to lay the Gospel, the Promise, the Testament that God hath made in Christ, health the ear and conscience, which the ear hath hurt, &c.

20. To ask of God more than he hath promised, cometh of a false Faith, and is plain Idolatry. Fol. 171.

The words of Tindall are these. Look wherein thou shalt best keep the Commandments; thither get thy self, and there abide, &c. If we have infirmities that draw us from the Laws of God, let us cure them with the remedies that God hath made. If thou burn, marry for God hath promised thee no chastity as long as thou mayest use the remedy that he hath ordained; no more than he hath promised to slacke thee hunger without meat. Now to ask of God, more than he hath promised, cometh of a false Faith, and is plain Idolatry, &c.

21. Peter taketh in keeping the Commandments, and doth nothing but purge the Sin that remaineth in the Flesh, but to look for any other reward or promise in Heaven, than God hath promised for Christs sake, is abominable in the sight of God. Fol. 171.

Consider the place in the Obedience, which is this: Peter To look for any other reward, or promotion in Heaven, or in the life to come, than which God hath promised for Christs sake, and which Christ hath delivered for us with his blood, &c.

with his plain talking, is abominable in the sight of God for Christ only hath purchased the reward, and our plain talking to keep the Commandments doth but purge the Sin that remaineth in the Flesh, and certifies us that we are chosen and sealed with Gods Spirit, unto the reward that Christ hath purchased for us.

11. Article. 22. *The Pope hath no other Authority but to preach only. Fol. 172.*

Christ said to Peter, Feed my Sheep, John 21. And thou being converted, confirm thy Brethren, Luke 22. And to his Apostles he said, Go ye into all the World, and preach the Gospel, See Again, Saint Paul, 1 Cor. 1. 13. That Christ sent him not to Baptize but to preach to what other Office or Function he felt the Pope, let them judge which confider the Scriptures.

23. *If thou bind thyself to chastity to obtain that which Christ purchased for thee, so surely art thou an Infidel. Fol. 175.*

Read and confer the place of Tindall which is this. Chastity canst thou not give to God, a further than God lendeth it thee. If thou canst not live chaste, thou art bound to marry, or to be damned, &c. Go ye into all the World, and preach the Gospel, 1 Cor. 1. 13. If thou do it to obtain thereby that which Christ hath purchased for thee, thou art thou an Infidel, and halt no part with Christ. If thou wilt fore more of this matter, look into *Dutemery*, and there thou shalt find it more largely intricated, &c.

24. Article. 24. *He denieveth, rebuketh, and dameth miracles. Fol. 176.*

The words in Tindall Obeyeth be thefts. And when they cry miracles, miracles, remember that God hath made everlastig Testament which is in Christs Blood, against which we may receive no miracles, no neither the Preaching of Paul himself if he come again, by his own Teaching to the Galatians, neither yet the Preaching of the Angels of Heaven, &c.

The end of Gods miracles is good; the end of these miracles is evil. For the offerings, which are the cause of the miracles, do but minister and maintain vice, sin, and all abomination, and are given to them that have too much, so that for very abundance they come out their own thames and corrupt the whole World with the filth of their Rithliness, &c.

25. Article. 25. *He faith that no man should serve God with good intent or zeal; for it is plain Idolatry. Fol. 77.*

The place is the Obsequie: Remember Saul was cast away of God for ever, for his good intent. God requieth Obedience unto his word, and abhorreth all good intents, and good zeals which are without Gods Word, for they are nothing else but plain Idolatry, and worshipping of false Gods, &c.

Here follow other Heresies and Errors collected by the Bishops, out of the Book called the Revelation of Antichrist, with the places of the Book, out of the which they were gathered, annexed to the same.

Articles on 1. *To bind a Man perpetually to any Vow of Religion, is without doubt an error. Fol. 19.*

The place is the place of the Book called the Revelation of Antichrist, which is this that followeth: which the Fathers did neither make nor keep, he meaneth Vows, but with the liberty of the Spirit, binding no man perpetually to them. For if they did without doubt, they erred according to their malignity.

2. *To say the Constitutions of Religious men good because they were ordained them, as Augustine, Benedict, Francis, Dominick, and such other, and to follow such examples of Fathers, is to leave the Faith. Fol. 19.*

The place of the Article is this. That they object, The Statutes and Ordinances are good. Holy men did make them, for they are nothing else but plain Idolatry, and worshipping of false Gods, &c.

3. *Per. 1.*

3. *All Moral Divines have a wicked Conscience full of a multitude of scrupulosity. Fol. 3.*

Moral Divines be they whose Doctrine and hope of Salvation consisteth in Moral Vertues, rather than in Christian Faith, apprehending the free promise of God in Christ. And they that be such can never be certified in Confidence of their Salvation, but always be full of fear and scrupulosity. Saint Paul therefore faith, It is therefore of Faith, that it might come by Grace, and the promise might be firm and free to the whole flesh, Rom. 4. 16.

4. *Moral Vertues, as Justice, Temperance, Strength, &c. Chastity, described by Natural Reason, maketh a Synagogue, and corrupteth Christ. Faith. Fol. 64.*

The place of this Article, gathered out of the Revelation, is this: so many be (the Pope he meant) corrupted as he hath fubverted and led under his Law and Imperium. And who is he in the World that is not subject to him, except they be Infants, or peradventure some simple persons, which are referred by the infatutable Council and provision of God? O thou Man of Sin, O thou Son of Perdition, O thou domination, O thou Corruptor, O thou Antour of evil Conscience, O thou false Master of good Conscience, O thou enemy of Faith and Christian liberty, who is able to rechar, yes, or to comprehend in his mind the infinite waves of this monstrous King? Kings evil?

If he had ordained these his Laws in those virtues that are commended in the ten Precepts, or else in such as the Philosophers and Natural Reason did describe, as are Justice, Strength, Temperance, Chastity, Mildness, Truth, Goodness, such other, peradventure they should only have made a Synagogue, for through these doth the World a certain Civil Justice, for through these doth Faith should have been corrupted: it was among the Jews. Howbeit, now he keepeth not himself within these bounds, but runneth at riot and more at large, infusing the Temples of avarice, enticing and drawing us to Ceremonies, and his own Traditions, including us like asses and ignorant flocks, yea and like flocks to them, &c.

5. *Christ took away all Law, and maketh us free, and is the faith, and most of all be worshipped all Ceremonies. Fol. 63-57.*

The place of this Article gathered out of the Revelation, is this: Christ taking away all Law to make us free and at liberty, did most of all suppress and difannul the Ceremonies which did consist in plates, persons, garments, meats, days, and such other, so that their use should be to all men most free and indifferent, &c.

What he meant by taking away all Law, he declared a little before, saying, he hath not delivered us from the Law, but from the Power and Violence of the Law, which is the very true looking. But for all that he hath not taken away from the Powers and Officers their Right, Sword, and Authority to punish the evil, for faith pertain not to his Kingdom, until they are made spiritual, and then freely and with a glad heart they serve God.

6. *If the Pope would make all the observations of the Law, Ceremonies, as of Lent, of Fasting, of Holydays, of Marriage, of Mass, of Matins, and Reliques, &c. free and indifferent, he should not be Antichrist; but now, because he commandeth them in the name of Christ he utterly corrupteth the Church, suppresseth the Faith, and subverteth Sin. Fol. 6.*

If the Pope will infer a necessity of those things, which Christ leaveth free and indifferent, then what doth he make himself but Antichrist? The Article is plain, and is founded upon the doctrine of Christ, and Saint Paul.

7. *To believe in Christ maketh sure Inheritors with Christ. Fol. 1.*

8. *If a Man say, then shall we do no good works? Tan. a. Antichrist. Sin as Christ did: This is the work of God to believe in whom he hath won. Fol. 1.*

The place of these two Articles, gathered out of the Revelation is this: who is this light that we are exhorted to believe in? Truly it is Christ, as Saint John hath testified: He was the true light, that lighteneth all men which come into the World. To believe in this light, maketh

maketh us the Children of light, and the free Inheritors with Jesus Christ. Even now have we cruel Adversaries, which for up their bodies, saying why shall we then do no good works? To these we answer as Christ did to the people in the first of Saint John, which asked him what they should do, that they might work the Works of God? Jesus answered and said unto them, This is the Work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent. And after it follows, Verily, verily I say unto you, He that believeth on me hath everlasting life. To this also confederate Saint John, in his Epistle, saying, These things have I written unto you, that ye believe on the Name of the Son of God, that you may surely know how that you have Eternal Life. What is the Name of the Son of God? Truly his Name is Jesus, that is to say, a Saviour; therefore thou must believe that he is a Saviour.

But what availeth this? The Devils do thus believe and tremble. They know that he is the Son of God, and know unto him crying, O Jesus the Son of God, what have we to do with thee? They know that he hath redeemed mankind by his passion, and they laboured to let it. For when Pilate was sent down to give judgment, his Wife sent him saying, Have thou nothing to say to this day in my sleep about him. No doubt his sleep was vexed of the Devil, to the intent that he should persuade her Husband to give no Sentence upon him, so that Satan might the longer have had jurisdiction over him and mankind. They know that he hath suppressed Sin and Death, as it is written, Death is consumed into Victory. Death where is thy Sting? Hell where is thy Victory? The Sting of death is Sin: the strength of Sin is the Law. But thanks be unto God which hath given us Victory through our Lord Jesus Christ; who by Sin hath taken away the Law. For God made him to be Sin for us, that is to say, a Sacrifice for our Sin (and so is Sin taken in many places) which knew God Sin, that we by his means, should be that righteousness which before God is allowed. It is not therefore sufficient to believe that he is a Saviour and Redeemer; but that he is a Saviour and Redeemer unto others, &c.

9. *Numbering of Sins maketh a Man a more Sinner, yea, a blasphemer of the Name of God. Fol. 3.*

The place of this Article gathered out of the Revelation is this: Knowledge thyself a Sinner, that thou mayst be justified. Not that the numbering of thy Sins can make thee righteous, but rather a greater Sinner, yea, and a Blasphemer of the Holy Name of God, as thou maist see in Cain, which said that his Sins were greater than that he might receive forgiveness, and so was a Reprobate, &c.

10. *God bindeth us to that which is impossible for us to accomplish. Fol. 3.*

The place of this Article gathered out of the Revelation is this: If thou ask of me, why he bindeth us to that which is impossible for us to accomplish; thou shalt have 8. *Agapists* answer, which faith in the second Book that he wrote to *Hierome*, that the Law was given us, that we might know what to do, and what to do, to the intent that when we see our selves not able to do that which we are bound to do, we may say, that we shall ask this strength, so that we may say unto our Father, Good Father, command whatsoever it pleaseth thee, but give us thy Grace to fulfil that thou commandest. And when we perceive that we cannot fulfil his will, yet let us confess that the Law is good and holy, and that we are Sinners and carnal, and fall under Sin. But let us not here stick, for now we are at Hell-gates and doubtless should fall into utter desperation, except God did bring us again, throwing us his Gospel and promise, saying, Fear not little flock, for it is your Fathers pleasure to give you a Kingdom, &c.

11. *Sin cannot condemn us, for our satisfaction is made in Christ which dyed for us. Fol. 4.*

The place of this Article gathered out of the Revelation is this: Sin hath no power over us, neither can we be condemned by it, because it is made in Christ, which demerit us, that we were wicked, and naturally the Children of wrath. But God which is rich in mercy, through

the great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead through Sin, hath quickened us with Christ, and by his blood hath raised us up, and with him hath made us fit in Heavenly places through Jesus Christ, to show in times to come the exceeding Riches of his Grace in kindness towards us through Christ Jesus: For by Grace are ye saved through Faith, and that not of your selves, for it is the gift of God, and cometh not of works, lest any man should boast himself, &c.

12. *I will prove thee an evident Argument and Reason, that thou maist know without doubt, who is Antichrist. All they that do pursue are Antichrist: The Pope, Bishops, Cardinals, and their Adherents do pursue; therefore the Pope, Bishops, and Cardinals, and their Adherents, are Antichrist. I weneo our Synodallists be well made. Fol. 9.*

The place of this Article gathered out of the Revelation is this: I will show thee an evident Reason, that thou mayst know without doubting which is the very Antichrist; and this Argument may be grounded upon their furious persecution, which Paul doth confirm, writing to the *Galatians*. We (dear Brethren) are the Children of Promise, as *Isaac* was (not the Sons of the bondwoman as *Ismael*), but as he that was born after the flesh did persecute him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now. Mark Paul Reason: For *Isaac* are signified the Elect, and by *Ismael* the reprobate. *Isaac* did not persecute *Ismael*, but contrary, *Ismael* did persecute *Isaac*. Now let us make our Reason.

Bar. All they that do persecute *Ismael*, be Reprobates. Bates and Antichrists.

But all the Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, and their Adherents do persecute.

Therefore all the Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, and their Adherents be *Ismael*, Reprobates and Antichrists.

I weneo our Synodallists is well made, and in the first figure.

Read the place, and see how he proveth the parts of this Argument more at large.

13. *I think verily, that so long as the Successors of 11. Article. the Apostles were persecuted and martyred, there were good Christian men, and no longer. Fol. 10.*

The Bishops of Rome in the Primitive Church were under persecution the space weener of three hundred years, under which persecution, as good as thirty of them and more dyed Martyrs. Since that time have succeeded two hundred and four Popes which have lived in great wealth and abundance, amongst whom if the Book of Revelation think that there be not four to be found good Christian men, I think no less but that he may think without any Heresie?

14. *It is impossible that the word of the Cross should be without affliction and persecution. Fol. 10.*

Saint Paul faith, whosoever will live virtuously in this time shall suffer persecution. And how then can this be true in Paul, and in this man Heresie?

15. *The Apostles did ever call any man truly 14. Article. unless he was persecuted for Christ commandeth them to be wise as serpents, and as doves. Fol. 11.*

Upon what good ground of the Revelation this Heresie is wrong out, let the place be conferred, which is written in these words: They were as merciful to bless men, but they curse as the Devil were in them. *Paul* faith that he hath power to edify, and not to destroy. But I woneo of whom their bloody Beasts have their Authority, which do so much reprieve in curing and destruction. We read how Paul did Excommunicate the *Corinthians* (and that for a great transgression) to the intent that he might be ashamed of his iniquity, and delivered again the *Corinthians* to receive him with all charity: but that the Apostles did cure any man, truly we cannot read in Scripture, for Christ commandeth them to bless those that cursed them, and to pray for those that persecuted them, &c.

16. *By Works, Superstitions, and Ceremonies, we do cleanse from the Faith, which alone doth truly justify and make holy. Fol. 15.*





The place of this Article is this. Thou hast always occasion to mortify thine evil desires by thy Neighbour, to comfort him, and to help him with word and deed, with counsel and exhortation, and other fensible means. In such love towards our Neighbour, for the love of God, lieth all the Law and the Prophet, as faith Christ, yea, and Christianity, and not in fasting, keeping of Holy-days, watching, fasting and long Prayers, and all day long hearing of Masses, setting up of Candles, running on Pilgrimages and such other things, which all wicked Hypocrites, proud People, envious and subject to all wicked affections do.

27. *Many Doctors in Germany, and was only in common people, to believe that it was the part of Christian Faith only to believe that Jesus Christ hath loved here in Earth.* Fol. 53. 54.

The place is this. We believe that Jesus Christ hath here lived on Earth, and that he hath preached, and that he did for us, and did many other things. When we believe these things after the Story, we believe that this is our Christian Faith. This not only the simple People believe, but also Doctors in Divinity, which are taken for wise men. For the Devil hath also this faith, as faith *S. James*, *The Devil believeth, and tremble*. For as he has said before, the Devil believeth that God is God, and that Jesus Christ hath here preached, that he died, was buried, and rose again. Thus must we also believe, that this is not the Faith whereof speaketh the Gospel, and *S. Paul* &c.

Of this Faith, and what it is, read before in the place of the fourth and fifth Articles of this Book, and of the first Article gathered out of the wicked *Mannum*, and the ninth and tenth Articles of the *Revolution of Antichrist*.

28. *He that doth good against his will, he doth evil.* Fol. 56.

The place is this. All good Deeds, which are not done by love and good will, are fin before God, as faith *S. Augustine*. He that doth good against his will doth evil, albeit that he doth good. For that which is against my will, I hate; and when I hate the Commandment, I hate also him that hath commanded it, &c.

29. *No man hath more than he is bound to do, and therefore no man may make other partakers of their good works.* Fol. 59.

The words be these. The Prophet *Isaiah* faith, *We are all as an unclean thing, and all our justifications as filthy rags*: and therefore I can never marvel enough, that many of the religious persons would make other partakers of their good works, feeling that Christ hath faith in the Gospel, *When ye have done all these things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done but that which was our duty to do*. For none do more than he is bound to do, but only Jesus Christ (which only, as faith *S. Peter*, never did sin, neither was there found in him the power) hath done that he was not bound to do. And as the Prophet *Isaiah* faith, *How taken upon him our iniquities, and born our sorrows; he was wounded for our offences, and smitten for our unkindness, and by his stripes we were made whole*, &c.

30. *Christ hath gotten Heaven by his Passion; but that right hath he to need of, but hath granted it to all them that believe in his Promise.* Fol. 59.

Read the place. Jesus Christ possiteth the Kingdom of Heaven by double right. First, Because he is the Son of God, and very Inventor of his Kingdom. Secondly, Because he hath gotten it by his Passion and Death. Of this second right he hath no need, therefore he giveth it to all them that believe and trust in him and his promises.

31. *If God had promised us Heaven for our good works, we should ever be unsure of our Salvation.* Fol. 59.

32. *Be our sin never so great, that it seemeth impossible to us to be saved, yet without any doubt we must believe to be saved.* Fol. 59.

The words out of the which these two Articles be gathered are these: If God hath promised Heaven unto us because of our works, we should ever then be unsure of our Salvation. For we should never know how much,

nor how long we should labour to be saved, and should ever be in fear that we had done too little, and so we should never dye joyfully. But God would assure us of Heaven by his promise, to the intent we might be certain and sure, for he is the Truth, and cannot lye: and also to the intent that we should have trust and hope in him. And notwithstanding that after the greatest and multitude of our sins, it seem to us a thing impossible, yet always we must believe it without any doubt, because of his sure promise: and whosoever doth this, he may joyfully dye, and abide the Judgment of God, which else were intolerable. Read more hereof before in the eleventh Article taken out of the wicked *Mannum*.

33. *If thou love thy Wife because she is thy Wife, that is no love before God, but thou shalt love her because she is thy sister in Christ.* Fol. 63.

The words be these. Our Saviour Christ hath commanded nothing to be freely, as to love one another; *yea, to love our enemies also*: then how more should the Man and Wife love together? But there be but few that know how to love the one the other as they ought to do. If thou love thy Wife only because she is thy Wife, and because she is given to thee, and for the flesh, for Beauty, Birth, Riches, and such like, this is no love before God. Of such love speaketh *S. Paul*, for such love is among Harlots, yea, among brut Beasts: but thou shalt love her because she is thy Sister in the Christian Faith, and because she is inheritor together with thee in the glory of God, and because ye serve together one God, because ye have received together one Baptism, &c.

Thou shalt also love her for her Vertues, as chastity, chastity, and diligence, fidelity, patience, temperance, forgiveness, obedience, and other good Vertues, &c.

34. *It is nothing but all inordinately, to run in Pilgrimages, and seek God in one certain place, which is like mighty in all places.* Fol. 65.

The matter of this Article is evident to all indifferent and learned Judges, to be void of all doubt of Heresy.

35. *Men should fee that their Children come to Church to hear the Sermon.* Fol. 89.

The place of this Article is this: On the Festival days thou shalt bring thy Children to the Church to hear the Sermon; and when thou shalt come home, thou shalt ask them what they have kept in memory of the Sermon. Thou shalt teach them the Christian Faith. Thou shalt admonish them to live well, and to put all their hope and trust in God, and rather to day than to do any thing that is against the will of God, and principally thou shalt learn them the contents of the Prayer of our Saviour Christ, called the *Pater noster*; that is to say, how they have another Father in Heaven, of whom they must seek for all good things, and without whom they can have no good thing: and how that they may seek nothing in all their works; and in all their intents, but the honour of their heavenly Father: and how they must desire that this Father would govern all that they do or desire: and how that they must submit all to his holy will, which cannot be but good, &c. Thou shalt buy them whole new Books, as the holy Gospel, the Epistles of the holy Apostles, yea, both the New and the Old Testament, that they may understand and drink of the sweet Fountain and Waters of Life.

36. *Thou shalt not use or give, by justice or other wise, the poor that crave unto thee: for thou mayest not do it without sin.* Fol. 97.

The place is this: Thou shalt not vex or grieve by harsh judgments, &c. as Christ faith, *Ye shall not give to thy right hand to know what thy left hand doeth*. *S. Paul* faith, *Render not evil for evil; and if it be possible, and as much as is in you, live in peace with all men, not revenging your selves, my wellbeloved, but give place to wrath: for it is written, To me the vengeance, and I will render it*, faith the Lord God.

37. *Some text of Canon Law saith, that whosoever teaching of Christ forbiddeth all wars. Nevertheless, when a City is besieged, or a Country invaded, the Lord of the Country is bound to put his life in jeopardy for his Subjects.* Fol. 119.

38. *So a Lord may life horrible war charitably and christianly.*

As touching war, to be moved or stirred first of our parts against any People or Country upon any such cause, as Ambition, Malice, or Revenge, the Gospel of Christ giveth us no such Sword to fight withal. Nevertheless, for defence of Country and Subjunctive Men, being invaded or provoked by other, may lawfully, and is bound to do his best; as the City of *Mantua* did well in defending it self against the Emperor, &c.

39. *The Gospel maketh all true Christian men servants to all the World.* Fol. 72.

He that compiled this Article, leaveth out the matter to appear more heinous, leaveth out the latter part which should expound the other, that is, by the rule of Charity; for that the Author addeth withal. By which Rule of Charity, and not of Office and Duty, every Christian man is bound one to help another, as Christ himself being Lord of all, yet of Charity was a servant to every man to do him good. Read the place of the sum of the Scripture in the Page as in the Article it is assigned.

40. *The Gospel is written for all Persons, Estates, Prince, Duke, Pope, Emperor.* Fol. 112.

They which noted this Article for an Heresy, I suppose could little tell either what God, or what the Scripture meant.

41. *When Judges have hope that an evil deed will amend, they must be always merciful, as Christ was to the woman taken in Adultery. The Temporal Law must obey the Gospel, and them that we may amend by warning, we shall not correct by Justice.* Fol. 113.

The purpose of the Book where this Article is written being well understood, intendeth not to bind Temporal Judges and Magistrates from due execution of good Laws, but putteth both them, and especially Spiritual Judges, in remembrance by the example of Christ, to discern who be penitent Offenders, and who be otherwise; and where he seeth evident hope of earnest repentance and amendment, if they be Ecclesiastical Judges, to spare them; if they be Civil Magistrates, yet to temper the rigour of the Law as much as conveniently they may, with merciful moderation, which the Greeks do call *Epicheia*.

And thus much hitherto of these Heresies and Articles collected by the Bishops, and inserted in their own Registers out of the Books above specified. The names of the Bishops and Collectors were these, *Sir Thomas Moor* Lord Chancellor, *William Warham* Archbishop of Canterbury, *Thomas Bilhop* of London, *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of Winchester, *Richard Sampson* Dean of the Chappel, *Richard Woolman* Master of the Requests, *John Bell*, *Dr. Wilson*, with a great number more, as in the Registers doth appear. *Ex Regis Cant. & Lond.*

I shall not need, I trust, (gentle Reader) further to say with reciting more places, when they already rehearsed may suffice for a tale and a trial for they sufficient to note and consider how fully and how faithfully the Catholic Church have depared and misreported the Books and Writings of good men; who might almost gather Heresies as well of *S. John* Gospel, and *S. Pauls* Epistles, as out of these places. Thus may we see, what cannot malice do, being fed on mischief? or what cannot the spirit of spite and cavilling find out, being inflamed with hatred, and blown with the billows of Ambition and Iniquity? And as they have done with these, like like parts they have and do practise fill against all other, whosoever in defence of Truth dare touch even so little either the Popes Crown, or the Bellies of his Clergy; for this two forces in no case they can abide to be touched. And hereof only cometh all this crying out, Heresies, Blasphemy, Errors, and Schism. Although the Doctrine be never so found ad perfect after the Scripture, yet if the Writer be not such in all points (especially in these two above touched) as will stand after their time, and dance after their Pipe, he is by and by an Heretic, by virtue of their Inquisition. So did they with the Articles of the learned *Ant. Joannes Picius* *Mantua*. So did they also with *J. Reusner* or *Cyprian*. So did they also with good *Johann Calv* here in *England*. Also with the spirit of lying and cavilling the Catholic Fa-

ulties of *Levian*, *Spain*, and *Paris*, condemned the Works and Writings of *Erasmus*, and many more. So full they are of Censures, Articles, Suspensions, Offences, Inquisitions. So capacious they be in taking, so rash in judging, so slanderous of report, and so prodigious in depending, misconstruing, and wresting true meanings, unto wrong purposes; briefly, to pervert the very faith in Heresies where none are, that either a man may say nothing, or serve their Devotion, or else he shall procure their displeasure, that is, shall be deemed for an Heretic. Yea, and though no just cause of any Heresy be maintained, yet where they once take liking, they will not stick sometimes with false Accusations to press him with matter which he never paid for. If Luther had not stirred against the Popes Pardons and Authority, he would have remained still a white Son of the Mother Catholic Church, and all had been well done whatsoever he did. But because he adventured to touch once the triple Crown, what Floods of Heresies, Blasphemies, and Articles were cast out against him, enough to drive a whole World? what lies and forged crimes were invented against him?

Here now cometh *Staphylus* and furious *Serius*, with impudent words, and say, That he learned his Divinity at the Devil. Then followeth another certain Chronographer, wherein his lying Story reporteth, that *That Luther* died of drunkenness. With like malice the said Chronographer writeth also of *Mr. Bucer*, fully at the burning upon his information, That he should deny at his last Christ our Messias to be come: When not does, only *Dr. Holman*, which preached at his Burial, but also all English men, which knew the name of *Bucer*, did know it to be contrary.

So was it laid against one *Singleton*, Chaplain formerly to Queen *Anne Bullen*, that he was the murderer of *Patrick*, and afterward, that he was a flatterer of the Sedition and Commotion; and was also suffered as a Traytor for the same: Wherein very deed the true cause was, for nothing else, but for preaching the Gospel unto the People, whose purpose was ever to far from stirring Sedition, that he never once dreamed of any such matter, as he himself declared in his answer to one *Richard Lant* his Scholar, who is yet alive, and can testify the truth hereof. But this is no new practice amongst the Roman Bishops; whereof often hath been said before in the Story of *Sir John Oldcastle*, and *Sir Roger Atholm*, &c.

Another like practice of such malicious slander we should find also in one *Martin* a Bricklayer, whose Name, with his Abjuration, remaineth yet in the Registers of the Bishop of London.

The Story is this, and not unworthy to be remembered. In the Year of our Lord 1534, which was about the first beginning of Queen *Anne Bullen*, at what time Purgatory and such Trumpery began to grow in contempt; *Stratford* Bishop of London made a Sermon in *St. Andrew's* upon the Sunday before *May-day*. Where he preaching in the commendation of the virtue of *Mattheus*, declared to the People that for a little cost, if they procured *Mattheus* to be laid, Wives might deliver their Husbands, and Husbands their Wives out of the bitter pains of Purgatory. At his Sermon, besides many others, was *Thomas Merial*, a zealous favourer of Gods Word; who, being in the Watchman *May*-Even, made a relation of these words of the Bishop, and of his Sermon, out of whom among them then was one *Johann Tuffin*, a furious Papist, and who had the same time the setting up of the Stakes in *Smithfield*, where the good Saints of God were burned.

This *Tuffin*, which then kept a Tavern, and had an old grudge against the said *Stratford* for striking his Bow, hearing these words, allured home to his house certain Persons, to the number of ten, whose names were these: *Blackwell*, *Lawrence Wilson*, *Thomas Clark*, *John Duffell*, *William Kemmings*, *Thomas Hoffer*, *Worm*, *Cutler*, *Adam Rix*, with another that was his tenth. Besides these he procured also secretly *Mr. Chambers* Clerk, whose name was *Bright*. And when he had craftily overcome them with Wine, and made them to report what words he lifted and which they knew not themselves, the Clerk by and by received the same in writing. Whereupon this Article was gathered against him.





Read above  
by John  
Borthwike  
Knight, and  
condemned  
of the  
court being  
above and  
below in  
Scotland  
A.D. 1540.

To proceed therefore in the History of the *Sealand* matters, next after the mention of *David Stratton* and *Matter Nicolas Gurley*, with whom we ended before, the order of time would require next to enter the memory of Sir *John Borthwike*, Knight, commonly called *Captain Borthwike*. Who being accused of Heresie, as the *Papists* call it, and cited therefore, Anno 1540, and not appearing, and escaping out into other Countries, was condemned for the same being absent, by the sentence of *David Bouter*, Archbishop of *Saint Andrews*, and other Prelates of *Scotland*, and all his goods confiscated, and his Picture at last burned in the open market place. Whole story, with his Articles objected against him, and his confutations of the same, here entered in Process under express titles as followeth.

The 43 or Process or certain Articles against Sir John Borthwike, Knight, in Scotland, with the answer and confutation of the said Borthwike; whose Preface to the Reader here followeth.

Cypria  
Quintus.

BY the help of a certain friend of mine there came certain Articles unto my hand, for the which the Scottish Cardinal, and such other like of his Sect and Affinity did condemn me as Hereticke. And furthermore as this condemnation would not lack his Clerk or defence, they gathered together a great number of witnesses, where as besides the bare Names of the witnesses they alledged none other proof at all. Wherefore I thought good to bestow some labour in refelling those Articles which they could not prove that I might save my self from all true Christians the occasion of all evil suspicion, as though that I being vanquished or overthrown by their threatnings would deny Christ; and partly that their errors being thereby made manifest, they would even for very shame repent, or else heretofore the flesh should be more or madest of such wickedness to shed Blood. Therefore I will first confirm by evident testimonies of the Scriptures those things which in times past I have taught, and afterward I will reell their vain sophistification, whereby they go about to subvert the truth of God.

In *John Borthwike* Knight, commonly called *Captain Borthwike*, being accused, suspected, slandered, and convicted by witnesses, without all doubt of greater estimation than he himself, in the year of our Lord, 1540, the eighth and twentieth day of May, in the Cloister of *S. Andrews* in the presence of the most reverend Fathers, *Gavinus* Archbishop of *Glasgow*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, *William* Bishop of *Aburdon*, *Henry* of *Candidatus*, *John* Bishop of *Brechin*, and *William* of *Dunbar* Bishop, *Andrew* of *Milrouse*, *George* of *Dunfermling*, *John* of *Paulet*, *John* of *Lindisfarne*, *Robert* of *Kilmar*, and *William* of *Rutledge* Abbots, *Marmaduke* of *Quar*, and *John* of *Perth* Priors, *Matter Alexander* Rector of *Kilmar*, Vicar of *Kilmar*, Rector of *Law*, official of *Saint Andrews*, *John* of *Winton* Subprior, *John* of *Andam* and *Thomas* of *Ervingham*, Canon of *Saint Andrews*, and *Matter John* Major and *Peter* Capel and Bachelors of Divinity and Doctors, *Martin* of *Balfour* Bachelor of Divinity, and of his fellow Priors of their Churches, *Argyll* of the same City, *John* of *Tullydaff*, Wardens of the Priory of *Milrouse*, and *Peter* of the same City, and also in the presence of the most noble, mighty and honourable Lords, *George* of *Huntley*, *James* of *Ardray*, *William* of *Marshall*, *William* of *Monro*, *Earles*, *Malcolm* Lord of *Fleming*, Chamberlain of *Scotland*, *John* Lord of *Living*, *John* Lord of *Erskine*, *George* Lord of *Stewart*, *James* Hamilton of *Finnart*, *Walker* Lord of *Saint-John*, *Matter James* of *Colinton* Clerk to the Kings Register, with divers other Lords, Barons, and honest persons, being called and desired together for witnesses, that he did hold, publish and openly teach these errors following.

#### The first Article.

That our holy Father the Pope, as Christ's Vicar hath no, neither can exercise greater Authority over Christians here on Earth, than any other Bishop or Prelate.

#### Borthwike.

These holy ones do magnifie their Lord by like title as common Thieves and Robbers are accustomed to name the Captains and Ringleaders of their Robberies and Mischiefes, calling them in every place the most honest and good men, whereas likewise it is evident that the whole World there is no man more given to riot, which more greedily doth seek after all kind of delinquencies and wantonness, and finally aboundeth with all kind of vice, as Treason, Murder, Raping, and all kind of such evils. Furthermore, whereas they affirm him to be the Vicar of Christ here in Earth, it shall be easily convinced, when as it shall be made manifest, that he neither hath nor can exercise more Power, or Authority over Christians than any other Bishop or Prelate. For unto that Office of being Vicar they refer that great Authority which they do so greatly boast and brag of, which being taken away, the Office of Vicar doth also fall and decay. But now to attempt the matter, I will first demand of the maintainers of this prelatency and Authority, whereupon they will ground the same? I know that they will answer unto me that *Peter* had power and Authority over the other Apostles, and consequently over the Universal Church, and the power by succession is translated unto the Bishops of *Rome*. But how unreasonably do they lye herein, any may easily perceive which was by any final spark of Judgment in him, when as he shall hear the Testimonies of the Scriptures, which we will enquire to confirm this our opinion. For *Peter*, in the fifthem of the *Acts*, in the Council doth declare what is to be done, and admonisheth us what of necessity we ought to do. And there did also hear other speak, and did not only give them place to say their minds, but also permit and receive their judgment; and wherefore or madest of such wickedness to shed Blood. Therefore I will first confirm by evident testimonies of the Scriptures those things which in times past I have taught, and afterward I will reell their vain sophistification, whereby they go about to subvert the truth of God.

vour and Grace among the Gentiles, than *Peter* had amongst the Jews; and finally, when as *Peter* did not faithfully execute his Office and Ministry, he was by him rebuked, and *Peter* became obedient to his correction. All these things do evidently prove, that there was equality between *Paul* and *Peter*, and also that *Peter* had no more power over the residue of the Apostles, than he had over *Paul*. The which thing *S. Paul* even of purpose doth intreat for him in the Office of Apostleship, where by *Paul* is left, that any man should prefer *Peter* or *John* before him in the Office of Apostleship, which were but his Companions, and no Lords over one another: whereupon these places of Scripture work this effect, that I cannot acknowledge *Peter* to be Superior or Head over other Apostles, neither the Pope over other Bishops. But I acknowledge, and confess Christ to be the Head of the Church, the Foundation and high Priest thereof, the which with one Oblation hath made perfect for evermore all those which are sanctified. And I boldly do affirm and say with *Saint Gregory*, that whoever calleth himself, or desireth to be named or called the Head or Universal Priest or Bishop, in that his pride he is the forerider or predecessor of Antichrist; forasmuch as through his pride he doth exalt himself above all others. Furthermore, whereas they allege out of the old Law, the high Priesthood and the Supremacy Judgment, which God did institute and ordain at *Jerusalem*: I answer them thus, that Christ was that high Bishop, unto whom the right and title of Priesthood is now transferred and referred. Neither is there any man so impudent, which will take upon him to succeed in the place or degree of his Honour; forasmuch as this Priesthood doth not consist only in learning, but in the disposition and mercy of God, which Christ hath fulfilled by his Death, and in the Intercession, by the which he doth now intreat for us unto his Father.

Whereas also they do alledge out of the 16. Chapter of *Matthew*, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock*, I say, If they do so teach, that this particularly spoken of *Peter*, *Saint Cyprian*, and *Saint Augustine* shall sufficiently answer them, that Christ did it not for this purpose, to prefer one man above all the residue, but that thereby he might commend and set forth the Unity of the Church, for *S. Cyprian*. In the person of one man, God gave unto them the Keyes, that he might thereby signify the Unity of them all. For even as *Peter* was, even the very same were all the residue, being indued with like fellowship of honor and dignity. But it was convenient that it should take his original of one man, the Church of God might be manifested to be one only. *Saint Augustine* words are these, If by the mystery of the Church were not in *Peter*, the Lord would not have found unto him, I will give unto thee the Keyes of the Kingdom of *Heaven*. If this were spoken unto *Peter*, the Church hath them not. If the Church have them, then *Peter* when he received the Keyes, did figurate the whole Church. Again, when as they were all demanded and asked, only *Peter* answered, *Thou art Christ*. Then was it said unto him, I will give unto thee the Keyes, as though that he alone had received the charge of binding and loosing; for like as he alone spake that for them all, so he was bearing the person of that Unity, received the same with them all. Therefore for them all, because he is united unto them all; Another one Argument they do gather upon the words which Christ spake unto *Peter*, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock*, which words are not found to be spoken unto any other of the Apostles. The which Argument fall easily be dissolved, if we did understand and know why Christ did give *Peter* that Name, which otherwise was called *Simon*. In the first Chapter of *Saint John*, Christ speaketh thus unto him, *Thou shalt be called Cephas*. The which by interpretation signifieth *Peter*; that point having respect unto the constant confession of Christ, which he had made, like as God changed the Name of *Abraham*, who at first was called *Abram*, because he should be a Father of many Nations, then even as *Abraham* took his Name of the multitude, which should come forth of his seed, so likewise *Peter* took his Name of the constant confession of Christ, which indeed is the true Rock whereupon the Church is builded, and not *Peter* himself, no otherwise than *Abraham*, which was not the

multitude it self, whereof he took his Name. Bildes this, the Church should be stayed, or builded upon over weak a foundation, if it should have *Peter* for the ground or Foundation thereof, who being aimed and overcome with the words of a little wicked, did it infinitely deny Christ. Now therefore I think there is no man but he doth understand how these Romish Builders do writ the Scriptures hither and thither, and lye unto the rule or square, do apply them according to their wills, to what end and they themselves think good. Furthermore in that they do alledge out of the twentieth Chapter of *John*, *Fecit mihi Sacerdos* is an overchildish Argument; for to Feed is not to bear rule and Dominion over the whole Church. Besides all this, as *Peter* had received Commandment of the Lord, so doth he exhort all other Bishops to feed their Flock in his first Epistle and fifth Chapter. Hereby a man may gather by these words of Christ, that either there was no Authority given unto *Peter* more than unto others, or else that *Peter* did equally communicate that Right and Authority, which he had received, unto others, and did not reserve it unto himself after his death, to be transported unto the Bishops of *Rome*. As for such Reasons as they do alledge which are not gathered and taken out of holy Scriptures, I refuse them over, lest I might seem to contend with flatterers.

#### The second Article.

That Indulgences and Pardons, granted by our Supreme Head the Pope, are of no force, strength, or effect, but tend only to the abuse of the people and the decaying of their Souls.

#### Borthwike.

It shall be evidently declared, that Indulgences and Pardons are of none effect, after that I have first of all said, what they are, and what they do. I say, they are the Treasure of the Church, that is to say, the merits of Christ, of the Saints, and of the Church, which they impudently affirm to have performed and merited more as Gods land, at the time of their death, than was necessary or needful for them; and that of the abundance of their merits there did so much superabound, which was not only sufficient for themselves, but also might redound to the help of others. And because they affirm and teach that their Blood was mixed and joined with the Blood of Christ, that in both the Treasures of the Church was compounded and made for the remission and satisfaction of Sin. How cunning and notable Cooks these are, which can make a confiction of so many fandy heresies. Furthermore, they do faine the custody and keeping of this Treasure to be committed wholly to the Bishop of *Rome*, in whose power consisteth the dispensation of so great Treasures, that either by himself he may give or grant, or otherwise give power unto other to give the same. And hereupon rise the plenary Indulgences and Pardons granted by the Pope for certain years, by Cardinals for an hundred days, by Bishops for forty days. This is judgment and opinion which they hold of the Indulgences. But I pray you, who taught these Saints to work or deserve for other, but only Satan, who would utterly have the merits of Christ extinguished and blotted out, which he knoweth to be the only remedy of Salvation? For the Scripture doth teach us that no man of himself can deserve or merit for Salvation, how did the Saints then work or merit for others? It is manifest that Christ faith in the thirteenth of *John*, *When ye have done all that which is commanded you to do, yet, faith he, ye are unprofitable work his servants*. Besides this, that all that which may be deserved or merited in the righteousness of man, in the therefore and fourth Chapter of *Ephes*, is compared unto the Garment filthy and defiled, to be cast out.

There are almost infinite places in the Scripture, wherein mans power is to extenuate, and the corruption and forwardness of our nature to make manifest, that even in the best and most perfect works there lacketh not imperfection. Notwithstanding the parable of the ten Vir-



Palaces to  
Princes,  
Churches  
pertain to  
Priests.  
*Peter* could  
not give that  
he had not.  
*Peter* had no  
Lordly Dom-  
inion :  
Ergo *Peter*  
could not  
give Lordly  
Dominion to  
his succef-  
sors.

*Borthwick*

*The ninth Article.*

*Bersbawke*

**What-**

My Doctrine faith Christ is not mine, but his which sent me, my Fathers ; he which hath been the onely and

They allege furthermore, that which is written in the three and twentieth of *Matthew*, the Scribes and Pharisees have satten in the Chair of *Moses*, therefore all things whatsoever they command you to observe and keep, the same observe and do, but do you not as they do. I answer, the Lord in this place doth inveigh against the manners of the Pharisees, simply intruding his Hearers, which before he had taught, that albeit they could perceive or see nothing in their life which they should follow yet for all that they should not refuse to do the things which they did teach by the Word, I say by the Word and not of their own head.

### The tenth Article

Drivers and openly taught that there is no Religion to be observed or kept, but *only* *that* *which* *is* *deformed* *and* *destroyed*, as it was in England; and *despising* *the* *Religion*, affirming that it is *but* *only* *of* *the* *People*, he hath taught that their habits and vestures are *deformed* and *very* *monstrous*, having in them no manner of utility or holiness, inducing and alluring as much as in him lay, all the adherents of his opinion, that all Religion in the Kingdom of Scotland should be subverted and utterly taken away, to the great offence of the Catholic Church, and the diminishing and detriment of the Christian Religion.

*Bortbyike*

The Prophet *Isaiah* in his fifth Chapter crieth out, saying, *We be unto you which call evil good, and good evil; darkness light, and light darkness; sweet bitter, and bitter sweet; and so forth.* And it followeth in the same place, in the said Prophet, *We, faith he, to you that be wise, and sapient in your own eyes and prudent in your own estimation. No man can deny but that the Cardinal of Scotland, and his Adherents be under this most heavy and grievous curse, when as they do so generally confound the Christian Religion and their wicked Monks, that they do entitle them both by one name of Holiness. I trust I will make it appear more manifest than the day, that they do it by a feeble, low audacity or boldness, unto*

X:

5











The con-  
science  
of this  
case.

to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, nor sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was fain that I should suffer this for this Christlike. Consider and behold my virgin, ye shall not see me change my colour. This grin I fear not. And so I pray you to do, if that any Perfection come unto you for the Works sake, and not to fear them that slay the Body, and afterward have no power to fly the Soul. Some have said of me, that I taught, that the Soul of man should sleep until the last day. But I know surely, and my Faith is such, that my Soul shall sleep with my Saviour Christ this night, ere it be six hours; for I suffer this. Then he prayed for them which would him, saying, I beseech thee Father of Heaven to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else have of any evil mind, forged any lies upon me, I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly.

M. George  
Walter  
prophet  
of the  
death  
of the  
Catho-  
lics, which  
followed  
after.

And last of all he said to the People on this manner; I beseech you Brethren and Sisters to exhort your Prelates to the learning of the Word of God, that they at the last may be ashamed to do evil, lead to do good. And if they will not convert themselves from their wicked Error, that shall hardly come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not escape. Many faithful words he said in the mean time, taking no heed or cure of the cruel Torments, which were then prepared for him.

And at last of all the Hangman, that was his Tormentor, fate down upon his knees, and said; Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death. To whom he answered, come hither to me. When that he was come to him, he kissed his Cheek, and said, Lo here is taken that I forgive thee. My heart, do thee Office; and by and by he was put upon the Gibbet and hanged, and there burnt to powder. When that the People beheld the great tormenting, they might not withhold from pious mourning and complaining of this innocent Lambs slaughter.

A Note of the just punishment of God upon the cruel Cardinal Archbishop of St. Andrews, named Beaton.

The just  
judgment  
of God upon  
D. Beaton,  
a bloody  
revenge  
of Gods  
Saints.

It was not long after the Martyrdom of the blessed man of God, Master George Wishart, whereby he was put to death by David Beaton, the bloody Archbishop and Cardinal of Scotland, as is above specified, Anno, 1546, the first day of March, but the said David Beaton Archbishop of St. Andrews, by the just revenge of Gods mighty Judgment, was slain within his own Castle of St. Andrews by the hands of one Lech and other Gentlemen, whereby the Lord flired up, being in suddenly into his Castle upon him, and in his bed murdered him the said year the last day of May, crying out, *Alas, alas, they me not, I am a Priest.* And so like a Butcher he lived, and like a Butcher he died, and lay seven months and more unburied, and at last like a Carrion buried in a Dughill, Anno, 1545. *M. Hen. 8.*

The death  
of David  
Beaton,  
Archbishop  
of St. An-  
drews.

After this David Beaton succeeded John Hamilton Archbishop of St. Andrews, Anno 1549, who to the intent that he might in no ways appear inferior to his Predecessors, in augmenting the number of the holy Martyrs of God in the next year following called a certain poor man to judgment, whose name was Adam Wallace. The order and manner of whose Story here followeth.

The Story and Martyrdom of Adam Wallace in Scotland.

Adam Wal-  
lace  
and his  
Martyrdom.

There was set upon a Scaffold made hard to the Chancery Wall of the Black-Friers Church in Glasgow, a Scots made turepoor, the Lord Governor. Above him at his back fate Master Gavin Hamilton Dean of Glasgow, representing the Metropolitan Pastor thereof. Upon a on his right hand fate the Archbishop of Saint Andrews. At his back and behind him stood the Official Laureate. Next to the Bishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Dunblane, the

Bishop of Moray, the Abbot of Dunfermling, the Abbot of Glasgow, with other Clergy, and many other Prelates, as the Official of St. Andrews, and other Docters of that neck and City. And at the other end of the Scot fate Master Usher. On his left hand fate the Earl of Argyle Justice, with his Deputy Sir John Campbell of Lennox at his feet. Next him the Earl of Perth Justice. Then the Earl of Angus, the Bishop of Caithness, the Prior of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Orkney, the Lord Forbes, Dean, John Wemyss Subprior of St. Andrews, and behind him fate stood the whole Senate, the Clerk of the Register, &c.

At the further end of the Chancery hall in the Pulpit was placed Master John Lander Pastor of Marburg Accuser, clad in a Surplice, and red Hood, and a great Congregation of the whole People in the Body of the Church, standing on the ground. After that Sir John Ker, Prebendary of Saint Giles Church, was accused, convicted, and condemned, for the false making and giving forth of a Sentence of divorce, whereby he falsely divorced and parried a man and his lawful Wife in the name of the Dean of Roskilde and certain other Judges appointed by the holy Father the Pope. He granted the falsehood, and that never any such thing was done indeed, nor meant nor moved by the forlaid Judges, and was agreed to be banished the Realm of Scotland and England for his life time, and to lose his right hand, if he were found or apprehended therein after, and in the mean time to have his Benefices for ever, and they to be vacant.

After that was brought in Adam Wallace, a simple poor man in appearance, conveyed by John Cunningham, a Servant to the Bishop of Saint Andrews, and set in the middle of the Scaffold, who was commanded to look to the Accuser, who asked him what was his name? he answered, Adam Wallace. The Accuser said he was another name, which he granted, and said he was commonly called Fane. Then asked he where he was born? Within two mile of Kyle, said he, in Kyle. Then said the Accuser, I repeat this everlast a poor man as you should put these Noble Lords to be great encouragement this day by your vain speaking, and I must speak, said he, as God giveth me grace, and I believe I have said no evil to hurt any body. Would God (said the Accuser) ye had never spoken; but you are brought forth for so horrible crimes of Heresie, as never were imagined nor heard of in this Country before, and shall be sufficiently proved, that ye cannot deny it; and I forethink that it should be hard, for hurting of weak Consciences. Now I will ye see no more, and thus shall hear the points that thou art accused of.

Adam Wallace, said Fane: thou art openly delated and accused for preaching, saying, and teaching of the Sacraments of the Church, and blasphemies and abominable Heresies under written, written. In the first thou hast said and taught that the Bread and Wine on the Altar, after the words of Consecration, are not the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. He answering, I never said, nor taught any thing but what I found in this Book and Wit (having there a Bible at his belt in French, Dutch, and English) which is the Word of God, and you will be content that the Lord God and his Word be judge to me, and this his holy Wit here it is, and where I have said wrong, I shall take that punishment you shall put me to; for I never said any thing concerning that I am accused of, but that which I found in this Wit.

What didst thou say, said the Accuser? I said, quoth he, that after our Lord Jesus Christ had eaten the Paschal Lamb in his latter Supper with his Apostles, and fulfilled the Ceremony of the old Law, he instituted a new Sacrament in remembrance of his death then to come. He took Bread, he blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, and said, *Take ye, eat.* Math. 26. *ye, this is my Body which shall be broken and given for you.* And likewise the Cup, *Drink ye, and this is the blood of the new Testament which should be shed for the forgiving of many.* How say ye do this, do it in my remembrance.

Then

The Arch-  
bishop of  
St. An-  
drews  
speaketh  
the first  
Article.

Then said the Bishop of Saint Andrews and the Official of Glasgow, with the Dean of Glasgow, and many other Prelates, We know this well enough. The Earl of Huntly said, Thou answerest not to that which I said to thee; say either may or yea thereto. He answered, if ye will admit God and his Word, spoken by the mouth of his blessed Son Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, ye will admit that which I have said; for I have said and taught nothing but what the Word, which is the Trial and Touchstone, faith; which ought to be judge to me, and to all the World. Why (quoth the Earl of Huntly) hast thou not a Judge good enough? and trowest thou that we know not God and his Word? Answer to that is spoken to thee again. Then sayst thou the Accuser, much taught, that the Bread and the Wine in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of the Consecration, are not the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Adam Wal-  
lace an-  
swereth  
the first  
Article.

He answered, I never said more than the Wit faith, nor ye more than I have said before. For I know well by St. Paul when he faith, *Whosoever eateth this Bread, and drinketh of this Cup unworthily, receiveth to himself damnation.* And therefore when I taught (which was but wisdom, and to them only which required and desired me) I said, That if the Sacrament of the Altar were truly ministered, and used as the Son of the living God did institute it, where that was done, there was God himself by his Divine Power, by the which it is over all.

Adam Wal-  
lace an-  
swereth  
the first  
Article.

The Bishop of Orkney asked him, Believest thou not, said he, that the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of the Consecration, is the very Body of God, Flesh, Blood, and Bone? He answered, would not what that word Consecration meaneth. I have not much Latin, but I believe that the Son of God was conceived of the holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, and hath a natural Body, with hands, feet, and other Members, and in the same Body he walked up and down in the world, preached and taught, he suffered death under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and that by his godly power he raised that same Body again the third day; and the same Body ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, which faith came again to Judge both the quick and the dead. And that this Body is a natural Body with hands and feet, and cannot be in two places once, he sheweth well himself; for the which everlasting thanks be to him that maketh this matter clear; when the Woman brake that Ointment on him, answering to some of his Disciples which grumbled thereat, he said, *The Poor shall you always have with you, but ye shall not have always.* Meaning of his natural Body, which he shewed to be taken away from him.

Adam Wal-  
lace an-  
swereth  
the first  
Article.

And that the eating of his very Flesh profited her, may well be known by his words which he spake in the City of Jerusalem, where after he had said, *Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye shall not have life in you;* they murmuring thereof, he reproved them for their greed and fleshly taking of his words, and said, *Who will ye think when ye see the Son of man offered to the place that he came from? It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing, to be eaten as they think it, and even to take it.*

The Bishop  
of Orkney  
speaketh  
the second  
Article.

It is an horrible Heresie, said the Bishop of Orkney. When he began to speak again, and Jude the Lord Governor judge if he had right by the Wit, the Accuser cried, *Ad secundum.* None ad secundum, answered the Archbishop of St. Andrews.

The Arch-  
bishop of  
St. An-  
drews  
speaketh  
the third  
Article.

Then he began to hear the Accuser, who pronounced the second Article, and said, Thou shalt lift up, and openly didst teach, that the Mass is very Idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God.

The Bishop  
of Orkney  
speaketh  
the third  
Article.

He answered and said, I have read the Bible and Word of God in three Tongues, and have understood

them so far as God gave me grace, and yet never read I that word Mass in it; but I found, said he, that the thing that was highest and most in estimation among men, and not in the Word of God, was Idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. And I say the Mass is holten greatly in estimation, and high as no man is, among men, and is not founded in the Word, therefore I said it was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. But if any man will find it in the Scripture, and prove it by Gods Word, I will grant him as much as that I have said; Otherwise not. And in that case I will submit me to all lawful correction and punishment.

Ad tertium, said the Archbishop.

Then said the Accuser, Thou hast said and openly taught, That the God which we worship, is but Bread, & Air, & Fowl, & Corn, growing of the earth, baked of mens hands, and nothing else.

He answered, I worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons in one Godhead, which made and fashioned the Heaven and Earth, and all that is therein of nought; but I know not which God you worship; and if you will then see whom you worship, I God.

Believest thou not (said the Accuser) that the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of the Consecration, becometh the Priests hands, is the very Body and Blood of the Son of God and God himself? What the Body of God, if that he, and what kind of Body he hath, I have showed you, so far as I have found in the Scripture.

Then said the Accuser, Thou hast preached, said and openly taught divers and sundry other great Errors and abominable Heresies against all the seven Sacraments, which for thousands of time I permit and overlook. Whether dost thou grant thy forlaid Articles that thou art accused of, or no, and thou shalt hear them shortly. And then repeated the Accuser the three Articles afore said shortly, and asked him whether he granted or denied them?

He answered that which before he had said of his answers, and that he said nothing but agreeing to the Holy word as he understood, so God judge him; and his own Conscience accuse him, and thereby would he abide unto the time he were better instructed by Scripture, and the contrary proved, even to the death; and he said to the Lord Governor and other Lords, if you condemn and the me for holding by Gods Word, my innocent Blood shall be required at your hands, when ye shall be brought before the judgment Seat of Christ, who is mighty to defend my innocent cause, before whom ye shall not deny it, nor yet be able to refute his words, to whom I refer the vengeance, it is written, *Vengeance mine and I will reward.* Heb. 10.

Then gave they forth Sentence, and condemned him by the Laws, and so left him to the Secular Power, in the hands of Sir John Campbell Justice Deputy, who also given delivered him to the Provost of Edinburgh to be kept in the Castle-Hill, who incontinent made him to be put in the uppermost hole in the Town, with his High round about his Legs and neck, and gave charge to Sir Henry Hugh Tryer to keep the Key of the said house, and incontinent Minister and Imp of Sutan and of the Bishops; who by direction first to the poor man two Gray Friars, to instruct him, with whom he was taken into his Conscience. Soon after that were sent in two black Friars, an English Friar, and another subtle Sophister, called *Abbot*, with the which English Friar he would have reasoned and declared his Faith by the Scripture. Who answered, he had no Commission to enter into disputation with him, and so departed and left him.

Then was sent to him a worldly wife man, and not the Dean of Glasgow, who gave him Christian consolation, & said to him among the which he exhorted him to believe the reality of the Sacrament after the Consecration. But he would of the good content to nothing that had not evidence in the holy Word him, Scripture, and to passed over that night in his fasting, and lauding God to the tears of divers hours, having read the Pilifer of David without Book, to his consolation: For they had before spoiled him of his Bible, which always, till after he was condemned, was with him where ever he went. After that Sir John Campbell knew that he had certain Books to read and comfort his Spirit, he came in a

age and took the same from him, leaving him defolate (to his power) of all consolation, and gave divers ungodly and injurious provocations by his devilish venom, to have perverted him poor Innocent, from the patience and hope he had in Christ his Saviour; but God fought him not to be moved thereby, as plainly appeared to the hearers and eyes for the time.

So all the next Morning about this poor man in Irons, and provision was commanded to be made for his burning against the next day. Which day the Lord Governor, and all the Principal both spiritual and temporal Lords, departed from Edinburgh to their other business.

After they were departed, came the Dean of *Refcalt*, and after him again, and reasoned with him as he did. Who answered as before, he said he would give nothing concerning his Faith, but as the Scripture testifies, yet, though an Angel came from Heaven to persuade him to the same; saying that he confessed himself to have received good consolation of the said Dean in other behalf as to be come a Christian.

Then came again the said *Frier* again, and examined him after his old manner, and said he would give Devils to come forth of him ere Even. To whom he answered, You should rather be a godly man to give me consolation in my craft. When I knew you were come, I prayed God I might resist your temptations; which I thank him, he hath made me able to do; therefore I pray you, let me alone in peace. Then he asked of one of the Officers that stood by, Is your Fire making ready? Who told him it was. He answered, as it pleases God; I am ready soon or late at this place him; and then he spake to one falling in that company, and bade him commend him to all the Faithful, being sure to meet together with them in Heaven. From that time, to his forth coming to the Fire, spake no man with him.

At his forth coming, the Provost with great menacing words forbade him to speak to any man, or any to him, as he believed he had commandment of his Superiours. Coming from the Town to the *Cafle-Hill*, the common People said, God have mercy upon him. And on you too (said he). Being behind the Fire, he looked up his eyes to Heaven twice or thrice, and said to the People, Let it not offend you that I suffer death this day for the Truth sake; for the Disciple is not greater than his Master. Then was the Provost angry that he spake. Then looked he to Heaven again, and said, They will not let me speak. The Cord being about his Neck, the Fire was lighted, and to departed he to God contently, and with good countenance to our fights. *Ex refectum et interit Scotia petita*, Anno 1550.

The Schism that arose in Scotland for the Pater Noster.

After that *Richard Marshall*, Doctor of Divinity, and Prior of the *Black-Friers* at the *New-Castle* in England, had declared in his Preaching at *St. Andrews* in Scotland, that the Lords Prayer (commonly called the *Pater Noster*) should be done only to God, and not to Saints, neither to any other Creature; the Doctors of the University of *St. Andrews*, together with the *Gray-Friers*, who had long ago taught the People to pray the *Pater Noster* to Saints, had great indignation that their old Doctrine should be repugned, and stirred up a *Gray-Frier*, called *Frier Frits*, to preach again to the People, that they should and might pray the *Pater Noster* to Saints. Who finding, yet part of the Scripture to found his purpose upon, yet came to the People the first of November, being the Feast of *All-hallows*, Anno 1551, and took the Text of the Gospel for that day, read in their Mass, written in the fifth of *Mattheus* containing these words, *Blessed are the poor in spirit, for they shall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven*.

This feeble foundation being laid, the Frier began to reason most impertinently, that the Lords Prayer might be offered to Saints, because every Old man thereof is plain for his day, for so them pertains the Kingdom of Heaven.

Fathers; and because we grant also that they be in Heaven, we may say to every one of them, *Our Father which art in Heaven*. Our Father, God, hath made their Names holy; and therefore ought we as followers of God, to hold their Names holy, and so we may say to any of the Saints, *Our Father which art in Heaven*, because they be in Heaven. And for the same cause, said the Frier, as they are in the Kingdom of Heaven, so that Kingdom is theirs by possession, and so praying for the Kingdom of Heaven, we may say to them, and every one of them, *Thy Kingdom come*. And except their will was to be the very will of God, they had never come to that Kingdom. And therefore seeing their will is Gods will we may say with every one of them, *Thy will be done*.

But when the Frier came to the fourth Point, The First touching our daily Bread, he began to be astonished and affrighted, so that he did sweat abundantly, partly because his sophistry began to fail him, not finding such a colour for that part as for the other which went before, and partly because he spake against his own knowledge and Conscience; and so he was compelled to confess that it was not in the Saints power to give us our daily Bread, but that they should pray to God for us, said he, that we may obtain our daily Bread by their Intercession; and so he ended the rest of the end. Not flinching yet content with this deceitful Doctrine, he affirmed most blasphemously, that *St. Paul* had said, and *St. Peter* Shadow did Miracles, and that the virtue of *Elisus* Cloak divided the Waters; attributing nothing to the power of God with many other Errors of the Papists, horrible to be heard.

Upon this, followed incontinent a dangerous Schism in the Church of Scotland: for not only the Clergy, but the whole People were divided among themselves, one defending the Truth, and another the Papistry; in that they took a Proverb, To whom fly you for your *Pater Noster*? And although the Papists had the upper hand as then, whose words were almost held for Law (so great was the blindness of that Age), yet God so inspired the hearts of the common People, that so many as could get the understanding of the late words of the Lords Prayer in English (which when said in Latin) utterly detested that Opinion, holding that it should in no wise be said to Saints: so that the Crafts-men and their Servants in their Booths, when the Frier came, exploded him with flame enough, crying, *Frier Pater Noster*, *Frier Pater Noster*. Who at the last being convicted in his own Conscience, and ashamed of his former Sermon, was compelled to leave the Town of *St. Andrews*.

In the mean time of this brute there were two Papists sent in the *Abbey-Church*, the one in Latin bearing these words:

*Doctores nostri de Collegio  
Concludunt idem cum Lucifero.  
Quod sancti sunt familes nostris:  
Et reverentur personis  
De mandatis Officialium.  
Ad instantiam fiscalis,  
Gaw & Harvey non curat  
In premissis committit.*

The other in English, bearing these words:

*Doctors of Theology, of fourscore years,  
And old jolly Lupins the bald Gray-Friers;  
They would be called Rabbi and Magister nofers,  
And was not to whom they say their Pater Noster.*

Shortly, the Christians were so hoily offended, and provoked the Papists on the other side so proud and willful, that they were necessary to be, to cleave greater inconveniences, that the Clergy at last should be assembled to dispute and conclude the whole matter, that the Lay-people might be put out of doubt. Which being done, and the University agreed, whoever had been present might have heard much subtle Sophistry. For some of the Popish to Saints and Doctors affirmed that it should be said to God *forma-ter*, and to Saints *materialiter*. Others, *spiritualiter*, and

non spiritualiter. Others said it should be said to God *Principaliter*, and to Saints *minus Principaliter*. Others that it should be said to God *primarily*, and to Saints *secundarily*. Others that it should be said to God *capendo spiritum*, and to Saints *capendo large*. Which vain and ridiculous words, and such as the Papists, who were simple remained in greater doubtfulness than that they were in before: so that a well aged man, and a Servant to the Superior of Saint Andrews, called the Subprior *Thome*, being demanded to whom he said his *Pater Noster*? he answered, to God only. Then they asked again what should be said to the Saints? he answered, give them *Aves* and *Credo* once in the Devils name, for that may suffice them well enough, albeit they do enjoy God of his right. Others, making their Vaunt of the Doctors, said, that because Christ himself made the *Pater Noster* never came into the *Isle of Britain*, and understood not the English Tongue, therefore it was that the Doctors concluded it should be said in Latin.

This perturbation and open slander yet depending, it was thought good to call a Provincial Council to decide the matter. Which being assembled at *Edinburgh*, the Papists being delivred of reason defended their part with lies, alleging that the University of Paris had concluded that the Lords Prayer should be said to Saints. But because that could not be proved, and that they could not prevail by reason, they used their will in place of reason, and some time desperate, and injurious talk. At *Frier Scot*, being asked of one to whom he should say the *Pater Noster*, he answered, saying, say it to the Devil Knave. So the Council perceiving they could profit nothing by reasonings, they were compelled to pass, voting that the *Pater Noster* should be said in Latin.

But then incontinent they that were called Church-men were found divided and repugned among themselves. For some Bishops, with the Doctors and Friers confessed that the *Pater Noster* should be said to Saints; but the Bishops of *St. Andrews*, *Carlisle*, and *Edinburgh*, with the Friers and Priests were learned men, refused utterly to subscribe to the same. Finally with consent of both the parties, Commission was given by the holy Church to Dean *John Myrman*, then Subprior of *St. Andrews* to declare to the People how and after what manner they should say the Lords Prayer. Who, according of the Commission declared that it should be said to God, with some other restrictions, which are not necessary to be put in memory. And so, by little and little, the brute and tumult ceased, *Ex refectum & Scotia allata*.

The Martyrdom of the blessed Servants of God, Walter Millic.

Among the rest of the Martyrs of Scotland, the marvellous constancy of *Walter Millic* is not to be passed over with silence. Out of whose Affairs sprang thoughts of his Opinion and Religion in Scotland, who altogether chose rather to die than to be any longer over trodden by the Tyranny of the forlaid cruel, ignorant, and brutish Bishops, Abbots, Monks, and Friers; and so began the Congregation of Scotland to debate the true Religion of Christ against the Frenchmen and Papists, who fought always to depress and keep down the same; for it began soon after the Martyrdom of *Walter Millic*, of the which the hereinafter followeth.

In the year of our Lord, 1558, in the time of *Mary Duchess of Longuewy*, Queen Regent of Scotland, and the said *John Hamilton* being Bishop of Saint Andrews, and Primate of Scotland, this *Walter Millic* who in his youth had been a Papist, after that he had been returned again into Scotland, and setting aside all Papistry and compelled Chastity, married a Wife, which thing made him unto the Bishops of Scotland to be suspected of Heresy; and after long weighing of him he was taken by two Papist Priests, one called *Gray Troquehan*, and the other *St. Hugh Tury* Servants to the said Bishop, for the time, within the Town of *Djars* in Effry, and brought to Saint Andrews and imprisoned in the Castle thereof. He being in Prison, the Papists earnestly re-

velled and laboured to have seduced him; and threatened him with death and corporal Torments, to the intent they might cause him to recant and forsake the Truth. But feeling they could profit nothing thereby, and that the recantation full firm and constant, they laboured to perfwade him by fair promises and offered unto him a Month's portion for all the days of his life, in the Abbey of *Dumfries*, so that he would deny the things he had taught, and grant that they were Heretic; but he, continuing in the Truth even unto the end; despised their threatenings and fair promises.

Then assembled together the Bishop of Saint Andrews, *Conrad Murray*, *Brechin*, *Carlisle*, and *Abbeys*, the Abbots of *Dunfermling*, *Lindores*, *Balindore*, and *Towper* with Doctors of Theology of Saint Andrews, as *John Grey*, *John Black Frier*, and *Dean John Myrman*, Subprior of *St. Andrews*, *William Troquehan*, Provost of the Old College, with divers others, as *fundry Frier Black and Gray*. These being assembled, and having consulted together, he was taken out of Prison, and brought to the Metropolitan Church, where he was put in a Pulpit before the Bishop to be accused, the twentieth day of April. Being brought into the Church, and climbing up into the Pulpit, they seeing him so weak and feeble of Person, partly by age and travel, and partly by evil treatment, that without help he could not climb up, they were of hope to have heard him for weakening of God's strength. But when he began to speak, he made the Church roaring and found again, with so great courage and stoutness, that the Christians which were present were no less rejoiced, than the Adversaries were confounded and affrighted. He being in the Pulpit, and on his knees at Prayer, *Sir Andrew Cliphart*, one of the Bishops Friers, commanded him to arise and to answer to the Articles, saying on this manner, *Sir Walter Millic*, arise and answer to the Articles for you hold my Lord here Articles overlong. To whom *Walter*, after he had finished his Prayer, answered, saying, *My Lord*, I am not more than man, I serve one more mighty, even the Omnipotent Lord: and where ye call me *Sir Walter*, call me *Walter* and not *St. Walter*, I have been overlong one of the Pope's Knights. Now say what thou wilt say.

These were the Articles whereof he was accused, with his Answers unto the same.

**O**liphan. What think you of Priests Marriage? *Walter* answered, I hold it a blessed Band; for Christ himself maintained it, and approved the same, and also made it free to all men; but you think it noxious to you, ye abhor it, and in the mean time take other men's Wives and Daughters, and will not keep the Band that God hath made. Ye vow Chastity, and break the same. Saint Paul had rather marry than burn; the which I leave done, for God never forbade marriage to any man, of what State or degree he were.

**Oliphan.** Thou saidst there be not seven Sacraments. *Walter* answered, I give the Lords Supper and Baptism, and take you the rest, and part them among you. For if there were seven, why have you omitted one of three, to wit, Marriage, and give your selves to fanderous and ungodly Whoredom?

**Oliphan.** Thou art against the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and saiest, that the Mass is wrong, and is idolatry.

*Walter* answered, A Lord or a King feedeth and calketh many to a Dinner, and when the Dinner is in readiness he clinketh to ring a Bell, and the men come to the Hall, and sit down to be partakers of the Dinner, but the Lord turning his back unto them eateth all himself, and mocketh them; so do ye.

**Oliphan.** Thou deniest the Sacrament of the Altar to be the very Body of Christ really in Field and blood.

*Walter* answered, The Scripture of God is to be taken literally, but Spiritually, and fundereth Faith only; and for the Mass it is wrong, for Christ was never offered on the Cross for man's trespass, and will never be offered the same again, for then he ended all Sacrifice.

*Oliphan*

*Oliphant.* Oliph. Thou deniest the Office of a Bishop.  
*Mille.* I affirm that they, whom ye call Bishops, do no Bishops works, nor use the Office of Bishops; (as Paul biddest, writing to Timothy) but live after their own carnal pleasure, and take no care of the Flock; nor yet regard they the Word of God, but desire to be honoured and called, my Lords.

*Oliphant.* *Mille.* Thou speakest against Pilgrimages, and callest it a Pilgrimage to whoredom.

*Mille.* I affirm and say, that it is not commanded in the Scripture, and that there is no greater whoredom in any place, than at your Pilgrimages, except it be in common Brothels.

*Oliph.* Thou preachest secretly and privately in Houses, and openly in the Fields.

*Mille.* Yes man, and on the Sea also, saying in a Ship.

*Oliph.* Wilt thou not recant thy erroneous Opinions? And if thou wilt not, I will pronounce Sentence against thee.

*Mille.* I am accused of my life; I know I must die once, and therefore as Christ said to Judas, *Quid facis? fac citius.* Ye shall know that I will not recant the Truth, for I am God, I am no Chaff; I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the gale; But I will abide both.

These things rehearsed they of purpose, with other slight trifles, to augment their final Accusation, and then the Archbishop pronounced Sentence against him, that he should be delivered to the Temporal Judge, and be punished as an Heretic, which was to be burnt. Not without the withstanding, his boldness and constancy moved the hearts of many, that the Bishop's Seward of his Regency, Provost of the Town, called Patrick Learmond, Archdeacon, refused to be his Temporal Judge; to whom it appertained, if the cause had been just. Also the Bishops Chamberlain, being therewith charged, would in no wise take upon him to uphold an Office. Yes, the whole Town offered to be offended with his unjust Condemnation, that the Bishops Servants could not get for their money so much as one Cord to tie him to the Stake, or a Tar-Barrel to burn him, but were constrained to cut the Cords of their Masters own Pavilion to serve their turn. Nevertheless one Servant of the Bishops more ignorant and cruel than the rest, called Alexander Simms, entered the Office of a Temporal Judge in that part, conveyed him to the Fire, where, against all natural reason of man, his boldness and hardness did more and more increase, so that the Spirit of God working miraculously in him, made it manifest to the People, that his Cause and Articles were most just, and he innocently put down.

The Burning of Walter Milles.



Now when all things were ready for his death, and he conveyed with Armed men to the Fire, *Oliphant* bade him pass to the Stake; and he said, Nay, but wilt thou put me up with thy hand and take part of my death, thou shalt fee me pass up gladly; for by the Law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon my self. Then *Oliphant* put him up with his hand, and he ascended gladly, saying, *Invado ad Altare Dei*, and desired that he might have space to speak to the People; the which *Oliphant* and other of the Burners denied, saying, That he had spoken overmuch, for the Bishops were altogether offended that the matter was so long continued. Then some of the young men committed both the Burners and the Bishop their Masters to the Devil, saying, that they believed they should lament that day, and desired the said *Walter* to speak what he pleased.

And so after he made his humble Supplication to God on his knees, he arose, and standing upon the Calk said on this wise. Dear Friends, the cause why I suffer this day is not for any Crime laid to my charge (albeit I fee I am a miserable Sinner before God,) but only for the defence of the Faith of Jesus Christ, set forth in the New

and old Testament unto us; for which as the faithful Martyrs have offered themselves gladly before, being assured after the death of their Bodies of eternal Felicity, so do I this day I praise God, that he hath called me of his Mercy among the rest of his Servants to seal up my Testimony with my life; which as I have received it of him, so willingly I offer it to his glory. Therefore as you will escape the eternal Death, be no more charmed with the Lies of Priests, Monks, Friars, Priors, Abbots, Bishops, and the rest of the Sect of Antichrist; but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy; that ye may be delivered from condemnation. All that while there was great mourning and lamentation of the Multitude; for they perceiving his patience, stoutness and boldness, constancy and hardiness, were not only moved and stirred up, but their hearts also were so inflamed, that he was the last Martyr that died in *Stanford* for the Religion. After his Prayer, he was hoisted up unto the Stake, and being in the Fire, he said, *Laud becomeremur omnes; Pray People* while there is time: and so he constantly departed.

Epitaph.

## Epitaphium.

*Non nostra impietas aut alia crimina vicia  
 Armarum hostes in mea fasa truces:  
 Sola fides Christi sacris signata libellis,  
 Quae vicia cuncta est, ipsi mihi causa necis.*

After this, by the just Judgment of God, in the same place where *Walter Milles* was burnt, the Images of the great Church of the Abbey, which passed both in number and conflicts, were burnt in time of Reformation. *Ex fidei testimonio* I concerning such matters as happened, and such Martyrs as suffered in the Realm of *Scotland* for the Faith of Jesus Christ, and testimony of his Truth.

## Persecution in Kent.

In revolving the Registers of *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, I find moreover besides these above comprehended, in the time and Reign of King *Henry*, the Names of divers other, wherof some suffered Martyrdom for the like testimony of Gods Word, and some recanted, which albeit here they do come a little out of order, and should have been placed before in the beginning of King *Henries* Reign, yet rather than they should utterly be omitted, I thought here to give them a place, though somewhat out of time, yet not altogether, I trust, without fruit unto the Reader, being no less worthy to be Registered and preserved from oblivion, than other of their Fellows before them.

A Table of certain true Servants of God and Martyrs omitted, which were burned in the Diocess of *Canterbury*, under *William Watham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; with the Names of their Persecutors and Accusers, Anno 1511.

| Martyrs<br>in<br>Kerbores<br>in<br>the<br>time<br>of<br>Mr.<br>Lester. | Persecutors<br>and Judges.                                                          | Accusers and Witnesses.                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                                        | <i>William Rich</i> of <i>Bevisden</i> .                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                        | <i>Agnes Ives</i> of <i>Canterbury</i> .                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                        | <i>Robert Hills</i> of <i>Tenterden</i> .                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                        | <i>Stephen Cosselin</i> of <i>Tenterden</i> .                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                        | <i>John Grebil</i> of <i>Tenterden</i> , Husband to <i>Agnes Grebil</i> the Martyr. |                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                        | <i>Christopher Grebil</i> , the Natural Son of <i>Agnes Grebil</i> the Martyr.      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                        | <i>John Grebil</i> the younger, the natural Son of <i>Agnes Grebil</i> the Martyr.  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                        | <i>William Olsert</i> of <i>Gudmeham</i> .                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                        | <i>Laurence Chetenden</i> .                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                        | <i>Thomas Harwood</i> of <i>Rouwenden</i> .                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                        | <i>Joan Harwood</i> his Wife.                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                        | <i>Phil Harwood</i> .                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                        | <i>William Baker</i> of <i>Cranbrooke</i> .                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                        | <i>Edna Walker</i> .                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                        | <i>Robert Reinold</i> of <i>Brimberden</i> .                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                        |                                                                                     | The Martyrs.                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|                                                                        |                                                                                     | <i>William Carder</i> , of <i>Tenterden</i> , Weaver.                                                                                                                                                                   |
|                                                                        |                                                                                     | <i>Agnes Grebil</i> of <i>Tenterden</i> , Wife of <i>John Grebil</i> the Elder, and Mother to <i>John</i> and <i>Christopher Grebil</i> , who with her own Husband accused her to death, being threefores years of Age. |
|                                                                        |                                                                                     | <i>Robert Harrison</i> , of <i>Halden</i> , of the age of sixty years.                                                                                                                                                  |
|                                                                        |                                                                                     | <i>John Bruneau</i> of <i>Ashford</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|                                                                        |                                                                                     | <i>Edward Walker</i> , of <i>Maidstone</i> , Currier.                                                                                                                                                                   |

The Articles wherupon these five blessed Martyrs were Accused and Condemned by the foresaid Judges and Warrants, were these as follow.

1. That the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very true Body of Christ, but only material Bread in substance.

2. That Auricular Confession was not to be made to a Priest.

3. That no power is given of God to Priests, of ministering Sacraments, saying Masse, or other Divine Service, more than to Lay-men.

4. That the solemnization of Matrimony is not necessary for salvation of Souls, neither was instituted of God (for a Sacrament they meant.)

5. That the Sacrament of Extremum Unction is not available nor necessary to Souls health.

6. That the Images of the Crofs, of the Crucifix, of the blessed Virgin, and other Saints, are not to be worshipped; and that they which worship them do commit Idolatry.

7. That Pilgrimages to holy Places, and holy Relicks be not necessary, nor meritorious to Souls health.

8. That Invocation is not to be made to Saints; but only to God, and that he only heareth their Prayers.

9. That holy Bread and holy Water have no more virtue than their Consecration than before.

10. That they have believed, taught, and holden all and every of the fame damnable Opinions before; as they did at that present.

11. That where they now have confessed their Errors, they would not have so done but only for fear of manifold perils brought against them, or else but for fear to be convicted by them, they would never have confessed the fame of their own accord.

12. That they have commended and talked of the said damnable Errors heretofore with divers other Persons, and have had Books concerning the fame.

The order and form of Process used against these five Martyrs aforesaid: and first of *William Carder*, Anno 1511.

*William Carder* being converted before *William Warham* Archbishop, and his Chancellor *Robert Tunstall*, Doctor *Sylvester*, Doctor *Holles*, *Clemens Brown*, with other more, the Notaries being *William Parking*, and *David Cusper*, the Articles and Interrogatories above specified were laid unto him. Which Articles he there and then denied, affirming that he never did; nor doth hold any such Opinion, otherwise than because that every Christian man should do, ready to conform himself in all points to their Doctrine; and therefore to clear himself the better against those Interrogatories objected against him, he stood in denial of the fame. The like also did every of the other four Martyrs after him.

All which notwithstanding, the uncharitable Archbishop seeking all advantages against him that he might, and more then right Law would give, brought in against him such witnesses, as before were abused, whom he knew, for fear of relapse, durst do none other but disclose whatsoever they knew, to wit, *Christopher Grebil*, *William Rich*, *Agnes Ives*, *John Grebil*, *Robert Hills*, and *Steven Cosselin*. Whose Depositions being taken, and the said *Carder* being asked what he could say for himself, he had nothing, he said, to produce against their Accusations, but submitted him unto their mercy: saying moreover, that if he had ever any misbelief of the Sacraments of the Church, contrary to the common holding of the Catholics, he now was sorry and repented him thereof. Which being done, the Archbishop, this submission notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the Register maketh no mention of any Relapse, contrary to good Law, at least contrary to all Christian Charity, proceeded to the reading of his blind Sentence, and so condemned him: who neither fold stubbornly to that which he did hold, neither yet did hold anything



[illegible]Exhibit  
Cochle  
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here cease. For after that the fire hath consumed these Books, then they fall upon their Books, and condemn them in like manner to be burned, and no man must so hardly as to read them, or keep them under pain of Heresie. But before they have abolished these Books, first they gather Articles out of them, such as they list themselves, and so perversely wrest and wring them after their own purpose, falsely, and contrary to the right meaning of the Author, as may seem, after their putting down, to be most Heretical and execrable. Which being done, and the Books then abolished, that no man may

confer them with their Articles, to spie their faultness; then they divulge and set abroad those Articles, in such sort as Princes and People may see what Hereticks they were. And this is the rigor of their process and proceeding against those Persons whom thus they purpose to condemn and burn.

To the second order belongeth that death by fire is inflicted upon them, who are convicted of the crime of Fornication, whom these Papists do not condemn to death, but suffer them to live, and to continue in their sin, and to fulfil all their life, In *pase doloris & aqua angustia*, that is, with Bread of sorrow, and Water of affliction; and that they should not remove one mile out of the precinct of the said Monastery, so long as they live, without they were otherwise by the Archbishop of Milan; and his Successors dispensed withal. Albeit many times the said persons were dispensed withal, that their Penance of fasting and Water was turned for them to wear a *Woolen day*, and *Friday* every week, or some other like penitential, &c.

[illegible]

And thus much by the way out of the Register  
William Warham aforesaid, like as also out of other  
shops Registers many more such like matters and examples  
might be collected, if either leisure would serve me  
search, or if the largeness of this Volum would suffer  
to be inserted that might be found. Howeife, among  
many other things omitted, the story and Martyrdome  
Luciwel and his fellows is not to be forgotten. The Story  
of whom with their names is this.

*The Martyrdom of Launcelot one of the Kings Guard,  
John a Painter, and Giles German.*

A Bout the year of our Lord 1539. one *John a Painter, and Gilger German* were accused of Here-  
sie, and the other were in examination at *London* be-  
fore the Bishop and other Judges, by chauce there came  
in one of the Kings Servants named *Lancelot*, a very  
tall man, and of no lefs godly mind and disposition, than  
strong and tall of Body.

This man standing by, femed by his countenance  
and gesture to favour both the cause and the poor men  
his Friends. Whereupon he being apprehended, was  
examined and condemned together with them. And the  
next day at five of the Clock in the morning was carried  
with them into Saint *Giles* his field, and there burned,  
there being but a small concourse or Company of People  
attendeth.

*Lancelot,*  
*J. a Painter,*  
*Gilger German,*  
*Cambridge*  
*Martyr.*

*The Story of one Stile, Martyr.*

**N**ine Company and Fellowship of these blessed Saints and Martyrs of Christ, which innocently suffered within the time of King Henrys reign, for the Testimony of Gods Word and Truth, our good man also cometh to my mind, not to be excluded out of this number, who was with little more than a year, and a half, of his imprisonment, and later, of *Cambert Tansills* time, Bishop of *London*. Whose name was called *Sile*, as is credibly reported unto us by a worthy and ancient Knight, named *Sir Robert Outred*, who was the same time present himself at his burning and Martyrdom, and eye witness of the same. This man was then called *John*, and also a *Presbyter*, and was a *Worshipfull* man, and was much beloved upon. This Book when he was fainefted unto the Stake, to be burned with him; lifting up his voyce, *O blessed Apocalyp*, bid hee, how happy am I, that shall be burned with thee? And so this good man and the blessed *Apocalyp* were both together in the fire confu-

**A**nd thus (through the gracious supportation of Christ our Lord) we have run over these seven and thirty laborious years of King *Henrie* Reign. Under whole time and governance, such Acts and Records, Troubles, Persecutions, Recantations, Practices, Alterations and Reformation as then happened in the Church, we have here discouffed, with such Statutes, Injunctions and Proclamations, as by him were set forth in causes and matters to the said Church appertaining: Albeit not comprehending all things so fully as might beyet pretermission to some few things we could, of heere pretermitting to our hands: As for example, the same Instruments, Statutes, Proclamations, and Letters, pertaining to the

courſe of this Kings Hiſtory, have paſt our hands, as the falſe lying Bull of Pope *Leo* the tenth, againſt *M. Luther*, with the ſame allof the ſaid *M. Luthers* appeal from the Pope unto a general Council. All which, with other matters more beſides omitted, we have deferred by themſelves hereafter to be exhibited and declared in the ſequel of this preſent Story, as in his due place ſhall ap-

In the mean factum, amongst other omiffions here  
 is, that the fentence, as a certain instrument of the  
 Pope's Sentence definitive againſt King *Henric* fifth dif-  
 ponce with *Lady Katharine* Dowager haſt lately come  
 to our hands, containing matter neither impertinent nor  
 unmeet to be committed to Hilloſity, the Reader  
 is preſently to place the ſame before his eyes, and ſee  
 the ſame in the ſame prognoſtic and impudent preſumption of  
 the Pope, in the ſaid Sentence, going about by force and  
 Authority fo to conſtrain and compel Kings and Princes  
 againſt their wills, and againſt *Irif* and Scripture to  
 apply this impious purpoſe, may the better underſtand  
 thereby what was the true nature of the ſentence, by  
 which the King was ſentenced to ſuch a ſentence againſt the Pope,  
 and him ſelf plain creaking out of this Realm. But  
 before I ſhall deliver this aforeſaid Sentence definitive  
 of the Pope, to make the matter more plain to the  
 Reader, it ſhall not be amiſs, firſt to decipher and ripp up the

original of such occasions, as shall induce the Reader to the better understanding of this falling out between the King and the Pope.

For so I find by the Letters of Dr. Stephen Gardiner written to Cardinal Wolsey from Rome, (at what time he and Fox were sent Embassadors by the King to Pope Clement the Seventh, about the expedition of the Kings Divorce, *An. 1532.*) that the said Pope Clement with the counsel of the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* and other Cardinals, at first was well willing and very inclinable to the accomplishment and satisfaction of the Kings desire in that behalf, and that for divers reasons

As first, for the great benefits received, and the singular devotion of the King toward the See Apostolic in taking War for the Churches cause, in three times War at the Popes desire, and especially in procuring the Popes deliverance; whereby the Pope then thought himself with his whole See much obliged to the King in all respects, to pass by his Authority whatsoever reasonably might be granted in gratifying the Kings

\* This Book, called the Kings

Thirdly, for the good opinion and confidence of the Pope had in the excellent Wisdom, profound Learning, and mature Judgment of the King, which the Poet (as he said in formal words) would sooner lean upon than unto any other Learned mans mind or Ientence, that the Kings Reasons, he said, must needs be of great efficacy and strength of themselves to order and direct this empire.

The fourth cause moving the Pope to favour the Kings Request, was, for the quiet and tranquillity of his Conscience, which otherwise in that unlawful Marriage with his Brethrens Wife could not be settled.

The fifth cause was for the consideration of the peace and dangers, which otherwise might happen to the Realm by the pretended Titles of the King of Scots, either, without any Heir Male to establish the Kingdom, or for the avoiding of which perils, and

for the other causes above rehearsed, the Pope shewed himself at that time propense and forward to promote and set forward the Kings desired purpose in that behalf.

And thus much touching this by-matter I thought fit here to suggest and repeat to the Reader, albeit the matter is also sufficiently explicated before: to the end that the studious Reader pondering their first proceedings of the Pope, and comparing them with this Sentence diffinitive, and which under followeth, may be the better understanding what incontinent levity, what false dealing, what crafty packing, and what contrariety in it self is in this holy See of *Rome*, as by this cask of the Pope may well appear; who in short time, after all this, was so clean altered from that he was, that whereas before he pretended to effect to go gratefully the Kings Travel and Rejoice, withdrew to the See Apostolicke, in his defence

against the Emperor and the *Spaniards*, now he joy-  
eth utterly with the *Cesarjans* against the King. And  
where before he so greatly magnified the Kings profane  
Learning, and mature Judgment, esteeming his mind  
and sentence above all other Learned men, to be as  
Judge sufficient in the direction of this case; now turn-  
ing head to the rayl, he utterly refuseth to bring the  
matter in *judicium Orbis*, but will needs detain it

[illegible]

The Pope, how presumptuous he compelleth and commandeth Kings and Princes



## Anglici Matrimonii Sententia diffinitiva:

The most  
of the Popes  
Arms, and  
Sentence  
diffinitive  
against King  
Henry the  
Eighth.

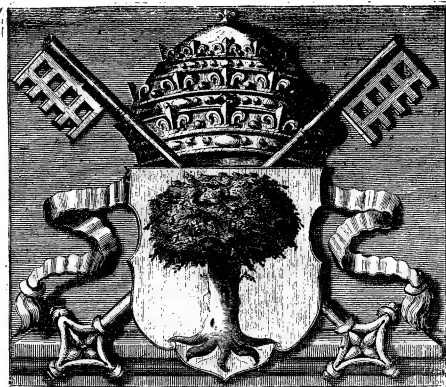
Lata per Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum D.Clementem Papam VII. in facro  
Constituto de Reverendissimorum, S.R.E. Cardinalium Consilio, super  
validitate Matrimonii inter Sanctissimum Henricum VIII. & Catharinam Anglie  
Reges contracti.

## P R O

Eadem Serenissima CATHARINA Anglie Regina.

## C O N T R A

Serenissimum HENRICUM VIII. Anglie Regem.



Clementis Papa VII.

Read the  
type of the  
Arms, and  
Sentence  
diffinitive  
against King  
Henry the  
Eighth.

**C**hristi Nomine invocato in Throno Justitie pro  
Tribunali sedentes, solum Deum per oculos ha-  
bentes, per hanc nostram diffinitivam sententiam  
quoniam de Reverendissimis Petrum nostrorum Sanctae Ro-  
m. Ecc. Car. Consistorialium eorum nobis Congregationum Con-  
silio & assensu ferimus in his Scriptis, pronunciamus, de-  
cernimus, & declaramus in causa & causis ad nos  
solum Apostolicum per appellationem, per appellationem in  
Christo filium Henricum VIII. Anglie Regem, & Catharinam  
nostram & solis Apostolicæ Legatis in Regno Anglie  
Deputatis, interpositam legitime devotam & advocatam,  
inter predictam Catharinam Regem, & Christum filium  
Henricum VIII. Anglie Regem, & Catharinam nostram  
super validitate & invaliditate Matrimonii inter eosdem  
Reges contracti & consummati, & obsequia alius in adhi-  
cenda causa & causarum hujusmodi latius deductis, & dilecto  
filio Paulo Capicchio causarum facti Palatii tunc De-  
cano, & propter ipsum Pauli officium venerabilis fratris  
nostri Jacobo Simonetæ Episcopo Viennensi. unius ex dictis  
Palatii causarum Auditoribus locum tenenti, audiendi,  
intitendi, & in Consistorio nostro secreto referendi  
commisimus, & per eos nobis, & eisdem Cardinalibus relatis,  
& maturè discussis, eorum nobis prudenter, & matu-  
rissime inter predictam Catharinam, & Henricum Anglie  
Regem contractum, & inde facta quæcumque fuisse & esse  
validum & Canonum validorum & Canonica, iuxtaque  
debitis debuisse & debere fieri effectum, pronunciamus ex-

Ita pronunciamus, I.

Lata fuit Roma in Palatio Apostolico  
publico in Consistorio die xxiii. Martii,  
M.D.XXXIV.

Blasius.

Tuo

## The effect in English.

**T**he effect of this Sentence is as much to mean in  
English, That Pope Clement the Seventh, with the  
other Brethren the Cardinals assembled  
together in the Consistory, sitting there in  
the Throne of (a) Justice, calling upon the  
Name (b) of Christ, and having God only  
before his (c) eyes, doth pronounce, define  
and declare in the cause, and cause of the  
right, and lawful Church  
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(100) That said seven a word.

And, that the said King Henry of England, if he shall  
refuse to perform and accomplish all and singular the  
promises, in all spiritual manner is to be condemned and  
compelled thereto by all remedies of (1) the Law, and  
enforced, according to the said King, from henceforth for ever  
and to hold his peace, and not to be heard in any Court  
hereafter (g) to speak touching the invalidity of the  
said Matrimony: like as we also do here will and charge  
him to hold his peace, and do put him to perpetual silence  
herein; willing moreover and adjudging the said Henry  
to be condemned, and presently here we do condemn him  
in the expenses on the said Queen Katherine's behalf here  
in our Court, expended and employed in traversing the  
forejudged cause, the valuation of which expenses we re-  
solve to set fines to be limited and taxed, as we shall  
judge meet hereafter.

We do so pronounce, I.

At Rome in our Apostolical Palace  
publicly in our Consistory,  
23. Mart. M.D.XXXIV.

Blasius.

Now as you have heard the presumptuous and arrogant  
Sentence of Pope Clement, wherein he taketh upon him,  
contrary to the Ordinance of God in his Levitical  
Law (as is before shewed), and contrary to the best  
learned judgments of Christendom, to command and  
compel the King, against his Conscience, to retain in  
Matrimony his Brothers Wife; here followeth in like  
order to be inferred, according to my promise, another  
wicked, blasphemous and lawless Bull of Pope  
Leo against Martin Luther, with the just Appellation  
also of the said Martin Luther from the Pope to a general  
Council. Wherein may appear to all men the lying  
spirit of the Popes, both in teaching most Heretical Do-  
ctrine, & in doing, & in doing, & in doing, & in doing,  
fully depraving and perverting the found Doctrine of  
Luther, fairly and untruly charging him with Heresie,  
when he is the greater Heretic himself. For what Her-  
etic would ever think that the Church of Rome was con-  
demned and sanctified by the Blood of Peter, but only the  
Pope? Or who would call this Heretic, to refer all our

filtration and sanctification only and totally to the Blood  
of the Son of God, unless he were an Heretic of all  
Heretics himself?

After the like dealing we read, 3 Reg. 18. of wicked  
King Achaz, who being only the dilator of (1) his him-  
self, cruelly cut upon Elias for troubling (2) Israel. So here in  
this dealing with Pope Leo, with what heaps of tragical  
words and exclamations doth he fire and rage against the  
true Servant of God, poor Luther, for disturbing the  
Church of God, when it is the Pope only and his Father  
House that troubleth; and long hath troubled the true  
Church of the Lord, as by his doings all the world may  
see enough and too much. In the mean time read, 1 to  
behold these, with judgment this impudent and false  
flattering Bull of the Pope, with the Appeal also of Luther  
again from the said Pope. The Copy whereof, because  
it is rare to be gotten, and hath not been hitherto com-  
monly felt, being before omitted, I thought to commit  
here to history, as I had it out of certain Registers, the  
manner and tenor whereof is this that followeth.

Leo Papa X.

**L**EO Episcopus servus servorum Dei ad perpetuam  
rei memoriam: Exange Domini & justitiam  
domini. Alon, cili appellationem certam qua ab in-  
finitis sunt tota die. Inclina aures tuas ad preces no-  
stras, quoniam surrexerunt vulgi quarentes demoli-  
rimum, cuius in torcular solus calcetis, & aspersum ad  
Patrem, ejus carum, regnum, et mundum. Petrus ad  
tuncquam capiti, et tu Petrus, ejusque successoris in  
sacris triumphans Ecclesie commisit, &c.

The said lawless and barbarous Bull of Pope Leo the  
Tenth, against Luther, in English, with the answer  
of Luther signed to the same.

**L**EO Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, for a  
perpetual memory: Rise up, O Lord, and judge  
thy cause; remember the rebukes wherewith we are  
formed all the day long of foolish Rebukers. Incline  
thine ear unto our Prayers; for Foxes are risen up,  
seeking to destroy thy Vineyard; the Vineyards wherof  
thou only hast trodden, and ascending up to thy Father  
hast committed the charge and regimen thereof unto  
Peter as chief Head, and to thy Vicar and his Successors.  
The wild Boar out of the wood seeketh to exterminate  
and root up the Vineyard. Rise up Peter, and for this  
thy Fatherly charge committed to thee from above, in  
tend to the cause of the holy Church of Rome, the Mo-  
ther of all Churches and of our Faith, which thou by  
the commandment of God didst consecrate with thine  
own Blood; against which (as thou hast foretold us) shall be  
laid bare his risen up, bringing in Sects of perditionary  
men, own speedy destruction. Whose Tongue is lifeful, full  
of unquietness, and replenished with deadly poison, the  
who having a wicked zeal, and noisifying contumacy  
in their hearts, do brag and lie against the Verity.

Rise up Paul also, we pray thee, which hath illumine  
the same Church with thy Doctrine and like Martyr-  
dom. For now is sprung up a new Perikory, who as the  
said Perikory then unjustly did under the holy Apostles  
fembly doth this man now lawless, evil, rebukable, and  
and bark against the holy Bishops our Predecessors, not  
in befreaking them, but in rebuking them. And where  
he disturbeth his cause, there he falseth, to reproach  
checks and rebukes, after the wonted use of Heretics,  
who utmost refuge is this (as Heron faith) that  
when they see their cause go to wreck, then like Serpents,  
they cast out the venom with their Tongues, and when  
they fee themselves near to be overcome, they fall to  
railing. For though Heretics (as thou hast) much more  
then should further increase, and these Foxes gather  
strength against us, it is needful that by thy means and  
help they be suppressed and extinguished at thy begin-  
ning

Finitus.



the publishing thereof, they do burn or cause to be burned the said errors, by their Ordinaries diligently being searched out, and solemnly presented in the sight of the whole Clergy and the People, under all and singular the penalties aforesaid.

Now as touching the said *Marin*, O good Lord, what have we left undone? what have we left unattended? what fatherly charity have we not shewed, whereby to have reduced him from these errors? For after that we did cite him, thinking to proceed with him more favourably, we invited and exhorted him as well by divers Tractations had with our Legates as by our own Letters, that he would relinquish the forefaid Errors, or else having free Conduct offered to him, with Money necessary for his journey, to come to us without any in Germany, fear or dread, which perfect charity ought to cause, and to offer the example of our Saviour, and his Apostle Saint Paul, he would speak, not in Corners and in secret, but openly to our Face. Which if he had done, of truth we think no less, but that reforming himself, he would have Recognized his Errors, neither should have found fault in many faults in the Court of Rome, which being disclosed with the Rumors of Malicious people, more than he ought, doth so much reprehend. Where we would have taught him to see more clearly than the light days, that the Holy Fathers of Rome our Predecessors (whom thus we have without all modesty most injuriously doth rail upon) did never err in their Canons and Constitutions (which he so much depraveth). For as faith the Prophet, *Neither is there Rokin or Physician lacking in Galad*. But he hath always shewed himself disobedient, and refused at our citation to appear, and yet to this present day continuing still in his stubborn Mind and Heart indurate, hath remained now more than a year under our Curse; yea moreover, adding mischief to mischief, (which is worst of all) if he hearing of this our Citation, burst out into some furious Appellation from us, unto the next General Council, against the Constitution both of Pope Pius the second, and Pope Julius the second, our Predecessors, which he decreed, that all they which do it shall be punished as Heretics.

In vain also he feigneth Refuge to the General Council, which profiteth himself not to regard such Councils. So that now we might lawfully proceed against him, as against one notoriously suspected of his Faith, yea a very Heretic indeed, without any further Citation or delay, to the Condemnation of him, as of an Heretic, and to the severity of all and singular pains and censures afore written. Yet we notwithstanding by the Council of our Brethren abroad, following the Clemency of Almighty God, which will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live, and forgetting all injuries hereunto done unto us and to the See *Apostolicus*, have thought good to use all favourable means towards him that we might, and so to work, (as much as in us lieth) that he, by this way of manifestations, might be brought to reformation, so that he, forsaking his former Errors might be received as the lost Child, and return again into the lap of his Mother the Church.

Wherefore in most hearty way we exhort and beseech the said *Marin* and all his Adherents, Receivers and Followers, by the Bowels of the Mercy of our God, and by the sprinkling of the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom, and by whom is made the Redemption of Mankind, and the edification of his Holy Mother Church, that they will cease to disturb the Peace, Unity and Verity of the said Church; for the which our Saviour so infinitely prayed to his Father, and that they will abstain from such Pernicious Errors aforesaid, who in so doing shall find with us (if they shall obey, or shall certify us by lawful witnesses to have obeyed effectually herein) the affection of fatherly charity, and a full fountain opened of all mercy and clemency; willing and clanging the said *Marin* notwithstanding from henceforth, that he utterly cease in the mean time from all preaching and office of preaching, Or else if the love of Justice and Verity shall not refrain the said *Marin* from Sin, neither the hope of our Pardon shall reduce and bring him to Repentance, to the intent that the terror of punishment and of discipline may bridle him; we require and admonish

with the said *Marin* and his Adherents, Abettors, Followers, the Bishops, and Receivers, by the tenor hereof, in the Verity of Holy Obedience, and under incurring all the penalties aforesaid, difficulty charging and commanding that within forty days (whereof twenty we assign for the first ten for the second, and the other ten for the third and peremptory term) immediately following after the setting up of these present Letters, the said *Marin*, his Abettors, Followers, Adherents, and Receivers aforesaid, do forsake from the forefaid Errors, and from the preachings, publishing, maintaining, and defending of the same, also from setting out of Book or Scriptures upon the said Errors, or any of them; and furthermore, that they burn or cause to be burned all and singular such Books and Scriptures as contain the forefaid Errors, or any of them, by any manner of way.

Also that the said *Marin* do utterly revoke those Errors and Affections, and so certify us of the revoking thereof by publick Testimony, in due form of Law, by signed by the Hands of two Prelates, the said Pope, within the term of other like forty days or else to be offered, brought by him unto us, if he himself will come (which will please us much rather) with a full safe conduct above mentioned, which from henceforth we are content to offer unto him, to the intent that no scruple of doubt, touching his true Obedience follow hereafter remain.

Contrariwise, if the said *Marin* (which God defend) his Abettors, Followers, Adherents, and Maintainers aforesaid, shall otherwise do, or shall not fulfil, to every effect and purpose, all and singular the premises within the term aforesaid, we then following the Doctrine of the Apostles, which teacheth us to void an Heretical person after the first and second correction, as well now as before, and as well before as now declaring by our Authority the said *Marin*, his Abettors, Followers, Adherents, Maintainers, and Receivers, as well as Branches not remaining in Christ, but teaching and preaching contrary Doctrine, repugnant to the Catholic Faith, flagrant and damnable, to the great offence of Gods Majesty, to the detriment and slander of the Universal Church and Catholic Faith, and despoiling the Keys of the Church, to be, and to have been notorious and obstinate Heretics, do condemn the same for such by the tenor hereof, willing and commanding them to be holden and taken for such of all Christian people aforesaid.

Over and besides, we forbid, under the incurring of all and singular the penalties afore expressed in so doing, that any man presume by any manner of way, directly or indirectly, secretly or expressly, priuily or openly, to read, hold, preach, praise, print, publish or defend, to write by themselves or by any other, the said Books and Writings, not only those wherein the Errors aforesaid are contained, but also all others whatsoever have been or shall be set forth, written or made by the said *Marin*, vehemently suspected as a pernicious enemy of the Catholic Faith, to the intent that his memory may utterly be rooted out from the fellowship of all Christian people, or rather with fire to consume them, as is before declared.

We admonish moreover all and singular Christians faithful people, under the said pain of the Great Curse, to avoid or cause to be avoided, so much as in them doth lieth, the forefaid Heretics, not to obey to our commandment, and to have no Fellowship nor any Conversation or Communion with them, or with any of them, neither to Minister to them things Necessary.

And moreover to the more confirmation of the said *Marin*, with his Abettors, Adherents, and Receivers aforesaid, thus being declared and condemned as Heretics, after the expiring of the term aforesaid, we command all and singular Christian faithful people both Men and Women, as Patriarchs, Archbishops, Prelates of Churches, either Patriarchal, Metropolitan, or other Cathedral, Collegiate, and other inferior Churches; to Deans and Chapters, and other Ecclesiastical Persons Secular, and of all other Orders, even of the begging Friars also, namely of that Congregation, where the said *Marin* professeth or hath his Abode; also Regular, exempt, not exempt; *Item*, all and singular Princes, what

what Dignity or Calling sever, either Ecclesiastical or Temporal, they be or to; Kings, Princes Electors, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Barons, Captains, Conductors, Servitors, Communalties, Universities, Dominions, Cities, Lands, Castles, and Places, or the Citizens and Inhabitants thereof; and briefly, to all and singular other aforesaid, through the Universal World dispersed, specially in *Almayn*, that they, and every of them, under all and singular Penalties aforesaid, do personally apprehend the said *Marin*, his Abettors, Adherents, Receivers, and Followers, and retain them being apprehended, at our instance, and fend them unto us (who in so doing, for their good work, shall receive of us and the See Apostolicke condign reward ad recompence) or at least, that they utterly drive them and every one of them out of their Metropolitan, Cathedral, Collegiate, and other Churches, Houses, Monasteries, Convents, Cities, Dominions, Universities, Communalties, Castles, Lands, and places respectively, as well the Clergy-men, as the Regular and Lay-men, all and singular aforesaid.

These Cities, Dominions, Lands, Castles, Villages, Communalties, Houses, Towns, and places, whatsoever they be, to be justly respectively, Metropolitan, Cathedral, Collegiate, and other Churches, Monasteries, Priories, Convents, and religious and devout places, or what Order sever (as is aforesaid) unto the which it shall please the said *Marin* to come, so long he or they shall there remain, and three days after their departing from thence, we here give over to the Ecclesiastical Interdiction.

And that the Premises may be known to all men, we command moreover all Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Prelates of the Patriarch, Metropolitan, and other Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, to Deans and Chapters, and other persons Ecclesiastical, and of what Order else sever aforesaid, to Regular Brethren, Religious Monks, exempt and not exempt aforesaid, whatsoever they dwell, and equally with all the Clergy, and that they and every of them, under like Censure and Pains, do publicly denounce, and cause and command to be denounced of others, the said *Marin*, with all and singular his forefaid Adherents, which shall not obey our Commandments and Monitions, within the term aforesaid, upon every Sunday, and other Festival days, within their Churches, when as the greatest concourse of people shall resort to Divine Service, to be declared and condemned for Heretics; and that all Christs faithful People shall avoid them under the said Censures and Penalties as he afore expressed, and that they do so by their Prebents, or cause to be set up, or the Transcript of them made under the form hereafter ensuving their Churches, Monasteries, Houses, Convents, and other places there openly to be seen and read.

*Item*, We do Excommunicate and Curs all and singular persons, of whatsoever state, degree, condition, preeminence, dignity, or excellency they be, which shall procure, or cause to be procured, by themselves or other, priuily or openly, directly or indirectly, secretly or expressly, whereby these Prebents, or the Copies thereof, or the examples of them cannot be read, set up, or published in their Lands and Dominions.

Let no man therefore be so bold to dare to infringe, or with rash presumption to contrary this Writing of our Damnation, Reprobation, Rejection, Decree, Declaration, Vexatious Inhibition, Excommunication, Excommunication, Befeeching, Request, Admonition, Affligation, Grant, Condemnation, Subjection, Excommunication and Curse. And if any person and persons dare presume to attempt the same, let him know and be sure that he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.

Given at Rome 31. St. Peters, Anno 1520. 17. Calend. Julii. And of our Popedom the eighth year.

Although it was somewhat long before this Bull aforesaid of Pope Leo, being first and dispersed through all other places abroad, could come to the hands of Luther, yet so soon as he by means of his Friends might get a sight thereof, he shapd again an Answer to the same;

in such sort, as I am sure the Pope himself will say that this Bull was never so baited, and so well-favourably the Pope shaken in all his days, as by the handling of the matter, and reading of his Answer, may evidently appear. The Contents and Copy of which Answer I thought here, more after the said Bull, immediately to exhibit to the Christian Reader, that who is disposed to censure the one with the others, having them both at hand, may also may see the true image of the Pope, out of his painted visage, appear in his own terrible colour. The Answer now to the Bull here followeth.

## J E S U S.

Martin Luther Christianus Lectur, gratiam Christi in salutem eternam.

*E*lam pervenit ad me, Christiane Lectur, exiit Bulla thesauri. *E*lam quandam adhortum me, peni incommen terram, in the Popes priusquam iam, in quoniam uult fieri, et cum maxime Bulla Lat. *erat inferenda, quoniam*. *E*rat quidam quod tenore de re, *non saltem filia, itine lucum uultus mei*. *Hanc tamen* *et* *etiam notandum, vix tandem multum aduocantibus am-* *in imagine sua, datum est videtur, &c.* *Quo sequen-* *ter vide-* *persone ob-* *lectio, p-* *1520.*

Here followeth the same Answer of Martin Luther against the execrable Bull of Pope Leo to English.

*M*artin Luther to the Christian Reader, witheth The Copy of the Grace of Christ to eternal Salvation. I heard the Copy of a fame afoff (Christian Reader) that a certain Bull the Bull was put out against me, and sent almost over all the of Pope Leo. What before it came to me, against whom it was specially directed, and to whom it most chiefly appertained. For what cause I cannot tell, except peradventure it was for that the said Bull, like unto a night Crow, and as a Bird of darkness hatched in the night, and dark not see in the day, nor abide to come in my sight. Notwithstanding the said night Fowl after long time, by help of Friends, was caught at length, and brought unto me in his own likeness to behold. Which caught me yet to be uncertain what to think, whether my Papists do lie and jest with me, in setting out such famous Libels without any name, against me; or whether in truth and earnest they play the mad me to against me at Rome, or no. For first, neither do I see here the Salus as it is called) nor the Process of the Court of Rome observed. And again (which maketh me more to doubt) herein be brought and condemned such Articles, which it is plain and manifest to be most Christian: whereby it seemeth to me most like, the said Monster to be hatched by John Eckius, a man wholly compact and framed altogether of lies, diffamations, errors, and heresies.

The said *falsipia* this also partly confirmeth, for that *Ecclus* *Apelle*, I hear it so bruited abroad, that the said *Ecclus* is thought and said to be the Apostle of such a goodly Bull. And not unlike, when none could be more meet: Apelle for such a Papist than he. And indeed I have known long since, that a Bull was in working against me at Rome, partly by the workmanship of Eckius; which became (as the title and compilation thereof declareth) it displeaseth the good and learned men there) was therefore deferred) and should have been suppressed.

But whatsoever the matter be, it seemeth to me not unlike, wherefore this Apostle *Ecclus* beareth rule, to be the Kingdom of Antichrist, and all kind of madness there to reign. In the mean time I will so do, that I will not need to believe Pope Leo the Tenth, with his learned Cardinals, to be the Authors of this famous madness: Which I do not so much for the honour of the See of Rome, as because I will not be put up too much with pride, and seem to my self as one worthy to suffer such, to great, and so glorious things for the Verity of God. For it was so indeed, that the Bishop of Rome did so furiously rage against me, who were then so happy before God as Luther, to be condemned for so manifest a Truth of such a proud Prelate? Wherein what were more to be wished for of me, than that I should never be absolved, reconciled, nor have any part with that do doleful and unlearned, wicked and furious Anti-christ?



Books also of mine ought to be burned, in the which are no Errors contained, to the end that the memory of me may be utterly rooted out.

Cant thou, O Christian Reader, now doubt that the great Dragon of Hell himself speaketh in this Bull? It is an old Proverb, *That the first speech therefore evil forewarneth, because he taketh his note too high.* So this Bull in like manner should have piped more tuneable, if he had not fet out his blasphemous trash so open against Heaven, so impudently and devilishly condemning also the manifest and evident truth. For hisbert Satan, whenever he oppressed the truth, it under the colour of truth; but this Man of Sin, the Adversary which is extolled above God, without all colour, not privately but openly, and that in the open Church of God, without all shame upon him to condemn, and commandeth to be burned the fierce verity of Christ, known and allowed both of him and of all others. What could be more done amongst the Turks? what place is this worthy of, I pray thee, but the deep dungeon of Hell? And are ye not afraid, ye Antichrists, with your brutish Bulls, lead Stones and Trees should feast with blood, at the most horrible sight of this your execrable impity and blasphemy?

Where art thou now, good Emperor Charles? Where are ye Christian Kings and Princes? Ye have given your names to Christ in Baptism, and can ye now slide these Infernal Voices of such an Antichrist? Where be ye Bishops, Where be ye Doctors, Where be all ye that confess Christ? Can ye hold your peace at these horrible and prodigious Monsters of the Papists? O miserable Church of God, which art made now to great a form, and a very mocking stock of Satan! O miserable are all they which live in these times! The wrath of God is finally come upon the Papists, Enemies to the Cross of Christ and Verity of God, railing all men and forbidding the truth of Christ to be taught and preached, as S. Paul said of the Jews, *Admin. I pray you, I was such a one indeed, at that cursed and malicious Bull doth make me to be, an Heretic, croneous, schismatic, offensive, scandalous, in certain of my Books; yet why should the other Books of mine be condemned which are Catholic, Christian, true, edifying and profitable?* Where have these wretched Papists learned this Religion, that, for the persons cause being evil, they should damn and burn the holy and found Verity of God? Can ye not destroy men, but you must also destroy the truth? Will ye place up the good Whatcill also with the Cuckoo? Will ye also fetter the Corn away together with the chaff of the Lawless Chaff? And why then receive ye *Origin* in his Catholic Books, and do not utterly reject him altogether? Yes, why suffer ye wicked *Ausale* (in whom is nothing taught but Errors) and do not at least some part condemn him? Why are ye not set on fire the wicked, barbarous, unlearned, and heretical Decretals of the Pope? Why do ye not all this I say? but only for that ye are set in this holy place for other cause, but only to be the abomination spoken of in *Daniel*, which should put down truth, and for lie, and the operation of error. For this thing, and none other, becometh the Seat of Antichrist.

Wherefore this I say to thee (Pope Leo, the Tenth, and to you Lord Cardinals, and all other whosoever in any part or doing in that Court of Rome) and this I speak boldly unto your faces, if this Bull hath come out in your name, and by your knowledge, and if you will so acknowledge it for your own, then will I likewise use my power, by the which I am made in my baptism the Son of God, and Cohor with Christ, being founded upon a sure Rock, which neither feareth the gates of Hell, nor Heaven, nor Earth, and say, *monstrum et impium Christi, deo recunt your Seat, polluted and oppressed of Satan himself, to be the damned Seat of Antichrist, which we not only do not obey, and will not be subject, nor congregate unto, but also do detest and abhor the same, as the principal and chiefest*

Enemy of Christ, being ready in this our Sentence and Profession, not being gladly your fond foolish Centurs, but also do pray you heartily that you will never afford us again, nor ever number us in your Fellowship; and moreover, to fulfil your bloody tyranny, we do willingly offer our selves to dye for the same. And according to the power and might, that the Spirit of Christ and efficacy of our Faith can do in these our Writings, if ye shall permit it fill in your fury, we condemn you, and together with this Bull, and all the Decretals, we give you to Satan, to the destruction of the Flesh, that your Spirit in the day of our Lord may be delivered, in the Name which you persecute, of Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

For our Lord Jesus Christ yet liveth and reigneth (in whom I do nothing doubt) who I firmly trust will shortly come and slay with the Spirit of his Mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming, this Man of destruction, and Son of Perdition; forasmuch as I cannot de-vise him, if the Pope be the Author and Doer of these misdeeds and monstrous doings, but he is the true, plain, most wicked, and that famous Antichrist, that subverteth the whole World by the operation of his delusions, as we see it in all places fulfilled and accomplished.

But whether doth the burning zeal of Charity carry me? neither am I as yet fully persuaded that to be the Popes Bull, but to proceed from his wicked Apostle E. *hahin*, who with his Fators, furiously gaped at me like a Wolf, would swallow me clean up, singing with the wicked thus, *Let us swallow him up quick and whole like Pro. 11. Hell, and like an overflowing den into the Pit.* For little careth this furious Malwhay how the verity of God be extinguished, (ye, he would count that for a lure) so he might fill his malicious desire with the blood of his Brother. O miserable state of the Church at this time, worthy to be bewailed with tears of blood! But who heareth our groanings, who comforteth our weepings? The fury of the Lord seemeth to be insupportable against us.

Over and besides, what a ridiculous toy or pretty figment have they invented, whereby belike to sport themselves with some merry matter amongst their earnest business, writing, That besides the friendship which they have shewed unto me, they have also offered to support me with money, and to bear my charges with their liberality, in my journey to Rome. Will ye see what a charity is newly come unto the City of Rome, which after it hath pillaged and spoiled the whole World of their money, and hath consumed and wasted the same by its intolerable tyranny, now cometh, and to me only offers to support me? But this impudent I know with whom I hammer it was coined: *Cajetanus* the Cardinal, a man born and bred to lie for the Whorehouse, after his worshipful Legacy descended in Germany, coming home to Rome, there forged and forged that he promised me money, whereas he being at *Auspurge*, was there in such miserable penury, and so pinching in his house, that it was thought he would have famished his Family. But it is somewhat beneath the Bull to be over Bull, that is, a thing of nought, void of all truth and wit.

And to these great Judges and Condemners, after all this, yet have Authority to command us to believe them to say truth, that they do nothing but lie, and that they are good Catholics, when they be stark Heretics; and that they are true Christians, when they play the very Antichrist; and all by the virtue of this Universe, by the virtue of this Antichrist, *Quodcumque ligaveris, &c. I will never bind thee, &c.* So that where nothing is excepted, they say what they may do all things. Who not only do ye not mock loudly and manifestly, but also (which is almost impudent) do vaunt and commend their liberality before the people, to bring me more in hatred, making men fall to believe that they offered friendship and money unto me: Whereas these Tyrants of Rome, if they had had any truth, goodness, or godliness in them, should have taken some better heed in their doing and speaking, so that no Adversary might conceive any suspicion of evil against them. But now if there were no other matter else to bring this Bull out of credit, only this gross and foolish lie were sufficient to declare how light, vain, and false this Bull is? What? would Rome

(think ye) offer money to me? And how then cometh this (which I know to be most certain) that out of the Bank (as they call it) two or three hundred Crowns were assigned in Germany to be dispensed and given to Ruffians and Catpolicies, to murder Luther? For these reigneth, and triumpheth the holy Apostolic See, the Mistress of Faith, and Mother of all Churches, which long since should have been proved to be the very fane of Antichrist, and manifold ways Heretical, if he had fought with the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, whereof she herself is nothing ignorant, and therefore because she would not be brought to that issue, thus she fareth and taken on like as she were mad in the Church of Christ, confounding and confounding all things, with wars, murders, bloodshed, death, and destruction, and yet for all this they must needs be counted most holy Fathers in God, Vicars of Christ, and Pastors of his Flock.

But go to (that I may also daily with them a while) let them yet fend me the money they speak of; for as touching their promise and late cometh (because I will not overcharge them) that I gladly resign to them again, being I have no great need thereof, so that the money may come to my hands. But here I must require so much as may suffice me, to wit, that I may be furnished with fifty thousand Footmen, and ten thousand Horsemen to come with me to Rome, and so, for any other promise of false cometh I will not trouble them. And this I require because of the danger that is in Rome, which doth devour her Inhabitants, neither keepeth, nor ever doth keep promise with any; where these most holy Fathers do lay their beloved Children in the Church and Brethren do deliver their Brethren, to do service to Christ, as their manner is, and title of Rome, in the mean time I will keep my self free and bare from the ciation of this most reverend Bull. O ye miserable Varlets, which are so confounded with the truth and with your own Conscience, that neither ye can be honestly neither dare ye speak the truth, and yet neither can ye keep your selves quiet, to your perpetual ignominy and confusion.

Furthermore, here in this Bull is brought in a strange fashion of file not heard of before. For where *Augustine* would have said, that he would not believe the Gospel, except he had been moved by the Authority of the Church, now cometh in this goodly Bull and maketh this Catholic Church to be a few revered Cardinals, his Brethren, and Priors of Regular Orders, Masters of Divinity, and Doctors of the Law out of whose council the Bull bounceth her self to be born and brought forth; blessed Bales, forsooth, of such an Universal Church, happy travel (no doubt) of this Catholic Church, never seen nor heard of before, and such as *Augustine* the valiant impugner of Schisms, if he did see it, would not doubt to call it the Synagogue of the Devil. See therefore the madness of these Papists: the Universal Church is a few Cardinals, Priors, and Doctors, fawcely perhaps twenty persons in all, when also it is possible enough, that never a one of them all is the Member of one Chapel or Altar. And whereas the Church is the Communion of Saints, that is, out of this Universal Church, all they then must needs be excluded, whosoever be not in the number of these twenty persons; and so whatsoever they hold men to think or judge by, and by the Universal Church must needs hold and believe the same, albeit they be Liars, Heretics, and Antichrists, thinking and judging nothing but that which is abominable.

Would there ever any man think such foolishness and madness to be in Rome? Is there any brain in such men's heads, think ye, or hearts in their bodies? *Augustine* speaketh of the Church dispersed thorow the whole World, confuting the Gospel with one consent. Neither would God that any Book else should be received with such content of the whole World as the holy Scripture. (In the said *Augustine* is his Confession afterwards) left by the receiving of other Books, Schisms may take occasion to rise, according as the wicked See of Rome hath long fought by her Decrees, and hath for a great part brought the name to pass already. But yet the Universal Church did never agree thereto. For in the East, West, and

South there have been Christians, which being content only with the Gospel, have not regarded how Rome hath gone about of a particular Church to make her self an Universal Church, and accuse other Churches as Schismatical, when as the hath cut off her self from the Universal Church, and driven in vain to draw the whole Universal Church to her, being the Mother and Fountain of all Schisms, and all by the means of this tyranny.

Let no man therefore ever think that this true Catholic Church should will believe or maintain those things which this detestable Bull here preacheth, when as neither which is the very true Church of Rome, in deed doth her self so think, neither taketh that by and by to be Catholic, whatsoever is known to proceed from the Church of Rome. For as I said, there is no Book which shall be called Catholic, hereafter, as neither hath been heretofore, besides only the holy Scripture. For the Church of Rome, it may suffice to glory her self to be a little parcel or piece of the Universal Church, and so let her vex her self only with her own Decrees.

Neither let any man think that to be the Bull of the Catholic Church, but rather to proceed out of the Court of Rome. For such wilfulness and Religion may well seem that Seat of Satan, which seeketh to be and to keep the possession of the whole Universal Church, and obtrudeth her foolish and wicked Bulls most arrogantly and vainly of the whole World, in the head of future Catholic Doctrine. Whole pride and presumption hath grown so far, that the trusting upon her own power, without all learning and holiness of life, proudly taketh upon her to prescribe Laws to all men for their doings and sayings, though for dominion only and lustiness of spirit, and were to be counted the House and Church of Christ, whereas by this means Satan alone the Prince of the World, or the Turk, might be counted the Church of Christ. Again, neither can the Monarchies of the Gentiles abide mightily Princes against ever them without wisdom and goodness. Furthermore, in the Church the Spiritual man only judgeth all things, and is judged of no man, and not the Pope alone, or the Court of Rome, unless they be Spiritual.

But against all this their rash presumption I boldly set the invincible Champion of the Church, *S. Paul*, who in *1 Cor. 14. faith*: *If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first man hold his peace. Here have ye plainly, that the Pope, or any other Elder whatsoever he be, ought to keep silence, if any thing be revealed to other in the Church that is inferior. I therefore upon his Authority, condemning the presumptuous proceeding of this swelling Bull, do confidently take upon me to defend the Articles, caring nothing for the bare condemnation of any person, yet of the Pope himself, with his whole Church, unless he shall inform me by his Scriptures. Whereof the first Article is this.*

#### The first Article.

*It is an heretical Sentence, and also common, to say, as *Ausale* doth, That Sacraments of the new Law are given to them which have no efficacy in themselves to the contrary.*

#### The Answer.

I acknowledge this Article to be mine, and I ask of you, good Masters Respectively, which make these Articles respectively, some to be Heretical, some erroneous, some slanderous, &c. whether respected this Article I pray you? To Heretic, to error, to slander and offence? Or whether respected you in condemning the same? To the holy Scripture? To the holy Fathers? To Faith? To the Church? To which of these I beseech, you tell me? Neither do I here put you to the labor of proving, but only require you to your own judgment what you think, that I may know wherein I lay amill. Will you that I should tell you (you foolish Infants and Noodies) whether this Article respecteth? I will. This Article hath two respects. Whereof the one respecteth the papists, the commanders here, amongst whom it respecteth, some to be Mules, some to be Horses, which have no understanding, and to be void of all sense, and yet not

withstanding they will needs condemn all things. Another respect it hath to the holy Scriptures, which, as *Romans* cap. fourteen, Whatsoever it is not of Faith, is Sin. Whereupon consequently it followeth, that the Sacraments of the new Law can give no grace to the unbelievers (forasmuch as the Sin of Infidelity is the great obstacle) but only to the believers. For only Faith putteth no obstacle; all other things be obstacles, although they put not the same obstacles which the Sophists understand, meaning only of the actual purpose of eternal Sin. I confess therefore this Article not only to be mine, but also to be the Article of the Catholic and Christian verily and the Bull which condemneth the same, to be twice Heretical, Impious and Blasphemous, with the Sin of Incredulity, foolishly and madly do hold that the obstacle is taken away, if a man cease from Sin. But these things I have discussed more at large in my Books, and will more discuss, if those prating Romish nits dare at any time prove their opinion and confute mine.

## The second Article.

To deny that Sin remaineth in a Child after his Baptism, it is as much as to tread down Christ and Paul together under foot.

## The Answer.

I would require of you to shew the cause why this Article is condemned, if they were not so blinded in their fantastical respects, that they are not able to perceive why they would have this Article condemned. And yet I marvel when as the condemners themselves cannot tell me, I hold therefore this Article by the *Apoll.* *Rom. 7.* I myself in my mind do serve the Law of God, and in my flesh the Law of Sin. Here the *Apoll.* confesseth plainly of himself, he serves in his flesh the Law of Sin, and in his Cor. 1. Christ is made to us of God our righteousness, our wisdom, sanctification and redemption. And how then doth he fantasitise them that be fancied already 2. unless he be as the *Apoll.* faith, He that is holy let him be holy still. To be fancied, is as much as to be purged from Sin. But what have these our respectivists to do with the *Apoll.* Paul, seeing they are the whole Universal Church, by whose Authority Paul either standeth or falleth, being but a member only, and a part of the Church? The Lord rebuke thee Satan, and these thy Satanical Papists.

## The third Article.

The original root of Sin, although no actual Sin do follow, begetteth the Soul departing out of the Body from entrance into Heaven.

## The Answer.

As touching this matter, I never defined any thing as Luther hitherto, but largely and probably I have disputed heretofore, neither yet to this day am I fully certain what it is dom with such a Soul. But our Papists, more blind than Buzards, are they are nothing able to perceive what cause this Article hath worthy to be condemned, yet dare they take upon them to pronounce that which the whole Universal Church is ignorant of. I yet notwithstanding concerning this foolish and fond condemnation afore said, do hold this Article probably to be true. For seeing this original root, which I speak of, is truly Sin, I have proved, *Rom. 7.* and *Gal. 5.* and seeing that Sin leteeth a man from entering into Heaven, as it is written, No polluted thing shall enter; I suppose therefore that Original Sin with-holds a man from entering into Heaven. Neither do I any thing at all esteem the fantastical dreams of men, whereby they extenuating Original Sin do call it openly the pain of Sin, and imperfections, vain against the manifest Scriptures, which call Sin, and such the same to be cured by Grace, which is the medicine of truth and of inward Sin.

## The fourth Article.

The imperfect charity of a man departing necessarily carrieth with it great fear, which of it self is enough to make the pain of Purgatory, and lettest the entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven.

## The Answer.

This followeth of the other going before; which in like manner I did not determinately affirm, although I probably do yet hold the same, as before a difficult penitiation after mine own arbitrement, even in defiance of the Bull, which is not able to bring forth any other probation but this: We are the highest powers in the Church, yet we are the Church it self, Ergo, we are the best learned, most holiest, full of the Holy Ghost, which cannot err, although we think like a filthy puddle to the whole World polluted with all kind of Sins, and drowned in ignorance. But all these reasons prove nothing with me; peradventure they may with them, which fear left if my Sentence should prevail, then Purgatory should be taken out of the Popes hands, and then Priests and Religious men, having lost their gainful Office of vexation (of releasing I would have said) of the dead, should be pinched by the Belles and brought to penury. It was time therefore for their greedy avarice here to awake and look about, and not to suffer their frivolous opinions, but yet very gainful, to be overcome with truth, and to be overthrown.

## The fifth Article.

Where they say penance consisteth of three parts, to wit confession, confession, and satisfaction, it is not found in holy Scriptures, nor in ancient, holy, and Christian Doctores.

## The Answer.

This Article, in what respect it is condemned, I do not right well perceive. For the respect thereof is to greedily covetousness, and therefore I know that the probation thereof hath the like respect, which is this; If this Article were true, then men would give nothing for satisfaction and indulgences, neither should we have any more wherewith to vex them with confessions, calves received, retricted or amplified for our gain, and so should we become beggars, and Gods Service should be diminished, in Vigils and Masses. But it is wicked that Gods Service should be diminished, therefore Luther is an Heretic. This consequence holds a *refutatio Bullae ad Papistas*, id est: From the Bull to the Papists and contrariwise.

I beseech thee by the Lord Jesus, whatsoever grave and learned Reader that read these things, that thou wilt pardon this my leinity, and, as may seem, my childishness. For thou seest how I have to do with such men as be twice Children, and yet do brag themselves to be peers and principal pillars of all men. I assure you I know it most certainly to be true, that there be many and great foolish men above us, which this so ridiculous and great foolish reason above us, which hath moved to the tears of many of my Books. Unlike I perceived with them I speak it the anger of God sharp and fire against us in bringing us under subjection of such effeminate Children, and such dogs of the Earth, and vile refuse of all other people of the whole World, it would make me to burst for very grief and sorrow.

My Sentence is and hath been this, that satisfaction, which the Keyes are able to dispense withal, leteeth not by the Law of God. For if it did, then could it not be dispensed withal by the Keyes. If these Bull-founders do charge me with any other thing besides in this Article, it would do nothing else but as they are wont to do. For what matter or marvel is it if Antichrist do lay?

The

## The sixth Article.

Contrition which is gotten by examining, remembering and detesting our Sins, whereby a man calleth to mind his years past in the sinfulness of his Soul, in pondering the greatness of his sins, the multitude and filthiness of his Sin, the joy of eternal bliss, and purgation of eternal Damnation; this contrition maketh an Hypocrite, yet rather a man to become a Sinner.

## The Answer.

O the incredible blindness and brutishness of these Romish Bulls. This Article is truly mine, and very Christian, which I will not suffer to be wretted from me, for all the Popes and Papists in the World. For till I repent by that Doctrine, that repentance is of no force, unless it be done in Faith and Charity, which thing they also teach themselves, but that they do neither know nor teach, neither what Faith nor Charity is. And therefore in condemning my Doctrine, they condemn also their own, foolishly repugning against themselves in their own contradiction. I say therefore that he which teacheth repentance in such wise and manner, that he hath not a greater regard to the promised mercy of God and Faith in the same, than to this shuffling and verbing of the mind, he teacheth the repentance of *Judas Iscariot*, he is a pestilent, a Devil to men, Sunland and Tormentor of Consciences. Read the Books of these Sophisters, where they write of Repentance, and thou shalt see there no mention made either of promise or Faith. For these men by parts of repentance they clear out, and only do vex men with their dead contritions. But heretofore we have and will heretofore treat more at large.

But what should I here stand upon every Article, seeing my Books be abroad, wherein I have given a reason of all sufficiently, as now would have done, if mine Adversaries also had brought to light their? For what foolishness is this, that they think to answer me with this one saying, that they count all my sayings as damned, whereas I did write to this only, that they should acknowledge their errors, and therefore they have long bewitched the people of God. Neither did I look that I should be condemned, which understanding and knowing the same right well, have justified those things, which they have condemned, but with sufficient Authority both of Scripture, and Reason. Neither looked I that they should tell me what they thought (for I knew all that well enough) but that which I fought of them, was to know whether they thought right therein or not. Here looked I to be taught, and behold, none of them all durst open put forth his head. Wherefore I see these Ales nothing to understand either in things that I say, or yet themselves. But they be such blind Buzards, that they perceive not what it is that I seek in my Books: for they dream that I have such an opinion of them, as though they had the truth of their life, when there is nothing that I less think to be true. For I, foreseeing that they had condemned all these things before, came forth and shewed my self as one not to be condemned, but as already condemned of them, to accuse their condemnation to be wicked, heretical, and blasphemous, and so openly to denounce them as Heretics and Erroneous, unless they should come better reason and ground of their doing and Doctrine; whereas they on the other side, like foolish Minstrels harping all on one string, have nothing else in their mouths, but we condemn that we have condemned, provoking a new kind of Logicke, the fancying by which I am the laying of Peter? Be always ready to render an account of that Faith and hope which is in you.

Wherefore seeing these ignorant Papists, being thus confounded do fly away from the face of the manifest verity, that they dare not once open their mouths in defence of themselves, or of their cause, and have blasphemed out with much ado this monstrous Bull of theirs; I being comforted with the flight of these mine adversaries, do account this their dauntless manner instead of full allowing and justifying of my cause, and so rebound against their own damnation upon their own heads.

For how could they more condemn themselves than whilst they (fearing to be found themselves culpable of Heresie) if they should be driven to give account of their Doctrine) do flie to this miserable and deperate refuge, willingly to shut their eyes, and stop their ears, and to say I will not, I damn thee, I hate thee not, I allow thee not? If I should have played any such mad part, how would they (I pray you) have triumphed against me? This dauntless fear declares what cowards they are.

Wherefore not to burden the Reader with any tedious prolixity of matter in prosecuting every Article, I here protect by these prefers, that I confess all their Articles here condemned by this miserable Bull, for pure, clear, and Catholic Doctrine, whereof I have sufficiently given which be account in my Books which be extant abroad. Furthermore, I will also affirm that the said Books being extant abroad shall be taken as a public accusation against these wicked Sophisters and seducers of the people of God; so that unless they shall give an account of damn, and coming out to a more honest countenance, they shall be taken as guilty of Errors, Heresies and Sacrileges, admonishing, deterring and the Lord exhorting all men to testify against Christ, that they will beware and take heed of their perilous Doctrine, and not to doubt, but that the true Antichrist reigneth by them in the World amongst us.

And if any shall condemn this my brotherly admonition, let him know that I am pure and clean from the Blood, and excused from the last judgment of Christ. For I have left nothing undone, which Christian Charity could bid me to do. Finally, if there be no other way whereby I may rid myself these babbling and trifling condemnations, the uttermost and last which I have I will give and bestow in the quarrel, that is, this Life and Blood of mine. For better were for me a thousand times to die, than to revoke the syllable of these Articles, which they have condemned. And now as they do curse and excommunicate me, and damn themselves, and I again likewise do curse and excommunicate them for the holy verity of God, Christ, which is the only judge of all judgements, and determine matter between us, whether of their two excommunications, his or mine, shall stand and prevail before him, Amen.

In Storying the life of Luther, before, it was declared how the said Luther in the beginning first being rejected of the Cardinal *Cristianus*, appealed from the Cardinal unto the Pope, when that would not serve, neither could any tolerable submission of Luther to the Pope be received, but that the Pope with his Cardinals, contrary to all Equity and Conscience, would needs proceed against him, and against the express truth of Gods Word, thinking by their meer Authority to bear down the verity as he had tied before to do, Luther following the justice of his cause was then compelled to appeal from the Pope to the next general Council, and so did, as be read elsewhere you may read: Which was two years before the Popes Bull against Luther came out. The tenor of which appellation, before omitted, I thought here to exhibit; whereby the Reader, considering the great change of Religion and state of the Church which since hath ensued, may also perceive the true original cause and occasion how it first began by what cause and degrees it after increased, what humility and submission first on Luther part was shewed, and again, what infolency, wrong and violence of the Popes part was declared. And further where Pope Leo, in his Bull above prehexed, seemeth to present certain conditions of favour, charity, and money offered to Luther in the beginning, how false and vain that is this present appeal may appear. The copy heretofore, as it was drawn by the public notary, and exhibited, is thus as in form here followeth.

The tenor and form of the Appeal of Martin Luther, from Pope Leo to the next General Council.

In nomine Domini, Amen. Anno a nostrateis christi millesimo quingentesimo octavo, die octavo mensis Januarii. Nos Martinus Lutherus, servus servorum dei, salutem in domino sempiternam. Penitus nos indignum esse, nos esse membra Christi, Petri et Domini nostri, Domini Leonis, et eiusdem Generalis Concilii.







KING  
Edward



# THE NINTH BOOK.

CONTAINING

*The Acts and things done in the Reign of King EDWARD the Sixth.*

**N**Ext after the death of King Henry succeeded King Edward his Son, being of the age of nine years. He began his reign the eight and twentieth day of January, and reigned six years and eight months, and eight days, and died, Anno 1553, the sixth day of July.

Of whose excellent vertues and singular graces wrought in him by the gift of God, although nothing can be said enough to his commendation, yet because the renowned fame of such a worthy Prince, shall not utterly pass our Story without some grateful remembrance, I thought in few words to touch some little portion of his praise taken out of the great heaps of matter, which might be inferred. For to stand upon all that might be said of him, it would be too long: and yet to say nothing, it were too much unkind. If Kings and Princes, which have wisely and virtuously governed, have found in all ages Writers to solemnize and celebrate their Acts and memory, such as never knew them, nor were subject unto them, how much then are we English men bound not to forget our duty to King Edward? a Prince although but tender in years, yet for his sage and mature ripeness in wit and all princely Ornaments, as I see but few to whom he may not be equal, so again I see not many to whom he may not justly be preferred.

And here to use the example of *Plutarch* in comparing Kings and Rulers, the Latins with the Greeks together, if I should seek with whom to match this noble King

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ing or read the Letany in English fe forth by the authority of King Henry the Eighth, and that no person should depart the Church in the time of reading the Scripture or the Letany, or during the time of any Sermon, without just and urgent cause.

Likewise that the people should spend the Holydays in hearing the Word of God, in private and publick Prayers, in acknowledging their offences unto God and amendment of the same, in reconciling themselves charitably to their Neighbours where dissention hath been, in often receiving the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, in visiting the poor and sick, and in all sober and godly conversation; and not in vanity, Idleness, or drunkenness, neither yet in any bodily labour, otherwise than in the time of Harvest, to save the Fruits of the Earth, if no time of Harvest, to save the Cattle should admit unto the receiving of the holy Communion any person who had maliciously and openly contended with his Neighbours, unless the same did first openly reconcile himself again, and renit all rancor and malice whatsoever.

Moreover it was ordained that every Dean, Archdeacon, Matter of Collegiate Churches or Hospitals, and Prebendaries (being Priests) should himself personally preach twice every year at least, in some such place where he had jurisdiction and living; and that they and all other Curates should teach the people, that no man of any private affection ought maliciously to violate any Ceremony in the Church, then not abrogated by the Kings authority; so likewise they ought not on the other any to use superstitiously or idolatrously, in attituding to them remission of sins, driving away of evil Spirits, and other such like dreams and fantasies of Men, or else in putting any confidence of salvation or health in them. And further that they should utterly take away and destroy all Shelves and Monuments of filied Miracles, as well, Pilgrimages, and other Idolatrous superstitions, in all their Churches, as within their private Houses.

Also that they should be provided within their Churches a fong and a Chet for the free keeping of the peoples benevolence given towards the relief of the poor, and that the said Curates should earnestly exhort and move their Parishioners (especially at the making of their Testaments) that as they had been theretofore willing to be moved from their substance upon vain, superstitious and blind devotions contrary to Gods Word, so now they should be much more ready to give some Portion thereof to unto their poor and needy Brethren, knowing the same to be not only commanded in the Word of God, but also promised to be rewarded. And for the better relief of the Poor, it was also appointed that all money and profits rising upon Fraternities, Guilds, Stocks, or Churches, or given to the making of Idolatrous Lights, should be converted for that present unto the same use. Last of all, for the want of Learned Curates and other good Preachers, it was enjoined that the Curates (having no Sermon) should every Sunday read unto the people in their Churches one of the Homilies which should be forth for the same purpose by the Kings authority; and that when any Homily or Sermon should be preached or read, then the Prime and Hours should be omitted.

There were also divers other Articles in the same Injunctions appointed for Convents and due order in the Churches as for reading of Chants, and Priests Homilies for keeping of a Register Book of Weddings, Christnings and Burials, for reading of the Injunctions every quarter, for due paying of Tithes, for Inhabitations of every alteration of Service in the Church, or Fastings days, for Symony in buying and selling of Benefices, for the charitable using of Priests, for praying only upon the English and Latin Printers set forth by King Henry the Eighth, for the teaching of his Grammar in the common Schools, And lastly, that the Chantry Priests should teach young Children either to Write and Read or else some other good and profitable exercises; as it doth more fully and simply appear in the same Injunctions at large set forth in the 48th Page of the not Book of the Acts and Monuments of the Church herefore Imprinted.

Besides these general Injunctions for the whole Estate

of the Realm, there were also certain others particularly appointed for the Bishops only, which being directed unto the Commissioners were likewise at their Visitations committed unto the said Bishops with charge to be invariably observed and kept upon pain of the Kings Majesties displeasure; the effect whereof is as in manner followeth.

First that they should, to the uttermost of their wit and understanding, live and cause all and every singular the Kings Injunctions theretofore given, or after to be given from time to time, and in through their Dioceses, fully, faithfully, and truly to be kept, observed, and accomplished; and that they should personally Preach within their Dioceses, every quarter of a year once at the least, that is to say, once in their Cathedral Churches, and thrice in other several places of their Dioceses, whereas they should find it most convenient and necessary, except they had a reasonable excuse to the contrary. Likewise, that they should not retain in their service or household any Chaplain, but such as were Learned, or able to Preach the Word of God, and thofe they should also cause to exercise the same.

Moreover, that they should give Orders to any person, but such as were learned in holy Scripture; neither should they deny them that were learned in the same, being of honest conversation and living. And lastly, that they should not at any time or place Preach or fe forth unto the people any Doctrine contrary or repugnant to the effect and intent contained and fe forth in the Kings Highness Homilies, neither yet should admit or give licence to any to Preach within their Dioceses, but to such as they should know (or at least assuredly trust) would do the same. And if at any time by hearing, or by report proved, they should perceive the contrary, they should then incontinent not only inhibit that person from offending, but also punish him and revoke their licence.

Now during the time that the Commissioners were occupied abroad in their Circuits about the speedy and diligent execution of these godly and zealous Orders and Decrees of the King and his Council, his Majesty (with the advice of the same) yet full desiring a further reformation as well in this case of Religion, as also in some others of his civil Government, appointed a Parliament of the three Estates of his Realm to be summoned against the fourth day of November, in the first year of his Reign, and the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred forty and seven, which continued unto the twenty fourth day of December then next following. In the which Session, forasmuch as his Highness minded the governance and order of his people to be in perfect unity and concord in all things, and especially in the true Faith and Religion of God, and theretofore also duly weighed the great danger that his loving Subjects were in for confuting the Gospel of Christ, through many and divers cruel Statutes made by sundry his Predecessors against the same, (which being still left in force might both cause the obstinate to contemn his Graces godly proceedings, and also the weak to be fearful of their Christianlike Profession) he there fore caused it among other things by the authority of the same Parliament to be enacted, That all Acts of Parliament and Statutes, touching, mentioning, or in any wise concerning Religion or opinions, that is to say, as well the Statute made in the first year of the Reign of King Richard the Second, and the Statute made in the second year of the Reign of King Henry the Fifth, and the Statute made in the first and second year of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, concerning punishment and reformation of Heretics and Lollards, and every provision therein contained, and the Statutes made for the abolishment of diversity of opinions in certain Articles concerning Christian Religion, commonly called the six Articles, made in the one and thirtieth year of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, and also the Statute made in the Parliament begun the sixteenth day of January in the third and thirtieth year of the Reign of the said King Henry the Eighth, and after Provoqued unto the one and twentieth day of January in the four and thirtieth year of his said Reign, touching, mentioning, or in any wise concerning Books of the Old and New Testament in English, and the printing, uttering, selling, giving, or delivering of Books or writings, and retaining of English books or writings, and reading, preaching, teaching, or expounding

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## Idolatry suppressed. Bonners Letter to the same purpose.

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the Scriptures, or in any wise touching, mentioning, or concerning any of the said matters; and also one other Statute made in the five and thirtieth year of the Reign of the said King Henry the Eighth, concerning the qualification of the Statute of the six Articles, and all and every matters of Religion, and all and every Branch, Article, Sentence, Matter, Pains, or Forfeitures contained, mentioned, or in any wise declared in any of the same Acts and Statutes, should from thenceforth be utterly repealed, made void, and of none effect.

By occasion whereof, as well all such his godly Subjects, as were then still abiding within the Realm, had free liberty publicly to profess the Gospel; as also many learned and zealous Preachers, before banished, were now both licensed freely to return home again, and also encouraged boldly and faithfully to travel in their Function and Calling, so that God was much glorified, and the people in many places greatly edified.

Moreover, in the same Session his Majesty with the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in the same Parliament assembled, throughly understanding by the judgment of the best Learned, that it was more agreeable unto the first Institution of the Sacrament of the most precious Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, and also more conformable to the common use and practice both of the Apostles, and of the Primitive Church, by the space of five hundred years and more after Christs Ascension, that the said holy Sacrament should be ministered unto all Christian people under both the kinds of Bread and Wine, than under the form of Bread only; and also that it was more agreeable unto the said first Institution of Christs, and the usage of the Apostles and Primitive Church, that the people being present should receive the same with the Priest, than that the Priest should receive it alone; did by their Authority moreover enact, that the said holy Sacrament should be from thenceforth commonly delivered and ministered unto the people, throughout the Churches of England, under both the kinds of Bread and Wine, except necessity otherwise required: and also that the Priest, that should minister the same, should at the least one day before exhort all persons which should be present, likewise to reform and prepare themselves to receive the same. And at the day past, after some godly Exhortation made by the Minister, wherein should be further exprest the benefit and comfort promised to them which worthily receive this holy Sacrament, and the danger and indignation of God threatened to them which presume to receive the same unworthily, to the end that every man might try and examine his own conscience before he should come therunto; the said Minister should not withhold a lawful cause deny the same to any person that would devoutly and humbly desire it: any Law, Statute, Ordinance, or Custom contrary thereto in any wise notwithstanding.

After which most godly content of the Parliament, the King being no less desirous to have the form of Administration of the Sacrament truly reduced to the right Rule of the Scriptures and first use of the Primitive Church, than he was to establish the same by the Authority of his own Regal Laws, appointed certain of the most grave and best learned Bishops, and other of his Realm, to assemble together at his Castle of Windsor, there to argue and treat upon this matter, and conclude upon and fe forth one perfect and uniform Order according to the rule and use aforesaid.

And in the mean time while that the Learned were thus occupied about their Conferences, the Lord Protector and the rest of the Kings Council, further remembling that that time of the year did then approach, wherein were practised many superstitious Abuses and blasphemous Ceremonies against the Glory of God, and truth of his Word (determining at the said abolishing thereof) directed their Letters unto the godly and reverend Father Thomas Cramer, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and Metropolitan of England, requiring him that upon the next thereof he should with every Bishop within his Province, forthwith to give in charge unto all the Curates of their Dioceses, That neither Candles should be more born upon Candlemas-day, neither yet Allies used in Lent, nor Palms upon Palm-Sunday.

the same.

the same.

the same.

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the same.

the same.

Whereupon the Archbishop, zealously favouring the good and Christian-like purpose of the King and his Council, did immediately in that behalf write unto all the rest of the Bishops of that Province, and amongst them unto Edmund Bonner then Bishop of London. Of whose rebellious and obstinate contumacy for that we have herebefore more to say, I thought not to find now long thereupon, but only by the way somewhat to note his true diffimulation and cloaked hypocisie, in that he outwardly at the first contented as well unto this, as also unto all other the Kings proceedings, but whether for fear or for any other subtil fetch I know not, howbeit most like it is, rather for one of them or both, than for any true love. And therefore receiving the Archbishops Letters, as one of them seeming to allow the contents thereof, he did presently write unto the Bishop of Westminster, and to others to whom he was appointed, requiring them to give such knowledge thereof in their Dioceses, as thereunto appertained; as more plainly appearing by thef his own Letters here inserted, which here do follow.

## A Letter miffive of Edmund Bonner, sent to the Bishop of Westminster, with the tenor of the Archbishops Letter for abolishing of Candles, Allies, Palms, and other Ceremonies.

My every good Lord, after most humble Commendations: Bonner. Let me first to advertise your good Lordship, That by my Lord of Canterburys Grace this present 26th day of August, 1548, I have sent unto me his Letters miffive, containing this Article in effect, That my Lord Prætor Grace, with the advice of other the Kings Majesties most honourable Council, for certain Considerations, hath moved, are fully resolved, that no Candles shall be born upon Candlemas-day, nor also from henceforth Allies or Palms used any longer: requiring me thereupon by his said Letters, to cause advertisement and knowledge thereof to be given unto your Lordship and other Bishops, with severity accordingly. In consideration whereof I do send to the present your Letters unto your said Lordship, that you thereupon may give knowledge and advertisement thereof within your Dioceses as appertained. Thus I commit your good Lordship to Almighty God, as well to fare as your good heart can help desire.

Written in halfe at my house in London, the fild twenty eighth day of January, 1548.

Your good Lordship to command,

Edmund Bonner.

Now about that present time credible and certain Report was made unto the Lords of the Council, that great contention and strife did daily arise among the common people in divers parts of this Realm, for the pulling down and taking away of such Images out of the Churches, and had been idolatrously abused by Pilgrimages, or otherwise (according to the voice of one of the Injunctions given by the King in his late Visitation) some affirming that that Image was abused, others that this, and mozt that neither of them both; so that if speedily remedy were not had therein, it might turn to further inconvenience. Wherefore they, by one advice thinking it best (of good experience) for avoiding of all discord and tumult, that all manner of Images should be clean taken out of all Churches, and none suffered to remain, did thereupon again write their Letters unto the Archbishop of Canterbury, requiring his ready Aid therein, in manner following.

## Another Letter of the Council sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the abolishing of Images.

After our right humble Commendations to your good Lordship: Where now of late in the Kings Majesties Visitation, among other godly injunctions commanded to be generally observed through all parts of this his Highnesses Realm,

the same.

the same.

the same.

the same.

the same.



**E**dmundus permissione Divina London. Episcopus per  
illiusgratum in Christo Principem & Dominum  
nostrum, Dominum Edwardum sextum, Dei gratia, Ang-  
lie, Francie, & Hibernie Regem, fidei Defensorem, &  
in terra Ecclesie Anglicane & Hibernice supremum cap-  
ut, sufficienter & legitime autorisat, Reverendo in  
Christo confratri nostro Domino Thomae eadem communi-  
tate Well Episcopo, salutem & fraternam in Domino chari-

**A**fter our most hearty Commendations unto your Lordships, *who in the Parliament late holden at Westminster, was amongst other things most godly established, that according to the right institution and use of the Primitive Church, the holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ should be distributed to the people under the kinds of Bread and Wine, according to the ancient and approved use of the Church, with the advice and consent of the Lord Protector, Graces, and the rest of the Council,* have the said Statute well executed in such sort, or like as is agreeable with the Word of God *[to the same may be said faithfully and reverently received of his most loving Subjects, to their comforts and wealths]* which caused *[judges of the said Majesty's Councils and Privy Council]* Frendly and lovingly to advise the said Sir, the Scrivener, to assemble themselves for this matter: who, after long conference together, have with deliberate advice finally agreed upon *[such an Order to be used in all places of the Kings Majesty's Dominions in the distribution of the said most holy Sacrament, as may appear to you by the Book thereof, which is now printed and is to be sold]* knowing your Lordships knowledge in the Scriptures, and earnest

Whereof the King and his Council having good Intelligence, and fearing the great inconveniences and dangers that might happen through this division, and being therein withall loth at the first to use any great severity towards his Subjects, but rather desirous by some quiet and good Order to bring them to some Conformity, did by the prudent advices again appoint the Archbishop of *Cambray*, with certain of the best learned and discreet Bishops, and other learned men, diligently to consider and ponder the premises: and thereupon, having as well an eye and respect unto the most sincere and pure Christian

next ensuing.

Whereupon the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of the said Parliament assembled, well and thoughtfully considering, as well the most godly travel of the Kings Highnesses, of the Lord Protector, and other of his Majesties Council, in gathering together the said Archbishopps, Bishops, and Ministers of the faithfull Churches, and also the Nobles, Knights, Barons, Esquires, Gentlemen, and Ceremonies in the said Book mentioned, with the confidenciation of altering those things which were altered, and retaining those things which were retained in the same Book: as also the Honour of God, and great quietnes, which by the Grace of God should ensue upon that one Rites, and exten Ceremonies to be used throughout England, Wales, Calice, and the Marches of the same, did first give unto his Highnes most lawfully and heary thanks for the same, and then mozt

A Parliament assembled the second year of King Edward.  
{ Ann. }  
{ 1548 }

Stat. An. 2  
3. Reg.  
Edw. 1.

Petition of  
the Lords  
and Com-  
mons In the  
Parliament  
to the King

### Privy hind ers of the Gospe

Division  
mongst the  
Priests a-  
bout the  
Kings pro-  
ceedings.

and diffembling, inwardness of many life inferior friends and Ministers of the Cathedral, and other Churches of this Realm, there did arise a marvelous Schisme and variety of fashions in celebrating the *Common Service* and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. For some, zealously following the Kings proceedings, did gladly follow the Order thereof; and others, though not so willingly admitting them, did yet diffemblingly and patchingly use some part of them; but many, carefully concerning all, would fill exercise their old wonted Popery.

**It**

Another Letter directed by the King, and his Council, to Bonner Bishop of London, partly rebuking him of negligence, partly charging him to see to the better setting out of the Service-Book within his Diocese.

**R**ight Reverend Father in God, Right trusty and wel-beloved, We greet you well, and welcome after great and serious labours, and long Conference of the Bishop and other grave and well learned men in the holy Scriptures, and uniform order for Common-Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments hath been, and is most godly set forth, not only by the common agreement and full effect of the Nobility and Commons of the late Session of the Parliament, but also by the like assent of the Bishops in the same Parliament, and of all the learned men of this our Realm in their Synods and Convocations Provincial: like as it was much to our comfort to understand the godly travail then diligently and willingly taken for the execution of things mentioned in the said Book, whereby the true Service and Honour of Almighty God, and thereby ministration of the Sacraments being well and sincerely set forth, according to the Scriptures and use of the Primitive Church, much Idolatry, vain Superstition, and great and flagrant Abuses be taken away: it is to no small occasion of forrow unto us, to understand by the complaints of many, that our said Book (so much travelled for, and also sincerely set forth (as is aforesaid) remained in many places of this our Realm, either not known at all, or not used, or at the least if it be used, very seldom, and in such little and irreverent sort, as the people in many places either have heard nothing, or if they hear, they neither understand, nor have that spiritual delectation in the same, that to good Christians appertaineth. The fault whereof, like as we must of reason impute to you and other of your Vocation, called by God, through our appointment, to due respect to this and such like matters, in considering that, by these and such like occasions, our loving Subjects remain yet still in their blindness, and superstition Errors, and in some places as in irreligious forgetfulness of God, whereby his wrath may be provoked upon us and them, and remembering withal, that amongst other Cures committed to our Principally Charge, we think that the greatest, to see the Glory and true Service of Him maintained and extolled, by whose Clemency we acknowledge our selves to have all that we have, we could not but by advice and consent of our dearer Uncle, Edward Duke of Somerset, Governor of our Person, and Protector of our Realm, Dominions and Subjects, and the rest of our Privy-Council, admonish you of the premises. Wherein, as it had been your Office to have used an earnest diligence, and to have preferred the same in all places within your Diocese, as the case required, in those we thought good to pray and require you, that from henceforth you have an earnest and special regard to the reduce of these things, so as the Curates may see their duties more often and more fervent for, and the people be more often and more devoutly to your self, your Chancellor, Archdeacons, and other inferior Ministers, to come with offer and more devotion to their said Common Prayers, to give thanks to God, and to be Partakers of the most holy Communion. Wherin shewing your self diligent, and giving good example by your own Person, you shall have full comfort, to impose the faults thereof, and of all that infants thereof, unto you, and consequently be occasioned thereby to see afterwards to the redress of these things, whereof we would be sorry. And therefore we do of this charge and command, upon your Allegiance to look well upon your duty herein, as ye tender our Pleasures.

Given under our Signet at our Manor of Richmond, the three and twentieth day of July, the third year of our said King, 1549.

The Bishop of London, amongst the rest of the Bishops, receiving these Letters, did (as always before) in outward show willingly accept the same, and therefore immediately with the said Letters directed this his Precept unto the Dean and Chapter of his Cathedral-Church of Pauls, commanding them to look to the due accomplishing thereof accordingly.

#### A Letter of Bonner, to the Dean and Chapter of Pauls.

**E**dmond by the Grace of God, &c. To my welbeloved Brethren the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral-Church of St. Paul in London, and to the other Ministers, Vicars, and Curates of your Jurisdiction, we send greeting. And where it is, that of late I have received the said Sovereign Lord the Kings Majesties Letters, of such tenor as is herewith annexed, and according to my most bounden duty am right well willing, and desiring that the said Letters should be in all Points duly executed and observed according to the tenor and purport of the same, as appertaineth: These therefore are to require, and also straitly to charge you and every of you on his Majesties behalf, &c. that you do admonish and command, or cause to be admonished and commanded, all and singular Parsons, Vicars, and Curates of your Jurisdiction, to observe and accomplish the same from time to time accordingly, furthermore requiring and likewise charging you, and every of you to make Certificate herein to me, my Chancellor or other my Officers in this behalf, with full convenient Certificates, appertaineth, both of your proceedings in the execution hereof, and also the Persons and Names of all such as have henceforth shall be found negligent in doing their duties in the premises, or any of them.

Given at my House at Fulkham, the 26th of July, in the year of our said King, 1549, and in the third year of our said Sovereign Lord the Kings Majesties Reign.

Moreover, forasmuch as the King at that instant hearing the muttering of certain Rebellion then stirring, (whereof he must be said the Lord willing hereafter) and also being credibly informed by divers, that through the evil example, flagellous of preaching and administering the Sacraments, and careless contempt of Bonner Bishop of London, not only many of the people within the City of London, and other places of his Diocese, were very negligent and forgetful of their duties to God, in frequenting the Divine-Service then established and set forth by the Authority of Parliament, but also that divers other, utterly despising the same, did in secret places of his Diocese often frequent the Popish Mass, and other foreign Rites not allowed by the Laws of this Realm, he thought it therefore good (having thereby just cause to suspect his former diffembling doubtless) to appoint the Lord Protector before them, and according to their wife and different Judgments to deal with him for the same.

Whereupon the eleventh day of August, Anno 1549, they sent a Messenger for him, and upon his appearance made full Declaration of such Informations and Complaints as had been heretofore made against him. And then, after sharp Admonitions and Reproofs for his evil Denominations in the premises, they delivered unto him five Denominations to be necessarily followed (Amendment) the King (for his better Reformation and Amendment) charged of himself. And whereas, in the first branch of the said Informations, he was personally assigned to preach at Pauls Cross the Sunday three weeks then next ensuing (because both the dangerous and seditious estate of the times, and also partly his own suspicious behaviour (as required) they further delivered unto him in writing five Articles to intertreat upon in his Sermon, as they thought then most meet and necessary for the time and causes aforesaid. All which Informations and Articles, for the further manifestation thereof, I have here inserted as followeth.

Certain

#### Certain private Injunctions and Articles given to Bonner by the Council.

**F**orasmuch as we are advertised, that amongst other disorders of our Subjects at this present, there be divers of our City of London, and other places, within your Diocese, which being very negligent and forgetful of their duty to Almighty God, of whom all good things are to be looked for, do assemble themselves very seldom, and fewer times than they were heretofore accustomed, unto common Prayer, and to the holy Communion, being now a time when it were more needful with heart and mind to pray to our heavenly Father for his aid and succour, in wherof as we be right sorry, so we do understand that through your evil example, and the lackness of your preaching and instructing of our said people to do their duties, the offence to God is most generally committed. For where heretofore upon principal Feasts, and such as were called Majesties duplex, yet your self were wont to execute in person, now since the time that we by the advice of our whole Parliament have set a most godly and devout order in our Church of England and Ireland, ye have very seldom or never executed upon such or other days, to wit, the anniversary of our proceedings, and evil example of others. And forasmuch as it is also brought to our knowledge, that divers as well in London, as in other places of your Diocese, do frequent and haue foreign Rites of Masses, and such as be not allowed by the orders of our Realm, and do consume the Sacrament to waste and lose God, and pray unto his Majesty after such Rites and Ceremonies, as in this Realm are approved and set out by our authority: and further, that adultery and fornication is maintained and kept openly and commonly in the said City of London and other places of your Diocese, whereby the wrath of God is provoked against our people, and in which things you being heretofore admonished, yet hitherto have made no redress, as to the pastoral office, authority and cure of a Bishop doth appertain: We therefore, to whom the supreme care and charge of this Church doth appertain, to avoid from the high indignation of Almighty God, by the advice of our most entirely beloved Uncle Lord Protector, and thereof of our Privy Council, have thought it no less than our most bounden duty, now at this present, and oftentimes peremptorily to admonish, charge, and warn you, that you do most faithfully look upon the premises, and set them so reformed that there may appear no negligence on your behalf, upon such pain as by our laws Ecclesiastical and Temporal we may inflict upon you, unto deprivation or otherwise, as shall seem to us for quality of the offence reasonable. And to the intent you should the better see to the reformation of the said abuses, we have thought good to give you these Injunctions following:

1. First ye shall preach at Pauls Cross in London, in proper person, the Sunday after the date hereof three Weeks, and in the same Sermon declare and set forth the Articles herewith annexed, and ye shall preach hereafter once every quarter of the year three, exhorting in your Sermon the people to obedience, prayer and godly living; and ye shall be present at every Sermon hereafter made at Pauls Cross, if sickness or some other reasonable cause do not let you.

2. Secondly, You your self in person shall from henceforth every day which heretofore was accounted in this Church of England a principal Feast, or Majesties duplex, and at all such times as the Bishops of London your predecessors were wont to celebrate and frequent the Communion at the high Altar in Pauls, for the better example of all other, except sickness do let.

3. Thirdly, Ye shall your self according to your duty and the office of a Bishop, call before you all such as do not come into and frequent the Common Prayer and Service in the Church, or do not come unto Gods board, and receive the Communion at the least once a year, or whosoever do frequent or go unto any other Rites or Services than is appointed by our Book, either of Masses, Evensong, or Masses in any Church, Chapel, or other private places within your Diocese, and ye shall see all such offenders

corrected before you and punished, according unto the Ecclesiastical laws, with severe and fruit punishment therfore. Likewise ye shall see one only order used in your Diocese, according to our said Book, and none other.

4. Fourthly, Ye shall both by your self and other Officers under you, search out and correct before you more diligently than heretofore ye have done, (as appertaineth to your office) all adulterers, and see the same punished according to the Ecclesiastical Laws; and the authority given you in that behalf.

5. We have heard also complaints, that the Church of Pauls and other Churches of London are of late more neglected, as well in reparation of the Glasse, as other buildings, and ornaments of the same, than they were heretofore wont, and that divers and many persons, in the City of malice deny the payment of their due Tithes to their Curates, whereby the Curates are both injured and made not so well able, and in manner discouraged to do their duties. The which thing also our will and commandment is, ye shall diligently look unto, and see redressed as appertaineth.

6. And forasmuch as all these complaints be made, as most done and committed in London, to the intent you may look more earnestly, better, and more diligently to the reformation of them, our pleasure is that you should see and keep reformed in your house there, as in the City, Sea oven house, and principal place of your Diocese, and nowhere else, for a certain time, until you shall be otherwise licensed by us.

And thus having brought Bishop Bonner home to his own house, there to leave him a while to take his ease in his own lodging, till we return to him again, we will in the mean time make a little intercourse into Cornwall and Devonshire, to discourse some part of the disordered and disloyal things of those men against their so meek and excellent a Prince, leaving our cause, matters and unto you; yet, having cause rather to yield praise and thanks to the Lord for such a quiet and peaceable Prince in his mercy given to them. But such is the condition of unquiet nations, that they cannot still of peace. And where due discretion lacking, these ill disposed persons cannot tell when they be well: again fame may be crooked and do perfectly given, as the more courteously they be intreated, the worse they are; and when by honest diligence they lit not to get their living, by public disturbance of Common-wealths they think to thrive. And so fanned it to fare with this seditious people of Cornwall and Devonshire, who having God good and virtuous a King, that if they should have fought him as Diogenes, they say, did seek for a man with a Candle, a meeker and better Sovereign they could not have found, a crueler they well deserved: yet were they not with him contented, but contrary to all order, reason, nature and loyalty, advanced themselves in a rebellious Conspiracy against him, and against his proceedings through the pernicious inflammation, first (as is frequently) of certain Popish Priests, who grudging and disdaining against the Injunctions and godly order of Reformation let forward by the King and specially mourning to see their old Popish Church of Rome to decay ceased not by all sinister and subtil means, first under Gods name and the Kings, and under colour of Religion to persuade the people, then to gather flocks, and to assemble in companies, to gather Companies, and at last to build a rank rebellion. Neither lacked there amongst the lay sort as meek as seditionously disposed as they to mischief and madness as well Gentlemen as others.

Of whom the chief Gentlemen Captains were, Humphrey Darnley Esquire, Governor of the Mount, James Rogge, John Rolfe, John Pein, Thomas Underhill, John Salmons, William Segar. Of Priests which were principal firs, and some of them Governors of the Camps, and after executed, there were to the number of eight, whose names were Robert Bechin, John Tompkins, Roger Piers, John Wilcock, William Ayle, James Marton, John Barrow, Richard Bener, besides a multitude of other Popish Priests, which to the fame faction was adjointed. The number of the whole Rebellion, speaking with the least, mounted to little less than ten thousand stout traitors.

THE

These hearing first of the commotions which began about the time late in other parts to broil, as in Oxfordshire, Yorkshire, and especially in Norfolk and Suffolk, began to take therein some courage, hoping that they should have well fortified the same with quarrel. But afterward perceiving how the malicious mutinies and enterprises of their confidence did suddenly fall, either being prevented by time, or redressed by power, or that their cause being but only about plucking down of enclosures, and enlarging of Commons divided from theirs, so that either they would not or could not join their together, then began they again to quail and their courage to abate. Notwithstanding, for so much as they had gone so far, that they thought there was no thinking back, they fell to new devices and inventions, for the better furtherance of their desperate purposes.

The City of Exeter sent to the King's most godly Answer.

The City of Exeter sent to the King's most godly Answer.

Their first intent was, after they had spoiled their own Country most miserably, to invade the City of Exeter, and to consequently all other parts of the Realm. But first for Exeter they gaped, the Gates whereof twice they burned, but gained nothing faving only Gunpowder, whereof they lacked no plenty. Being put from Exeter, they fell on spoiling and robbing, where or whenever they might catch, and at length joining their Traitorous heads together, they consulted upon certain Articles to be sent up. But herein fuch diversity of heads and wits was amongst them, that for every kind of Brain there wasone manner of Article: so that neither appeared any content in their diversity, nor yet any unanimity in their agreement. Some seemed more tolerable. Other altogether unreasonable. Some would have no justice. Some would have no state of Gentlemen. The Priests ever harped upon one string, to ring in the Bishop of Rome into England again, and to halloo home Cardinal Paul their Countryman.

After much ado, and little to the purpose, at last a few King's Articles were agreed upon, to be directed unto the King, with the names of certain feil therunto, the Copy whereof here inueth.

#### The Articles of the Commons of Devonshire and Cornwall, sent to the King with Answer and return following unto the same.

**F**irst, Forasmuch as man, except he be born of Water and of the Holy Ghost, cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, and forasmuch as the Gates of Heaven be not opened without his blessed Sacrament of Baptism, therefore we will that our Curats shall minister this Sacrament at all times of need, as well in the Week-days, as on the Holy-days.

Item, We will have our children confirmed of the Bishop, whenever we shall within the Diocese refer to him. Item, Forasmuch as we constantly believe, that after the Priest hath spoken the words of consecration being at Mass, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is verily really the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ God and Man, and that no substance of Bread and Wine remains after, but the very self same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and was given upon the Cross for our redemption: therefore we will have Mass celebrated at all hath been in times past, without any man communicating with the Priests, forasmuch as many, rudely presuming unworthily to receive the same, put no difference between the Lords body and other kind of meat, some saying that it is bread before and after, some saying that it is profitable to no man except he receive it, with many other abler terms.

Item, We will have in our Churches reformation. Item, We will have holy Bread and holy Water in reformation of Christ his precious Body and Blood.

Item, We will that our Priests shall sing, or say with an audible voice Gods Service in the Quire of the Parish Churches, and that Gulls Service to be set forth like a Christmas play.

Item, Forasmuch as Priests be men dedicated to God, for ministering and celebrating the blessed Sacrament and preaching Gods Word, we will that they shall love chaste without Marriage, as St. Paul did, being the elect and chosen People of God, saying unto all honest Priests, Be ye followers of me.

Item, We will that the six Articles which our Sovereign Lord King Henry the eighth set forth in his later days shall be used and so taken as they were at that time.

Item, We pray God save King Edward, for we be his body and blood and Gods.

#### A Message sent by the Kings Majesty, to certain of his People assembled in Devonshire.

**A**lthough knowledge hath been given to us and our dearer Uncle Edward Duke of Somerset, Governor of our Person, and Protector of all our Realms, Dominions and Subjects, and to the rest of our Privy Council, of divers assemblies made by you, which ought of duty to be our loving Subjects, against all order, law, and order, we have ever loving and kind Subjects have attempted against their natural and Liege Sovereign Lord: yet we have thought it meet at this very first time, not to condemn or reject you, as we might justly do, but to use you as our Subjects, thinking that the Devil hath not that power in you, to make you of natural born Englishmen, so suddenly become enemies to your own native Country: or, of our Subjects to make you Traitors: or unto pretence to relieve your selves, to destroy your selves, your Wives, Children, Lands, Houses, and all other commodities of this life. This we feel, we all that although ye be by ignorance seduced, ye will not be upon knowledge obtained. And though some come you (as ever there is some Cockle amongst good Corn) forget God, neglected their Prince, often not the state of the Realm, but as careless, desperate men delight in filiation, Tumult and Wars: yet nevertheless the greater part of you will hear the voice of us your natural Prince, and will by wisdom and counsel be warned, and cease your evils in the beginning, whose ends will be, even by Almighty Gods order, your own destruction. Wherefore, as to you our Subjects by ignorance seduced, we speak, and be content to use your privacy authority like a Father to his children for this time, to admonish you of your faults, not to punish them, to put you in remembrance of your duties, not to avenge your forgetfulness.

First, Your disorder to rise in multitudes, to assemble your selves against our loving Subjects, to array your selves to the War, who amongst you all can answer the fame to Almighty God, charging you to be in all things? Or how can any English good heart answer us, our laws, and the rest of our very loving and faithful Subjects, who indeed by their obedience make our Honour, Estate and Degree?

Ye use our name in writings, and abuse the time against our self. What injury herein do you to us, call those which love us, to your evil purposes by the authority of our name? God hath made us your King by his Ordinance and Providence, by our Blood and Inheritance, by lawful Succession and our Coronation: but not to this end, as you use our name. We are your most natural Sovereign Lord and King, Edward the Sixth, to rule you, not the reverence of the Sacrament, not the health of your souls that they float at, good Subjects. It is Sedition, it is High Treason, it is your destruction, if they feel, how craftily, how pitifully, how cunningly for ever they do it. With one rule judge ye the end, which of force must come of your purposes. Almighty Gods forbiddeth, upon pain of everlasting damnation, disobedience to us your King; and in his place we rule in earth. If we should be slow, would God ever? If your offence be towards God, think you it pardoned without repentance? Is Gods judgment milder? Your pain is damnation, your Judge is incorruptible, your fault is most evident.

Likewise are ye evil informed in divers other Articles, as for Contumacy of your Children, for the Mals, for the manner of your service of Matrons and Evening. Whatsoever is therein ordered, hath been long debated and consulted by many learned Bishops, Doctors, and other men of great learning in this Realm concluded in nothing was so much labour and time spent of late time, nothing so fully ended.

As for the Service in the English Tongue, it hath many sufficient reasons for it. And yet perchance it seemeth to

with Wars, with Robberies, and such like, ye, with the spoil of your own goods, with the living of your labours, the sweat of your bodies, the food of your own Households, Wives and Children. Such they be, as for a time use pleasure perturbations to you, and in the end will cut you Throats for your own Goods.

You be come in hand, that your Children, though necessity chance, shall not be chidened but upon the Holy-days. How false this is, learn you of us. Our Book which we have set forth by the free consent of our Parliament, in the English Tongue, teaching you the contrary, even in the first leaf, ye, the first side of the leaf of that part which interesteth of Baptism. Good Subjects (if they to others we speak not) look and be not deceived. They which have put this false Opinion into your ears, they mean not the Chistening of Children, but the destruction of you our Christianned Subjects. Be this known unto you, your Honour is so much, that we may not be so charged faulty of our word. Prove it, if by our Laws ye may not Christen your Children upon necessity, every day or hour in the Week, then might you be offended: but feeling you may do it how can you believe them who teach you the contrary? What think you they mean in the law, which move you to break your obedience against us your King and Sovereign, upon these so false tales and perfwalions in to evident a matter? Therefore you all which will knowledge us your Sovereign Lord, and which will hear the voice of us your natural King, may easily perceive how ye be deceived, and how fabulously Traitors and Papists with their falsehood, seek to achieve, and bring their purpose to pass with your help. Every Traitor will be glad to dispense his Treason, and feed it secretly, every Papist his Papery, and nourish it inwardly: and in thence, make you our Subjects partakers of Treason and Papery, which in the beginning was pretended a Commonwealth and holiness.

And how are you seduced by them, which put in your heads, that the blessed Sacrament of Christs body should be as a common bread? If our Laws, by which the Statutes and Statutes, be all to the contrary, who shall any private man perfwade you against them? We do our selves in our own heart, our Council in all their profession, our Laws and Statutes in all purposes, our good Subjects in all their doings, most highly esteem that Sacrament, and use the communion thereof to our most comfort. We make of much difference thereof from other common Bread, that we think no profit of other Bread, but to maintain our bodies: But of this blessed Bread we take the very food of our souls to everlasting life. How think you good Subjects, shall not we being your Prince, your Lord, your King, by Gods appointment, with truth more prevail, than certain evil persons with open falsehood? Shall any sedicious person perfwade you, that the Sacrament is dispensed, which is by our Laws, by our Self, by our Council, by all our good Subjects esteemed, used, participated, and daily received? If ever ye were seduced, if ever deceived, ever Traitors were believed, if ever Papists poisoned good Subjects, it is now. It is not the Chistening of Children, nor the reverence of the Sacrament, not the health of your souls that they float at, good Subjects. It is Sedition, it is High Treason, it is your destruction, if they feel, how craftily, how pitifully, how cunningly for ever they do it. With one rule judge ye the end, which of force must come of your purposes. Almighty Gods forbiddeth, upon pain of everlasting damnation, disobedience to us your King; and in his place we rule in earth. If we should be slow, would God ever? If your offence be towards God, think you it pardoned without repentance? Is Gods judgment milder? Your pain is damnation, your Judge is incorruptible, your fault is most evident.

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with Wars, with Robberies, and such like, ye, with the spoil of your own goods, with the living of your labours, the sweat of your bodies, the food of your own Households, Wives and Children. Such they be, as for a time use pleasure perturbations to you, and in the end will cut you Throats for your own Goods.

You be come in hand, that your Children, though necessity chance, shall not be chidened but upon the Holy-days. How false this is, learn you of us. Our Book which we have set forth by the free consent of our Parliament, in the English Tongue, teaching you the contrary, even in the first leaf, ye, the first side of the leaf of that part which interesteth of Baptism. Good Subjects (if they to others we speak not) look and be not deceived. They which have put this false Opinion into your ears, they mean not the Chistening of Children, but the destruction of you our Christianned Subjects. Be this known unto you, your Honour is so much, that we may not be so charged faulty of our word. Prove it, if by our Laws ye may not Christen your Children upon necessity, every day or hour in the Week, then might you be offended: but feeling you may do it how can you believe them who teach you the contrary? What think you they mean in the law, which move you to break your obedience against us your King and Sovereign, upon these so false tales and perfwalions in to evident a matter? Therefore you all which will knowledge us your Sovereign Lord, and which will hear the voice of us your natural King, may easily perceive how ye be deceived, and how fabulously Traitors and Papists with their falsehood, seek to achieve, and bring their purpose to pass with your help. Every Traitor will be glad to dispense his Treason, and feed it secretly, every Papist his Papery, and nourish it inwardly: and in thence, make you our Subjects partakers of Treason and Papery, which in the beginning was pretended a Commonwealth and holiness.

you a new Service, and indeed is none other but the old. The felt time comes in English, which were in Latin, giving a few things taken out, which were so fond, that it had been a shame to have heard them in English, as all they can judge which list to report the truth. The difference we meant godly, that you our Subjects should understand in English, being our own Country Tongue, that which was heretofore spoken in Latin, then serving only for them which understood Latin, and now for all you which be born English. How can this with reason offend any reasonable man, that he shall understand what any other faith, and so content with the speaker? If the Service in the Church was good in Latin, it remaineth good in English: for nothing is altered, but to speak with knowledge that which was spoken with ignorance, and to let you understand what is said for you, the instant you may further it with your own devotion. An alteration to the better, except knowledge be worse than ignorance. So that whoever hath moved you to dislike this change, can give you no reason, nor answer you, if ye understand it.

Wherefore you our Subjects remember, we speak to you, being ordained your Prince and King, by Almighty God. If any will we could advise you to honour more than we do, we would do it: And fee that we become subject to Gods Ordinances, obeying us your Prince, and learn of them which have authority to teach you, which have power to rule you, and will execute our justice if we be provoked. Learn not of them whose faults be nothing but willfulness, disobedience, obstinacy, diffimulation and destruction of the Realm.

For the Mals, we assure you, no final duty nor travel hath been spent by all the learned Clergy therein, and to avoid all contention, it is brought even to the very use as Christ left it, as the Apostles used it, as holy Fathers delivered it: indeed somewhat altered from the Pages of Rome, for their lure brought to it. And although ye may hear the contrary of some Papist evil men, yet our Majesty which for our honour may not be blemished, nor dishonoured, assureth you, that they deceive you, abuse you, and blow the opinions into your heads, to inflame their own purposes.

And so likewise judge you of Confirmation of Children: and let them answer you this one question: Think they, that a Child Christened is damned, because it dieth before Baptism? They be confirmed at the time of discretion, to learn that which they professed, in the lack thereof, by Baptism: taught in age, that which they received in infancy: and yet no doubt but they be saved by Baptism, not by Confirmation: and made Christs by Christening, and taught how to continue by Confirmation. Wherefore in the whole, make good Subjects, how our Doctrine is founded upon true learning, and theirs upon hameless Errors.

To conclude, beside our gentle manner of information to you, whatsoever is contained in our Book, either for Baptism, Sacrament, Mals, Confirmation and Service in the Church, is by our Parliament established, by the whole Clergy agreed, ya, by the Bishops of the Realm devised, and further, by Gods word confirmed. And how dare ye trust, ya, how dare ye give ear, without trembling to any singular person, to disallow a Parliament, a Subject to perfwade against our Majesty, a man of his singular arrogancy against the determination of the Bishops, and all the Clergy, any invented argument against the Word of God?

But now you our Subjects, we resort to a greater matter of your blindness, of your unkindness and great unthankfulness, and such an evil, that if we thought it had not begun of ignorance, and continued by perfwade of certain Traitors amongst you, which we think few in number, but in their doings bane: we could not be perfwaded but to use our sword, and do justice, and, as we be ordained by God, to redress your errors by avengement. But love and zeal yet overcome our just anger, but how long that will be, God knoweth, in whose hand our heart is: or rather for your own causes, being our Christianned Subjects, we would ye were perfwaded than vanquished, informed than taught, fought than overthrown, quietly pacified than rigorously persecuted.

Ye require to have the Statute of the Six Articles revived, and know ye what ye require? or know ye what ease ye have with the lofs of them? They were law made, but quickly repented, too bloody they were to be borne of our people, and yet at the first indeed made of some necessity. On Subjects, how are ye trapped by subtil persons? We of pity, beseeched them, took kindly away, and you now of ignorance will ask them again. You know full well, that they helped us to extend rigour, and gave us cause to draw our Sword very often, they were as a Whetstone to our Sword, and for your causes we left to use them. And since our mercy moved us to write our laws with mild and equity, how be ye blinded to ask them in blood?

But leaving this manner of reasoning, and resorting to the truth of our authority, we let you wit, the same hath been adjuiled by our Parliament, with great rejoicing of our Subjects, and not now to be called by Subjects in question. Dare then any of you with the name of a Subject stand against an Act of Parliament, a Law of the whole Realm? What is our power, if laws should be thus neglected? yes, what is your fury, if laws be not kept? Affure your selves much more fully, that we of no earthly thing under the Heaven make such a reputation, as we do of this one thing, to have our Law obeyed, and this cause of God, which we have taken in hand, to be thoroughly maintained, from the which we will never remove a hairs breadth, nor give place to any creature living, much less to any Subject, but therein will stand our own Royal Person, our Crown, Treasure, Realm, and all our state; whereof we assure you of our high Honour. For herein indeed retheth our Honour, herein standeth our Kingdom, herein do all Kings knowledge us a King. And shall any of you dare breach or think against our Honour, our Kingdom or Crown?

In the end of this your request (as we be given to understand) ye would have them stand in force until our full age. To this we think, if ye know what ye speak, ye would never have uttered that motion, nor ever given breath to such a thought, as to wish that you of our Kingdom? Be we of less authority for our age? Be we not your King now, as we shall be? Or shall ye be Subjects hereafter, and now are ye not? Have not we the right we shall have? If we would suspend and hang our duties in doubt until our full age, ye must first know, as a King, we have no difference of years our time, but as a natural man and creature of God, we have youth, and by this difference shall have age: We are your youthful King, your liege Lord, your King anointed, your King crowned, the Sovereign King of England, not by our age, but by Gods Ordinance; not only when we shall be of 21 years, but when we are of ten years. We possess our Crown, not by years, but by the Blood and Defect from our Father King Henry the Eighth. You are our Subjects, because we be your King; and rule we will, because God hath willed. It is as great a fault in us to rule, as in a Subject not to obey.

If it be considered, they which move this matter, if they durst utter themselves, would deny our Kingdom. But our good Subjects know their Prince, and will increase, not diminish his honour, enlarge, not abate his power, knowledge, nor drive his Kingdom to certain years: All as we, to speak against our Crown, and to deny our Kingdom, as to require that our laws may be broken unto 21 years. Be we not your crowned, anointed and established King? Whereto then be we of less Majesty, of less authority, or less state, than we are our Predecessors Kings of this Realm, except your unkindness, your unnaturalities, will diminish our estimation? We have hitherto, since the death of our Father, by the good advice and counsel of our dear and entirely beloved Uncle, kept our State, maintained our Realm, preferred our Honour, defended our People from our enemies; we have hitherto bin feared and dreaded of our enemies; yea, of Princes, Kings and Nations; yes, herein we be nothing inferior to any of our Predecessors (which grace we acknowledge to be given us from God) and how else, but by good obedience of our people, good counsel of our Magistrates, due execution of our Laws? By authority of our Kingdom, England hitherto hath gained honour; during our Reign, it hath won of the enemy, and not lost.

It hath been marvelled, that we of so young years, have reigned so nobly, so royally, so quietly. And how chanced it, that you our Subjects of that our Country of Devonshire, will give the first occasion to flander this our Realm of England, to give courage to the enemy, to move the Realm of the end of Rebellion, to make it a prey to our old enemies, to diminish our honour, which God hath given, our Father left, our good Uncle and Council preferred unto us? What greater evil could we commit, than even now, when our foreign enemy in Scotland, and upon the Sea, seeketh to invade us, to rise in this manner against our Law, to provoke to justify our wrath, to ask our vengeance, and to give occasion to spend that force upon you, which we meant to bestow upon our enemies, to bestow to flay you with that sword which we drew against the Scots and other enemies, to make a Conquest of our own people which otherwise should have been of the whole Realm of Scotland?

Thus far ye see we have defended from our high Majesty for love, to consider you in your safe and magnanimity, and have been content to fend you an instruction like a fatherly Prince, who of justice might have sent you your destruction like a King to Rebels; and now ye know, that as ye see our mercy abundant, so if ye provoke us further, we swear to you by the living God, by whom we Reign, ye shall feel the power of the same God in our Sword; which how mighty it is, no Subject knoweth; how painful it is, no private man can judge; how mortal it is, no English heart dare think. But surely, surely, as your Lord and Prince, your only King and Master, we say to you, repent your selves, and take our mercy without delay, or else we will forthwith extend our Princely power, and execute our sharp Sword against you against very hundreds and thousands, and rather adventure our own Royal Person, State and Power than the same fall not be executed.

And if ye will prove the example of our mercy, learn of certain which lately did assiege, pretending some griefs; and yet, acknowledging their offences, have not only received most kindly their pardon, but also aided by our order, to whom all public order only particularly, redress devoted for their griefs. In the end we admonish you of your duties to God, whom ye shall answer in the day of the Lord, and of your duties towards us, whom ye shall answer by our order, and take our mercy whilst God is inclined to us, lest when ye shall be constrained thereto, we shall be too much hardened in our heart to grant it; and where ye shall hear of Mercy, Mercy and Life, yet they then hear of Justice, Justice, and Death.

Given at Richmond, the 8th day of July, the third year of our Reign.

Besides the Articles of these Devonshire men above mentioned, the said Rebels sent up also, not long after, a Supplication to the King, whereunto answer again was made by the Kings learned Council, which here, to make short, leisure forthwith not rehearse.

Over and besides, to behold the malicious working of these Popish Priests, to kindle more the spark of contention in the peoples hearts, what bruits and rumours did they set up against the King and his Council, making the vulgar multitude to believe, that they should be made to pay, first for their Sheep, then for their Geese and Piggis also; and for such other things like; and whatsoever they had in doze, or should put in their mouths, they must first therefore to the King? Of all which mattered never a word was either thought or meant. But this latter matter fit for such Priests whereby to let the Prince and his Subjects together by the ears.

Against this felonious counsel of Rebels, was appointed and sent by the King and his Council, Sir John Rolfe, Knight, Lord Privy Seal, as Lieutenant General of the Kings Army, of whom chiefly depended the charge and achievement of that Voyage in the West parts. To him also were assigned, as in part of ordinary Council in these affairs under him, Sir William Herbert, Sir Thomas, Sir Hugh Paulet, Sir Thomas Speck, with the Lord Gray, and other belike.

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The Rebels of Devonshire  
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Thus the said Lord Privy Seal, accompanied with the Lord Gray, advancing his power against the Rebels, although in number of Soldiers not equally furnished like to the other, yet through the gracious assistance of the Lords help, fighting in his cause, and giving the advantage against the enemy, about the latter end of July, Anno 1549, gave them the repulse; who notwithstanding, recovering themselves again with such stomachs as they had, encountered the second time with the forelord Lord Privy Seal, about the beginning of August following, of whom, through the Lords mighty power, they with their whole cause of false Religion, were utterly vanquished and quite overthrown.

In the which Victory a great work of Gods mighty power undoubtedly did appear. For although the number of the Rebels did amount in great quantity, the power and strength of the Lord Privy Seal, and their stomachs were so fiercely let upon all desperate adventures; and though the power of Sir William Herbert (being the same time at Bridgewater) was yet presently come, which should have joined with the Lord Privy Seal; yet all this notwithstanding, the goodness of the Lord God wrought on the Kings behalf, more than any industry of man (which is far behind) in handling that matter was very rare, and far behind that the Victory fell to the Kings part, under the valiant guiding of the forelord Lord Privy Seal, so that the Rebels not only lost the field, but a great part of the Chafe, to the compass of two Miles place. Where also were taken and apprehended the Chieftains and Ringleaders of that mischievous dance, whereas the Prince was Humphrey Arundell, Berry, Thomas Underhill, John Salomon, William Sayer, Tompion and Barret two Priests, Henry Bray, and Henry Lee, two Mayors, with divers other men above specified, all which accordingly afterward were executed.

These Rebels, to make their part more sure by the help and presence of the confederated God and mankind, brought with them into the Battle, the Pix under his Canopy, and instead of an Altar, where he was hanging before, let him now riding in a Cart. Neither was there lacking Maffes, Croffes, Banners, Candlesticks, with holy Bread also, and holy Water plenty, to defend them from Devils and all adulatory power, which in the end neither could help their friends, nor yet could save themselves from the hands of their enemies, but erfions both the confederated God, and all the trumpet about him, was taken in the Cart, and there lay all in the dust, leaving to them a notable Lesson of better experience, how to put their confidence hereafter in no such vain idols, but only in the true living God, and Immortal Maker, to be served according to his preferred Word, and that only in the faith of his Son, and not after their own dreaming fantasies.

The story whereof putteth me also in remembrance of another like Popish Field, (called Mufcleborough field) fought in Scotland the year before this, where the Scots likewise incamping themselves against the Lord Protector, and the Kings power sent into Scotland, did in fennable wife, bring with them to the Battle, the confederated God of their Alarms, with Maffes, Croffes, Banners, and all their Popish stuff of Idolatry, having great assistance by virtue thereof, to have a great day against the English Army, as indeed in many judgment it might seem not unlike. For the number of the Scots Army so far exceeded ours, and they were so appointed with their Pilgrims the first battle against our Hosts, (which gave the first outlet) that our men were fain to recule, not without the loss of divers Gentlemen. Notwithstanding, the mighty Arm of the Lord, so turned the Victory, that the Scots in the end, with all their Maffes, Pikes and idolatrous Trinitates, were put to the worse. Of whom in that field were slain between thirteen and fourteen thousand, and not passing an hundred English men. The cause of this was the promise of the said Scots, made before to King Henry, for the Marriage of the young Scottish Queen to King Edward, which promise the said Scots afterward brake, and payed there after.

In the which Victory this is also to be noted, that the same day and hour when the Images were burned openly in London, the Scots were put to flight in Mufcleborough, as is credibly noted in Records.

During this Hurly-burly against the Popish Rebels in Cornwall and Devonshire, the same Comor at the same time, by such like Popish Priests as Home; and his followers, began to gather in the parts of Oxford and Buckinghamshire, that winged man, which the Lord Gray, who coming down that way into Devonshire, chased the Rebels to their houses. Of whom two hundred were taken, and a dozen of the Ringleaders delivered unto him, whereas certain were after executed.

In Northfolke and parts thereabout, albeit the original Rebellion of their tumultuous stirring was not for the like cause, yet in Northfolke the obdurate hearts of that unruly multitude, learned up his bent upon mischief, to disturb publick peace, which was also in the Month of July, the year above said. For repetition of which Rebellion, first was sent the Lord Marquis of Northampton, with special instruction to instruct the right, and to be by order appointed with a number of Horse to keep the field and pallaces, whereby they beint stopped from Victual, might the sooner be brought to acknowledge their folly, and to seek their pardon. Who then following other policy than by order was given, came and pinched himself within the City of Northwich, which afterward they were fain to abandon, the Rebels pressing upon the City to go on every side, that at length they obtained the same. Nevertheless in all that conflict there was but an hundred on both sides slain, and otherwise no great loss; but only the loss of the Lord Shaftesbury.

Then was sent down against them the Earl of Warwick, with sufficient force and number of Soldier, besides the convey of two thousand Germans, by whom the rude and confused Rable was there overthrown and slain, to the numbers, as is supposed, at the least of four thousand. And in fine, both the Earl, chief fitters and authors of that commotion, were taken and put to execution, and executed, one of them hanged up in Chains.

Moreover, besides these inordinate Upiores and Insurrections above mentioned, about the latter end of the said Month of July the year, which was 1549, another like fit or commotion began at Semer, in the Northriding of Yorkshir, and continued in the Eastriding of the same, and there continued. The principal doers and rafter up in the whereof were our William Ombler of Middleton, Yeoman, and Thomas Dale Parish Clerk of Semer, with one Stevenfon of Semer, Neighbour to Dale, and Newpew to Ombler. Which Stevenfon was a mean or messenger between the said Ombler and Dale, being afore not acquainted together, and dwelling seven Miles one from the other. Who at last, by the travel of the said Stevenfon, and their own evil disposition, inclined to ungraciously and mischief, knowing before, one the others mind by secret conference, were brought to talk together on St. James his day, Anno 1549.

The causes moving them to raise this Rebellion, were these: First and principally, their traitorous hearts, grudging at the Kings most honourable proceedings, in advancing and reforming the true honour of God, and his Religion. Another cause also was, forturning to a blind and a fantastical Prophecy, whereof they were induced, thinking the same Prophecy should shortly come to pass; by hearing the Rebels of Northfolke, of Devonshire, and other places.

The tenor of which Prophecy, and purpose together the Traitors were, That there should a King reign in Prussia, as the Noblemen and Gentlemen should be banished, and the Realm should be ruled by four Governors, to be elected and appointed by the Commons holding a Parliament in communion, to begin at the South and North Seas of England, &c. Supposing that this their Rebellion in the North, and the other of the Devonshire men in the West, meeting (as they intended) at one place, should be the mean how to compass this their traitorous devilish device.

And therefore laying their duties together, how they might find out some company to pay company in the detestable purpose, and to set forward to this, devise they framed, to rise in two places, the one distant 7 Miles from the other, and at the first rush to kill and destroy fifty Gentlemen and men of some substance about them, as were favourers of the Kings proceedings, or which would resist them.

But



But first of all, for the more freely raising of men, they devised to burn Beacons, and thereby to bring the people together, as though it were to defend the Sea-Coasts; and having the ignorant people assembled, then to pour out their paylay's first beginning with the naked and poorest folk, such as they thought were pricked with poverty, and were unwilling to labour, and therefore the more ready to follow. A spoil of rich mens goods, blowing out their heads, such as Grek service was laid aside, and new inventions neither good nor godly, put in place, and so feeding them with fair promises to reduce into the Church again their old ignorance and idolatry, thought by that means fittest to allure them to obey, and withal to stir up in this communion, And furthermore, to the intent they might give the more terror to the Gentlemen at their first rising, let it should be shewed, they devised that some should be murdered in Churches, some in their Houses, some in the King in Rebellion began, and others as they could be caught, and to pick quarrels with them for alteration of Service on the Holy-days. And thus was the Plot-form cut of their device, according as afterward by their condition at their examinations, it was testified, and remitted to record.

Thus they being together agreed, *Ombler* and *Dale*, and other by their secret appointment, so laboured the matter in the Parish of *Somer, Warringham*, and the Towns about, that they were infected with the poison of this confederacy, in such sort that it was easy to understand, whereunto they would incline if a communion were begun. The accomplishment whereof did shortly follow; for although by the words of one drunken fellow of that Conspiracy, named *Calverley*, at the Alehouse in *Warringham*, some suspicion of that Rebellion began to be melted before the Lord President and Gentlemen in those parts, and so prevented in that place where the Rebels thought to begin; yet they gave not over, but drew to another place at *Somer* by the Sea-Coast, and there by night rode to the Beacon, and led with them, and so gathering together a rude rout of Rascals out of the Towns near about being in a fit, *Ombler, Thomas Dale, Barton, and Robert Dale*, halted forthwith with the Rebels to *Matter White house*, to take him, who notwithstanding being on Horseback, minding to have eloped their hands, *Dale, Ombler*, and the rest of the Rebels took him, and *Clapton* his Wives Brother, one *Savage* a Merchant of *York*, and one *Bury* servant to *Sir Walter Mildmay*, which four, without cause or quarrel, faying to fulfil their feditious Prophecy in some part, and to give a terror to other Gentlemen, they cruelly murdered, after they had carried them one Mile from *Somer* towards the *Wilde*, and there after they had stripped them of their Clothes and Purse, left them naked behind them in the plain field for Crows to feed on, until *Willes* Wife and *Savage* Wife, then at *Somer*, caused them to be buried.

Long it were and tedious to recite what revell these Rebels kept in their raging madnes, who ranging about the Country from Town to Town, to enlarge their ungodly and rebellious band, taking those with force which were not willing to go, and leaving in no Town where they came any man above the age of sixteen years, so increased this number, that in short time they had gathered three thousand to favour their wicked attempts, and had like to have gathered more, had not the Lords goodness, through prudent circumspection, interrupted the course of their furious beginning.

For first came the Kings gracious and free Pardon, differing charging and pardoning them and the rest of the Rebels of all Treasons, Murders, Felonies and other offences done by His Majesty, before the one and twentieth of *August*, Anno 1547. Which Pardon, although *Ombler* conceitedly refused, perceiving full in his wilful obstinacy, dissembling also the rest from the humble accepting the Kings love and liberal Pardon, yet notwithstanding, with some it did good.

To make hold, it was not longer after this, but *Ombler* as he was riding from Town to Town, twelve Miles from *Hamworthy*, to charge all the Constables and Inhabitants where he came, in the Kings name, to report to *Hamworthy*, by the way he espied, and by the circumspect diligence of *John Wood* the younger, *James Aske*, *Ralph*

*Twinge*, and *Thomas Constable* Gentlemen, he was had in chaine, and at last by them apprehended, and brought in the night in fine custody unto the City of *York*, to answer to his denials.

After whom within short time, *Thomas Dale, Henry Barton*, the first Chiefians and Ringleaders of the former communion, with *John Dale, Robert Wright, Willems Pennick, Richard* and *Edmund Buttry*, being first in this Sedition, as they travelled from place to place to draw people to their Faction, were likewise apprehended, committed to ward, lawfully convicted, and lastly executed at *York* the one and twentieth of *September*, Anno 1547. *Ex actis Judicii publici receptis et non natis.*

To these perfidious communications raised up against *King Edward*, by his own Subjects in this year afore said, within the Realm, I might also adjoin the bule of stirring and raging of the *French King*, against our young and innocent Prince, without the Realm. Who hearing of these Tumalts and violent Insurrections of the Kings Subjects, in divers and sundry quarters of the Realm, supposing to take the time for his most advantage, thought likewise for his part, not to be unoccupied. Who after he had by his Embassador made open breach with the King, immediately after the revocation of the said Embassador from hence, intending to annoy the King, and make his first Invasion against the Isles of *Jersey* and *Gernsey*, thought to have surprised our Ships and the said Isles with a certain number of his Ships and Gallies. In the which his assault he was so hotly falted by the Kings Ships and the Island, that by the confusion of them that saw it, and by the report written unto the Lord Protector, the *Frenchmen* lost at least a thousand men, their Ships and Gallies were so spoiled, as being fayed to return home, they were not able then to set out again.

Furthermore, out of *France* credible word was brought to the Lord Protector (which yet in Letters appereth) that into one Town in one *Velfe*, were brought at least, five hundred Gentlemen to be buried; and also an inhibition, specially given out by the King, not to speak of the faeces in that journey. This was about the beginning of *August*, 1547.

The like also might be noted of the losses of the said *French King* at *Bullenburgh*, the eighth day of *August*, the same year, as by the Lord *Clinton's* Letters may well appear; but for spending of time I pass it over. What the meaning of the *French King* was in these Voyages, or how the he intended further to proceed, I have not herein to deal. This is certain and evident, that the mighty Arm of God, who mercifully fought for *King Edward* his servants, to defend and deliver him from so many hand dangers, so dangerous and sundry communications, thrust up in so many Quarters within this Realm, and also without the Realm, and all within the compass of one year, and yet the Lord above fighting for his true servant, dispatched them all, as in story here ye have heard declared, and is no less worthy of all posterity to be noted.

**Matter concerning Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, with declaration of the ads and process entered against him in King Edward's time.**

AND so much hieherunto having discoursed touching the manifold troubles and tumults raised up on every side against *King Edward*, by his unkind and ungodly Subjects, and yet notwithstanding, the gracious goodness of the Lord ever giving him the Victory; now let us return again to *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, where we left him before, that is in his own house, where he was by the Council commanded to remain, as is above signified.

And now forasmuch as we have to enter into the story of the said *Bonner*, for the better understanding of the whole order thereof, it shall requisite to stir up and declare the matter with the circumstances and occasions thereof from the first beginning of *King Edward's* State. Where it may be understood, that *King Edward*, in the first year of his Reigne, Anno 1547, by the order of *September*, for the order of his Visitation, directed out certain Commissioners, his *Anthony Cook*, *Sir John Gosaul*, *Knights*, *Mr John Gosaul*, *Christopher Newington*, Doctors of the Law, and

*John Madew* Doctor of Divinity. Who fitting in *Pauls* Church upon their Communion, the day and year afore said,

there being present at the same time, *Edmund Bishop of London*, *John Roffen*, *Polydore Virgil*, *Peter Fan*, and others of the said Cathedral Church, who the *Sermon* made, and the Communion being read, instituted an Oath unto the said Bishop of *London*, to renounce and abjure the Bishop of *Rome*, with his usurped authority, and to swear obedience unto the King, according to the effect and form of the Statute made in the third year of *King Henry the Eighth*: also that he should present and redress all singular such things as were needful within the said Church to be reformed.

Whereupon the said Bishop humbly and instantly desired them that he might for their Communion, only for this purpose and intent (as he said) that he might the better fulfil and put in execution the things wherein he was charged by them or their Communion. Unto whom the Commissioners answering, said, they would deliberate more upon the matter, and to they called the other Ministers of the said Church before them, and ministered the like Oath unto them, as they did to the Bishop before. To whom moreover, there and then certain Interrogatories and Articles of Inquisition were read, by *Peter Lily* the public Notary.

Which done, after their Oaths taken, the said Commissioners delivered unto the Bishop afore said, certain Injunctions, as well in Print as written, and Homilies set forth by the King. All which things the said Bishop received, under the words of this Protection, as followeth:

**I Do receive these Injunctions and Homilies with this Protection, that I will observe them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to Gods law, and the Statutes and Ordinances of his Church. And immediately he added, with an Oath, that he never read the said Homilies and Injunctions.**

The which Protection being made in manner and form afore said, the said *Edmund Bonner* Bishop of *London* instantly desired and required *Peter Lily*, the Register afore said, there and then to register and enact the same. And so the said Commissioners delivering the Injunctions and Homilies to *Matter Bullaffer* Archdeacon of *Colchester*, and *Gilbert Burn* Archdeacon of *London*, *Essex* and *Middlesex*, and injoyning them in most effectual manner, under pains therein contained, to put the same in speedy execution, and also referring other new Injunctions to be ministered afterward, as well to the Bishop, as to the Archdeacons afore said, according as they should see cause, &c. did so continue the said visitation till three of the clock the same day in the afternoon.

At the which hour and place afigured, the Commissioners being set, and the Canons and Priests of the said Church appearing before them, and being examined upon the virtue of their Oath, for their Doctrine and Conversation of life, first one *John Painter*, one of the Canons of the said Cathedral Church, and then openly confessed, that he vitiously and carnally had often the company of a certain married mans Wife, whose name he desired to declare. In the which crime divers other Canons and Priests of the foresaid Church, confessed in like manner, and could not deny themselves to be culpable.

And after the Commissioners afore said, had delivered to *Matter Roffen* Priester, and to the Priester of the Dean and of the Chapter of the said Cathedral Church of *Saint Paul*, the Kings Injunctions, and the Book of Homilies, injoyning them to see the execution thereof, under pain therein specified, they prorogued their said visitation until seven of the clock the next day following.

By this Visitation, above specified, it appears, gentle Reader, first how *Bonner* made his Protection after the receiving of the Kings Injunctions, and also how he required the same to be put in public record. Furthermore, then hath to note the unchaste life and conversation of their *Peppis* Vicaries and Priests of *Pauls*. Now what followed after this Protection of the Bishop made, remaineth further in the sequel of the story to be declared; wherein, then shall understand that the said Bishop shortly after his Protection, whether for covetousness, repenting himself, went unto the King, where he laboured himself, and recanting his former Protection,

An oath was sworn to the Bishop to satisfy the Pope.

Bonner requested to see their Communion.

Anno 1547, after Lily the public Notary.

Bonner protested before the Commissioners that he never read the Kings Injunctions.

Note the earnest life of the unmarried Priests and Popish Vicaries.

Things to the Reader to be noted.

tion, craved pardon of the King for his inordinate demerit, toward his Graces Commissioners, in the *Canons* Visitation. Which pardon, notwithstanding it was granted unto him by the King, for the acknowledging of his fault, yet for the evil example of the fact, it was thought good that he should be committed to the Fleet, as by the tenor of the Councils Letter sent to the Commissioners, may appear, which together with the form also of the Bishops Protection and of his Recantation, here under followeth.

To our very loving friends, *Sir Anthony Cook* Knight, and the rest of the Commissioners for the Visitation at *London*, in hall.

**A**fter our hearty commendation: This shall be to you to witte, that we have received your Letters, and in the same inclosed the Copy of the Protection made by the Bishop of *London* in the time of your Visitation at *Pauls*: your wife proceeding wherein, and adversities concerning the recantation from you, we take in very thankful part towards us, and towards the Bishop of *London*. And because the said Bishop, which being here before us hath acknowledged his inordinate demerit, did at that time at *Pauls* require the Register of your Visitation, to make record and enter of his Protection, and now upon better consideration of his duty, meekly means to have the same revoked, as shall appear unto you by the true Copy of his writing inclosed, the original whereof remaining with us he hath self-revoked, we pray you to cause the Register Protection to be made enter of this his recantation, according to the tenor of this his said Writing: Further signifying unto you, that in respect of his offences, and the evil example that might thereupon ensue, we have thought meet to send him to the prison of the Fleet, whether he hath been conveyed by *Master Viscount Pemberton*, and whereas sundry things the Kings Majesty's service do now occur here, which require the present attendance of you *Sir John Coodall*, as well for the office of the Signet, as of the Promissaryship, we pray you that leaving the execution of the Visitation to the rest of your Colleagues, you make your repair hither with convenient diligence. Thus fare you right heartily well. From *Hampton Court* the twelfth of *September*, 1547.

Your assured loving friends

*Thomas Cantebury*,  
*William Saint John*,  
*John Ruffel*,  
*Thomas Sener*,  
*William Paget*,  
*Anthony Brown*,  
*William Peter*,  
*Anthony Denike*,  
*Edward North*.

The form of Bonner's Recantation:

**W**heras *Edmund Bishop* of *London*, at such time when as he received the Kings Majesty's Injunctions and Homilies of his most dread Sovereign Lord, as the hands of his Highness's Vicars, did unwisely make such Protection, as now upon better consideration of my duty of obedience, and of the evil example that might ensue unto others thereof, appeareth to me wither my conscience, as might well stand with the duty of an humble Subject; forasmuch as the same Protection at my request was then by the Register of that Visitation, enacted and put in Record, I therefore in my duty not only to declare before you my Landship, but I do now upon better consideration of my duty, renounce and revoke my said Protection, but also humbly beseech your Lordships, that this my Revocation of the same may be likewise put in the same Records, for perpetual memory of the world, may humbly beseech your good Lordships, but to take order that it may take effect, and also that my former and unadvised doings, may by your good meditations pardoned by the Kings Majesty.

*Edmund London*.















rently obeyed, honoured, served, taken and repared for very true and lawful Kings, as Henry the Third, being but nine years old when he came to reign and grown as King Edward the Third, being but thirteen years of age. Richard the Second, being but eleven years old. Henry the Sixth, being not fully one year of age. Edward the Fifth, being but eleven years old. Henry the Eighth, being about eighteen years old; and to all these Kings being in their minority as the Kings Majesty that now is, and yet having Authority and power Regal, as appertaineth; and in the old Testament, *Ofas and Ahasa* were very true Kings in their minority, being but sixteen years of age; *Solomon and Adanias* being but twelve years of age; *Jofias* and *Joaquin* being but eight years of age, and *Jofas* being but eight years old. All which things I say I had collected in notes, communicating the same with my first two Chaplains, and praying them to put me in remembrance, if in numbering of them, or in setting forth in my other notes at the time of my Sermon, I did fail, or have default of memory in any wise. And all these things I would have specially set forth in my said Sermon if they had come to my memory, as indeed they did not, partly for disturbance of my memory not accustomed to preach in that place, partly also by reason of a certain writing that was sent to me from the Kings Majesty's Privy Council, being of good length, to declare unto the people touching the victory against the Rebels, (specially in *Norfolk, Devonshire, and Cornwall*), confounding my memory in things which before I had set in good order, and partly also for the falling away of my Book in the time of my said Sermon, in which were contained divers of my said notes touching the Kings Majesty's minority, as aforesaid, having yet nevertheless otherwise, in generality and specially, perswaded the people to obedience, unto the Kings said Majesty, whose minority to them and to all other is notoriously and manifestly known, and his Majesty, favouring of these late Rebels, faithfully, truly, and reverently obeyed of all the rest of his Subjects.

To the sixth, which beginneth, Whether ye will, &c. And ending thus, The opinion or no I do answer and say, that not knowing certainly of which Rebels the Article meaneth, nor yet what their opinion is indeed, I ought not to be driven to make answer hereunto, nor yet can make good and perfect answer therein though I would.

To the seventh Article, beginning thus, *Iem*, That ye know, &c. And ending thus, The Kings Majesties Book; I do answer and say, that albeit I have by the space of these five weeks laboured and more, been in manner continually in labour and trouble, as well in providing for my said Sermon, as otherwise, specially by reason of my Family, much vexed with sickness, to my great disquietness and charge, and also by reason that I have been so much troubled and cumbered by informations and complaints unjustly and uncharitably made against me, over and besides the having of divers and fustly persons, which daily resort and come unto me for their suits and business, both in matters of justice and otherwise, yet I have not omitted to ferret out to my Archdeacons and other my Officers, to inquire and search diligently in this behalf, and to certify me accordingly, and yet I cannot hear certainly of any that have heard, been at, or celebrated Masses or Evenings in the Latine tongue, after the old rite and manner, except it be in the house of my Lady Maries Grace, or in the houses of the Embassadors, nor yet there nor in any of them, but by lying and not assured report, and without knowing the names and persons, that so have heard, been at, or celebrate the same, and in this behalf how far I can and ought to proceed and after what sort, I do refer me unto the Statute late made in that behalf.

To the eighth Article beginning thus, *Iem*, That ye have, &c. And ending thus, Punishment unto them; I do answer and say, that this Article doth depend of the next Article going before, and so consequently answer is already thereunto made.

To the ninth Article beginning thus, *Iem*, that ye know, &c. And ending thus, Nor see them punished; I do answer and say, that touching such as either have been denounced or detected for such criminal and culpable per-

sons to me or my Officers, there hath been process already made before my said Officers, as it is in my Register, and the Acts of my Court: And moreover I have given express commandment to my said Officers, to inquire and search for more such offenders, and to certify me thereof, that I may proceed against them accordingly.

To the tenth Article beginning thus, *Iem*, Ye were, &c. And ending thus, The Kings Majesties authority in his minority; I do answer and say, That as touching the time mentioned in the Article, and the Declaration to be made by Doctor Cox, I do not well remember either the time time, or yet the special points and substance of the said Doctor Cox's Declaration: Truth it is, I was at a Sermon made upon Pauls Cross by the said Doctor Cox, where in he inveighed against my Lord of Winchester, and as far as I can now call to my remembrance, it was touching disobedience, wherewith my Lord of Winchester by the said Doctor Cox seemed to be charged, and for a Sermon also that my Lord of Winchester was seeming to have made before the Kings Majesty in the Court of Winchester.

To the eleventh Article being by it self delivered unto me the fourteenth of this present September, 1549, in the Night at my House of London beginning thus, *Iem*, That the rites, &c. And ending thus, The mislikes thereof: I do answer and say, that I have already given commandment to my Officers to make diligent search and inquire herein, and to certify accordingly, to the intent I may proceed therein as appertaineth, and would before this time my self have also inquired and proceeded, had I not been of all sides opprest and pelted with multitude of other necessary business, as I have been, to my great disquietness and trouble.

When he had ended the reading of the answers, the Commissioners laid unto him that he had in the same very obscurely answered unto the fifth Article mentioned the thirteenth of September; wherefore they wished him there expressly to answer by mouth, whether he had according to the Injunctions delivered unto him, declared the Article beginning thus, You shall also fail forth in your Sermon that our authority, &c. Whereto he again answered, that he had already made full and sufficient answer in writing, as he was bound to make by Law.

The Judges then replied, that the answers already made in that part were obscure and in sufficient, so that it appeared not certainly whether he had preached indeed according to the same Injunction or not; and therefore they efficously willed him, as before, directly to answer whether he had so accordingly preached or no, the Bishop full answering as before.

The Judges again demanded of him, whether he would otherwise answer or no? To the which he said, no, unless the Law did compel him. Then they asked him whether he thought the Law did compel him to answer more fully or no? He answered, no, adding further that he was not bound to make answer to such questions.

The Commissioners, then seeing his froward contumacy, told him plainly, that if he persisted thus in his frowardness, and would not otherwise answer, they would according to Law take him *pro confesso*, and ex abundanti receive witness against him, and therewithal did decree him to fix of the first and principal Articles, demanding his final answer thereunto. Who said, as before, that he had already fully answered them by writing; but where they required to have his notes, which he said he had made of his Sermon, they would have them if they would lend for them. And whereas in his answer to the sixth Article he doubted what the opinion of the Rebels was, the Judges declared unto him that their opinion was, That the Kings Majesty, before his Grace came to the age of one and twenty years, had not full authority to make Laws and Statutes, as when he came to sixteen years; and that his Subjects were not bound to obey the Laws and Statutes made in his young age. Whereto the Bishop answered, that he was not of the opinion that the Rebels mentioned in that Article, as well as he said appear by his answers, as well unto the denunciation, as also unto the ninth Article objected against him.

Which

Which ended, they, perceiving his scornful carelessness, presently did admit for witnesses, upon the Articles objected against him, Master *John Clarke*, Henry *Adenham*, John *Tresham*, John *Douglas*, and Richard *Chambers*, whom also they ordered with a corporal Oath upon the Holy Evangelists, truly to Answer and Depose upon the same Articles in the presence of the Bishop, who under his former protection, like a wily Lawyer, protested of the mility of the receiving, admitting, and swearing of these witnesses, with pretention also to object against the persons and sayings of the witness in time and place convenient, demanding also a competent and lawful time to minister Interrogatories against them, with a Copy of all the Acts of that day. Wherewith the Delegates were well pleased, and assigned him to Minister his Interrogatories against Master *Coke* on that present day, and against the rest of the next day before noon.

All which Interrogatories who he listed to penne, may hereunder read the same as followeth:

### Certain Interrogatories exhibited by Bonner to be Ministered against the foresaid Witnesses, upon the Article above-mentioned the eighteenth of September.

**I** Edmund Bishop of London, under my pretensions heretofore made before you, do minister these Interrogatories insuing, against all and singular the pretended witnesses already received and sworn, as hereafter to be required and sworn against me the Bishop in this matter, requiring and desiring under the said pretensions, that all and singular the said pretended witnesses may be examined in virtue of their Oath upon the said Interrogatories, and every part and parcel of them.

1. First, That all and singular the said witnesses of virtue of their Oath be examined generally and specially of all and singular Interrogatories, commonly used and accustomed to be made in such matters, especially touching the rites, changing places, now and heretofore, by the space of these twelve years last past, with whom all this time they have also dwelled, and been familiar or conversant, with the names and the places and persons and other circumstances expedient in this behalf, and by whom they have been found and maintained, and for what purpose. *Et interrogentur conjunctim, divisim, & de quolibet.*

2. *Iem*, Touching the pretended Articles made in this behalf, and Injunctions mentioned in the same, that they and every of them, in virtue of the said Oath, shall be examined whether they know their said Articles and Injunctions to be true in all parts, how they know them to be true, by whom, when, and in what place, deposing the formal words of the said pretended Articles and Injunctions in as especial as they are declared. The first Article, And therein let them Depose how he or they know the said Articles and Injunctions to be received from the Kings Majesty, how also he or they knew that I the said Bishop received the said Injunctions at the hands of the Lord Protector Grace. How also they were fitting in the Council Chambers; moreover which were the rest of the Council then sitting, specifying their Names and Surnames, or Titles. Also whether the Tenth of August this present year, or of the last year; moreover whether the Articles or Injunctions were joined together, or apart, whether the tenor thereof and the form and manner of the doing and so following, touching me the said Bishop and also touching the preaching thereunto, was as is deduced in the first Article, declaring moreover, when, where, and how, I the said Bishop accepted the said Injunctions, or promised to observe and follow the same, and by what exprets words.

**And 2.** *Iem*, *I 1549* 3. *Iem*, Whether the said witnesses or any of them were present at my said Sermon made at Pauls Cross, where they then stood, by whom, when they came to it, and at what part of the said Sermon, how long they tarried thereat, at what part thereof or in all they were offended, what were the formal words, or at the leastwise in substance, that I the said Bishop then uttered, or where-

with they were offended, and by what occasion, and who with him or them did hear it, and in what place their counsels did stand, how long they tarried, and at what part they came thither or departed thence, &c. *interrog. ut supra.*

4. *Iem*, Whether the said witnesses or any of them were detested or required, by any person or persons, to be witnesses in this matter, and by whom, when, were, and how the same was done, and in whose presence, &c. *interrog. ut supra.*

5. *Iem*, Whether they or any of them had conferred with other to come unto my Sermon, for what purpose, by whom they were induced and moved, and how they agreed, and what they did after my said Sermon for the impugnation or departing thereof, &c. *interrog. ut supra.*

6. *Iem*, Whether they or any of them have been or be conversant or familiar with any that hath been known, or reputed for a Sacramentary, in denying the verity of Christs true and corporal presence in the Sacrament of the Altar, and whether he and they detest and abhor and obtain from the company of all such persons as be known, noted, or suspected for Sacramentaries in that behalf, and what Opinion he and they have with their contents touching the said presence, &c. *interrog. ut supra.*

7. *Iem*, Whether they or any of them have willed me the said Bishop to be deprived or put in Prison, and whether they or any of them have reported and said that I shall be deprived or imprisoned, repaying thereof, and for what cause they have so willed or reported, or any of their contents, &c. *inter. ut supra.*

8. *Iem*, Whether they or any of them have been in times past a Friar, Prebendary, or Augustinian, or Carmelite, Monk, Canon, Observant, or Religious Person, profiting solemnly Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, according to the Laws, Customs, or Ordinances of this Realm, then used and observed, &c. *interrog. ut supra.*

9. *Iem*, Whether they or any of them being in professed, have been or be since that time married to any person, having likewise or otherwise been professed or loose, or been a Widow, and how oft they have been Married, and whether any of their Wives be yet alive, &c. *interrog. ut supra.*

10. *Iem*, Whether they or any of them have read the Communion in this matter, and whether they or any of them do know or think, that the Communion, Injunctions, Articles, and Denunciation do agree together or no, and wherein they think or know discrepancies, or diversities to be between them in this behalf, &c. *interrog. ut supra.*

11. *Iem*, If they, or any of them do depose, That I Interrogating them, not sincerely and wholly declared as is contained in the Second Article, let him and every of them be examined, in virtue of their Oath, how they do know it, and by what means, declaring whom they think to have knowledge therein with them, &c. *interrog. ut supra.*

12. *Iem*, If they or any of them do depose that I have transgressed and offended in the Fourth Article beginning thus, *Iem*, That ye have not declared, &c. Let them and every of them be examined, in virtue of their Oath, whether they know that these words following, as Martins, Myles, now said after that loss in the Realm, were and be put in the Injunction pretended to be ministered unto me the said Bishop or no, &c. *interrog. ut supra.*

13. *Iem*, If they or any of them do depose that I have transgressed and offended touching the Fifth Article, let them and every of them be examined, in virtue of their Fifth Article, whether the Injunctions pretended in this behalf did were signed with the Kings usual Signet, or rather at all, whether it was Sealed with any Seal, whether it was falsified by the Lord Protectors Grace, or any of the Privy Council, whether it was in full Council sitting delivered unto me by the Lord Protector, whether it was delivered to me, the rest of the Kings Majesties Privy Council then sitting, whether the said days as is contained in the Fifth Article, by whom it was written, when, and where, &c. *interrog. ut supra.*

14. *Iem*, If they or any of them depose that I do defend the Opinion of the Rebels, let them be examined, and every of them, what Rebels they be, what is their opinion, and how the Law of this Realm doth determine thereat,

Thereat,



therein, declaring by what words and facts I the said Bishop did speak and do, and at what time and place, and in whose presence such words and facts were spoken or done, & interog. ut supra.

15. Item, If they or any of them do depose that I know or have heard faithfully, that since the time of the said pretended Injunctions, certain persons within my Diocese have heard, seen, or celebrated Mass or Evening in the Latin Tongue, and after the old Rite and manner, other than according to the Kings Majesties Booke, let them and every of them be examined, in vertue of his said Oath, how they know that I do know, or have heard say, and of the name or names of the party or parties, and of the time and place when, and where it was, and whether any denunciation or detection were, according to the Statutes and Ordinances of this Realm, made unto me or no, & interog. ut supra.

16. Item, If they or any of them do say, that I know or have heard say of such notable Adulterers and Offenders as are mentioned in the Ninth Article, let them and every of them be examined, in vertue of his and their Oath, what they do know that I do know, or have heard say, and who be the persons, where they dwell, who had denounced or detected them, and how I could and ought to have cited them and punished them in this behalf, & interog. ut supra.

17. Item, Whether they or any of them do say, that I know certainly now, what Dr. Cox declared in his Sermon at Paul's-Cross, as is deduced in the Tenth Article, let them be inquired of, in every of them, in vertue of their said Oaths how they can prove it, by whom, and after what sort, & interog. ut supra.

18. Item, If they or any of them do say, that I do know or have certainty of the diversity of the Rites of the common Service of the Church, now set forth, and of the Ministers and Parsons transgressing therein, let them and every of them, in vertue of their Oath, be examined whether there hath been any detection or denunciation made to me thereupon, and how they know or can prove that I have been culpable and negligent herein, & interog. ut supra.

19. Item, Whether they or any of them have been spoken unto or solicited herein to testify, and after what sort, by whom, when, and where, and what was their conference and communication therein, & interog. ut supra.

20. Item, That they and every of them declare and shew the true and sufficient cause of their Testimony, in all and singular the Premises.

After this the Judges Delegate assigned the Bishop to appear again before them upon Wednesday next ensuing, between the hours of seven and eight of the Clock before Noon, in the Hall of the Archbishops Manor of Lambeth, there to shew the cause why he should not be declared, *pro confesso*, upon all the Articles whereunto he had not then fully answered, and to see further process done in the matter; and so (he full protesting of the nullity and invalidity of all their proceedings) they did for that present depart.

In this mean while the Commissioners certified the Kings Majesty and his Council, of the Bishops demeanor towards them, and what objections he had made against their proceedings, making doubts and ambiguities, whether by the tenor of his Majesties Commission, the Commissioners might proceed not only at the denunciation, but also at their meer Offices and also whether they might as well determine or hear the cause. Whereupon his Majesty by advice aforesaid, for the better understanding thereof, did the seventeenth of September send unto the Commissioners a full and perfect declaration and interpretation of his Will and Pleasure in the foresaid Commission, giving them hereby full Authority to proceed at their own discretions, as appeareth more at large by the tenor thereof ensuing:

A certain Declaration or Interpretation of the King, touching certain points and doubts in his former Commission, with Licence given to the Commissioners, as well to determine as to hear, in the Case of Bonner.

Edward the Sixth by the Grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, in Earth the Supreme head: To the most reverend Father in God, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan and Primate of England, the right reverend Father in God Nicholas Bishop of Rochester our trusty and right well-beloved Counsellors, Sir William Peter, and Sir Thomas Smith, Knights, our two principal Secretaries, and William May Doctor of Laws Civil and Dean of Pauls, greeting in Christ Everlasting. By the advice of our most entirely beloved Uncle Edward Duke of Somerset, Governor of our Person, and Protector of our Realm, Dominions, and Subjects, and the rest of our Privy Council have advertised unto you, first, your, or those of you, our Letters Patent of Commission, bearing Date at Westminster the Eighth day of September, in the Third year of our Reign, willing you by force thereof to hear the matters and cause of contempt therein expressed, and calling before you as well the denouncers thereof, as also the right reverend Father in God Edmund Bishop of London, against whom full Commission is made, as in our said Letters of Commission more at large doth appear, we be now credibly informed, that upon the said Commission divers doubts and ambiguities have and may arise.

And also whether ye may as well determine as hear the said cause.

For further declaration whereof we do now interpret and declare, that our full Mind and Pleasure, in the advice aforesaid, was by our Commission, and now is, that you should proceed as well by meer Office, as also by the way of Denunciation, and either of them, or by any other ways or means at your discretions, whereby the truth and merits of the cause may be most freely and best known, and that ye might and may as well finally determine as hear the said matters in all your orders and doings, cutting away all vain and superfluous delays, and having respects to the only truth of the matter. And thus our Declaration we send unto you of our full knowledge and mere reason, by the advice aforesaid, supplying all defaults, remission, and pardon of all defaults, in all our orders, and in all your doings by reason of any defaults of words in our said former Commission or any part thereof, any Law, Statute, or Act to the contrary notwithstanding. And matters accordingly, as well to our foresaid Commission as also to our Declaration, and so fail ye not. In Witness whereof we have made these our Letters Patents.

At Hampton-Court the seventeenth day of September.

The fourth Session against Bonner. Bishop of London, before the Kings Commissioners, in the great Hall at Lambeth, the Eighth of September.

After this Declaration being sent down and received from the King, the Bishop of London, according before to the Commissioners Assignment the Monday before the said day, appeared again before them upon Wednesday the Eighth of September, in the great Hall at Lambeth. Where upon his worsted protestation, first he declared, That al- though he had already faithfully answered all things, yet he sought further to fatigue the term Assigned unto him, to the which cause why he ought not to be declared, *pro confesso*, upon

[KING]  
[Edm.]

Leave given  
to the Com-  
missioners  
to determine  
against  
Bonner.

the Articles theretofore ministered against him, and to the which he had not fully answered, he had then a matter in writing to exhibit unto them, why he ought not to be declared, which he read there openly. Wherein first un- der his accustomed unrevoked terms of protestation, unjust, and unlawful Proceeds and Assignations, he said he was not bound by the Law (for good and reasonable causes) to obey the same, especially their Assignation.

And first, for that the same was openly pronounced by Sir Thomas Smith, one of the pretended Commissioners, without the consent of his pretended Colleagues; or at the least he as a Commissioner did prescribe the Adversary what to write, which he ought not to have done, because by his College he ought not to have intermeddled therein, for that his Colleagues did the first day begin to sit as Judges against him the Bishop, without the presence of the said Sir Thomas Smith.

And Secondly, because his answers, as well unto the pretended Denunciation, as also to all the Articles thereto- fore objected against him, were so full and sufficient, as the Law required (or at leastwise there was nothing good by Law apparent to the contrary) and therefore he was not inforced by Law further to answer thereunto without fur- ther allegation.

And because also that all their proceedings there were so extraordinarily done, that they had confounded all man- ner of Lawfull Process, sometimes proceeding, *ad deman- dandum*, sometimes *ex officio* more, and sometimes *ex officio* more, contrary unto their Commission in that be- half.

And likewise because divers of the Articles pretended were superfluous and impertinent, not revealing, though they were proved, containing in them untruth and falsi- ty, some obscure and uncertain, some depending upon other Articles, either denied or at the least qualified, some captious and deceitful to bring the answerer into a snare, and also being Articles of the Kings Realm the first as by the Ecclesiastical Laws of this Realm the Kings Subjects were not bound to make answer there- unto.

And lastly, because that Sir Thomas Smith Secretary to the Kings Majesty, when that the Bishop was last with the Council in the Council Chamber at White-Hall, after the departure of the Lord Protector and the rest of the Council, did himself alone (without any other) write certain Articles, or Injunctions (amongst the which was that of the Kings Authority in his minority) and after- ward did Copy the same at the Table within the said Council Chamber, and so himself did deliver them unto him. By reason whereof that is not true, which in the Commission, Denunciation and Articles was deduced and objected against him.

When these kind and frivolous objections were thus read, the Archbishop seeing his inordinate and intolerable contempt towards them, charged him very harshly, saying, My Lord of London, if I had been then in the Arch- bishopric of Canterbury, it had been your part to have used your full more humble, obedience and reverently to- wards me than you have; but seeing that I with my Col- leagues sit here now as Delegates from the King's Majesty, I must tell you plain, you have behaved your self too too much inordinately. For at every time that we have been in Commission, you have used such unfeigning fashions, without all reverence and obedience, giving taunts and chides as well unto us, with divers of the Secretaries and Chaplains, as also unto certain of the ancientest that be here, calling them Fools and Daws, with such like, as that you have given to the multitude an intolerable exam- ple of disobedience. And further you my Lord, there is you and one other Bishop whom I call names, that have used your selves so contemptuously and disobediently, as the like I think hath not before been heard of or seen; whereby ye have done much harm.

At which words the great Bishop (as Beati, a Man might justly term him) said kindly to the Archbishop, You have your self to be a more humble Judge.

The Archbishop then proceeding, laid to his charge how indifferently the last day in the Chappel he had called all the people Woodcocks.

The words  
of the Arch-  
bishop  
to Bonner.

Bonner's Re-  
sponse  
to the Arch-  
bishop.

Whereunto he answered, That the last Session *Willelmus* Laitmer, one of the denouncers, being there present, had practised with the Audience, that when he lifted up his hand to them, they should (and did as he was by a token given them) say as he said, and do as he did; as one time upon the lifting up of his hand, they cried, Nay, says; and at another time, Yea, yea, and laughed they could not tell wherewith, with such like fashions.

Unto which words Laitmer, seeing his vain fustian, replied saying, That he lifted not up his Hand at any time but only to cause them to hold their peace.

Then Secretary Smith said to the Bishop, That in all his Writings and Answers that he had hitherto laid in, he would not once acknowledge them as the Kings Com- missioners, but used always protestations with divers in- born and naughty terms, calling them pretended Com- missioners, pretended Delegates, pretended Constitution, pretended Articles, pretended proceedings, so that all things were pretended with him. Indeed (said he) such terms the Priests of Churches use, to delay matters for their Clients, when they will not have the truth known: But you my Lord to use us the Kings Majesties Commission- ers with such terms, you do therein very lowly and naughtily. And I pray you what other thing did he the Bishop say.

For when Letters or Pardons were brought them from the King and his Council, they would not credit them, but said they were none of the Kings or Councils, but of Gentlemen doings, and made under a Bulw, with such like terms. But now my Lord, because hitherto we cannot make you confess whether, in your Sermon that you preached, ye committed the Article touching the Kings Majesties Authority in his tender age, or not, but I will have said that ye will not otherwise answer ye have done, and that ye have already sufficiently answered (with many such delays) so as we can by no means induce you to confess plainly what you did say or may; therefore I say, to the intent we may come to the truth, we have dilated the matter more at large, and have drawn out other Articles whereunto you shall be sworn, and then I trust you will daily with us no more as you have done. For although ye make your Answers in writing, yet you shall be examined by us and make your Answers by mouth to the same Articles, or else you shall do wrong. Indeed I do not (as I said) commend your protestations and terms of Law, if it were in a young Proctor that would give his Clients Guide; but in you it may not be suffered to use the Kings Commissioners.

Then did the Delegates minister unto him certain new Articles and Injunctions, and did there create him with a corporal Oath in form of Law to make a full and true answer thereto. The Bishop answering nothing according to his wonted manner (under his former protestation protested of the nullity and invalidity of their Articles, Injunctions, and Process, desiring also a Copy thereof, with a competent time to answer thereunto. When the Judges Decried a Copy, commanding him to come to his Examination to the Archbishop the next day at Eight of the Clock before Noon.

Then the Commissioners did receive for witness, upon which new Articles now ministered unto the Bishop, Sir John Mafion, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Knights, Master William Cecil, Armeig Wade, and William Hamings, Clerks to the Kings Majesties Council, whom they created with a corporal Oath in form of Law to make a full and true answer thereto, repeating his Interrogatories already mini- stered, said he had more to minister by to morrow at Eight of the Clock.

The same day and time likewise the Bishop exhibited unto the Commissioners an Information, or rather Cavillation against William Laitmer, for that he, notwithstanding that he had at all his last pretended the great tranquillity of this Realm, which was greatly improved and lauded when that any the Kings Subjects should think that his Majesty hath not so full Power and Authority Royal in his minority, as when his Majesty came to perfect age, or should think that his Subjects were bound

Bonner's Re-  
sponse  
to the Ar-  
chbishop.

All things  
were said  
with Bonner  
against him.

Bonner and  
the Bishop  
comparing  
Injunctions.

New Arti-  
cles and In-  
junctions  
ministered  
to Bonner.

Bonner's Re-  
sponse  
to the next  
day ap-  
pear.

New arti-  
cles now  
ministered  
to the Bishop.

Bonner's Re-  
sponse  
to the Ar-  
chbishop.





will answer to God and the King, that ye will henceforth abstain thus to do; for if you do not, I will accuse you before God and the Kings Majesty, unless it be as well by Can. And to be departed, unless my reproach shall stand against the Kings Majesty, people, which flood and scale to him by the way as he went.

**The sixth Action or Process upon Monday the 23d of September, had against Bonner Bishop of London, before the Commissioners, in the great Hall at Lambeth.**

**THE 6th SEP.** IT was assigned as ye have heard in the fourth Act prosecuted the eighteenth of September, that upon Monday then next following, being the three and twentieth of the same Month, the Bishop should again appear before the Commissioners, within the great Hall at Lambeth, then to shew a final cause why he should not be declared *pro confesso*, upon all the Articles whereunto he had not fully answered.

According to which assignment, the same three and twentieth day of September, the Bishop was brought before them by the Undermarshall (to whom for his disobedience and obdurate behaviour he was before that time committed) and there did first declare unto them, that his appearance at that time and place was not voluntary, but coerced, for that he was against his will brought thither by the keeper of the Marshalsea, and therewithal also under his former protestation, recalculation and appeal, did then again intimate a general recalculation of all the Commissioners, alledging in the same, that because the Archbishop with all his Collegues had neither observed the order of their Commission, neither yet proceeded against him after any laudable or good fashion of judgments, but contrariwise had sundry times as well in his absence, as in his presence, attempted many things unlawfully against his person, dignity and state, especially in committing him to thrust Prison, and yet commanding him to make answer; and further, because that he with the rest had proceeded in Commission with Sir Thomas Smith Knight, supporting and maintaining all his evil doings (notwithstanding that he the said Bishop had before fully recused and declined from him) he therefore did also refuse and decline from the judgment of the said Archbishop and his Collegues, and did except against their jurisdiction as unjust, and they thereby unmet persons to proceed against him; therefore, according to his former Appeal, he intended to submit himself under the tuition, protection, and defence of the Kings Majesty for whole honour and reverence sake (he said) they ought not to proceed any further against him, but quietly suffer him to use the benefit of all the recalculation, provocations, and other lawful remedies before alleged, and under superfluous words, at large to be read and seen as followeth.

**The second recalculation made by Edmund Bonner Bishop of London.**

**I**N the Name of God, Amen. Forasmuch as both natural reason and all good policies of Laws especially of this Realm of England, do admit and suffer him that is convicted before an uncorrupted and faithful Judge, to refuse him and to decline his jurisdiction, in as much as Law and reason on the one side willeth process to run uprightly and justly, and that on the other side corruption and malice laboureth to the contrary, and needeth therefore to be bridled; and because ye my Lord of Canterbury with your Collegues in this behalf (deputed as ye say Commissioners against me) neither have observed your said Commission; neither yet proceeded hitherto against me after any laudable, lawful, or any good fashion of judgments, but contrariwise, contrary to your Commission, and against the Law, good reason and order, have at sundry times, and in sundry acts attempted and done many things against me unlawfully, unseemly, and unjustly, and suffer the like to be attempted and done by others,

not reforming and amending the same, as appeared in divers and sundry things remaining in your Acts.

And moreover, because you my said Lord with your said Collegues, have both in mine absence, being let with just causes of impediment, which according to the Laws of this Realm I have fully alleged, and very sufficiently and fully proved according to the order of the Kings Ecclesiastical Laws, injuriously, and much to the hindrance of my name, person, title, dignity, and state, and to the dishonour of my person, in my presence, against all Laws, good order, and reason, without good cause or ground attempted and done many things against me, especially touching mine imprisonment, sending me to straight Ward, and yet commanding me to make answer, as appeared in your unlawful Acts.

I for these causes, and also for that yemmy said Lord and your said Collegues proceeding with Sir Thomas Smith Knight (whom upon just and lawful causes I have refused, recused and declined) have favoured, you maintained, supported and born him, in his unlawful and evil doings, do also refuse, recuse and decline you my said Lord with the rest of your said Collegues agreeing and joining with you, and also except against your proceedings, doings and jurisdictions as unjust, and thereby unmet persons to proceed herein against me.

And further I do alledge, that having been provoked to the Kings most excellent Majesty, as appeared by the tenor of my protestation, remaining in your Acts, whereunto I do protest that I intend to adhere and decline submitting my self unto the tuition, protection, and defence of his said Majesty in this behalf, ye in any wise ought not (if ye regard the person and authority of his Graces royal power, as ye ought to do) to proceed herein against me, especially for the honour and reverence ye ought to have unto his Majesty in this behalf. And because it appeareth that ye do not duly and circumspically consider the same, as ye ought to do, but more and more do give me, that considered both here to all purposes respect my former recalculation, provocation, and all other remedies that heretofore I have used and intencioned in your said Acts.

And also do by these presents refuse, recuse, and decline you my said Lord, and your said Collegues, and your jurisdiction, upon causes aforesaid, offering my self prompt and ready to prove all the same, after an arbiter and arbiters, according to the tenor and form of the Law herein to be chosen, requiring you all, for that honour and reverence ye ought to bear to our said Sovereign Lord, and his Laws allowed and approved in this behalf, that ye do not attempt or do, ye yet suffer to be attempted or done, any thing in any wise against me, or unto my prejudice, but suffer me to use and enjoy the benefit of my said former and this recalculation, provocation, allegation, and other lawful remedies mentioned in your said Acts. And in case ye do de facto, where ye ought not de jure, to attempt or suffer any thing to be attempted or do against me in any wise herein, I protest hereunto, and hereby, of my great grief and hurt in that behalf, and that not only do intend to appeal from you, but also, according to the Kings Ecclesiastical Laws, to accuse and complain upon you, as justly and truly I both may and ought to do.

Notwithstanding their recalculation, and former appellations, the Archbishop with the rest told him plain that they would be fill his Judges, and proceed against him according to the Kings Commission, until they did receive a *Superseas*, which if he did obtain, they would gladly obey.

Then the Bishop, seeing that they would fill proceed against him, did there likewise intimate another appellation unto the Kings Majesty, expressing therein in effect no other matter, but that as is already alleged in the two former recalculation and appeals: saying that he requested that Letters diffusive or appellations might be given him according to the Law, and that for his better safeguard he did submit himself under the protection of the King.

The Commissioners for all this thrust full into their Commission, and would not in any wise, but continued him strictly to make more full answer to his Articles than he had done.

To

**THE 7th SEP.** To whom the Bishop said, that he would stand unto his recalculation and appellations before made, and would not make other answer.

Then the Delegates demanded of him what cause he had to alledge, why he ought not to be declared *pro confesso*, upon the Articles whereunto he had not fully answered, the Bishop first answering (as before) that he would adhere unto his apprehension and recalculation.

Whereupon the Archbishop, with consent of the rest, seeing his pertinacy, pronounced him *Contumax*, and in pain thereof declared him *pro confesso*, upon all the Articles which he had not answered.

This done, Master Secretary Smith shewed forth a Letter which the Bishop of London had before that time sent unto the Lord Maior and the Aldermen of the City of London, the tenor whereof enufeth as followeth.

**To the Right honourable and my very good Lord, The Lord Maior of London, with all his worshipful Brethren, my very dear and worshipful Friends, with speed.**

**Right honourable, with my very humble recommendation:** I humbly shew unto you, that I have presented of late and heard with mine ears, what vile Beasts and Heretics have preached unto you, or rather like themselves prated and railed against the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, defaming the verity and presence of Christs true Body and Blood in these, giving you and the people liberty to believe what ye list, teaching you doubtfully, that Faith in this behalf must not be coerced, but that every Man may believe as he will; by reason whereof, left my presence and silence might unto you have been given to have allowed their heretical Doctrine, and given credit unto them, betraying my Flock of the Catholick flock, ye know I departed Yesterday from the heretic Praters uncharitable charity, and I could have said that you and all other that be Catholick should have done likewise, and thus with him that be already cast away, that will not be recovered. For your tarrying with him still, shall not only hurt your selves in receiving his poisoned Doctrine, but also shall give cause that their Doctrine is tolerable by reason that ye are content to hear it, and say nothing against it. And because I cannot tell what I shall speak with you to advertise you hereof, therefore I thought good for mine own discharge and yours, thus much to write unto you, requiring and praying you again and again to God himself, and for mine own discharge, that ye suffer not your selves to be abused with such naughty Preachers and Teachers, in hearing their evil Doctrine that ye shall perceive them go about to sow. And thus our blessed Lord long and well preserve you all with this noble City in all good joy, peace, and prosperity. Written in haste, this Monday morning, the sixth of September 1549.

Your faithful Reads man and poor Bishop Edmund Bonner.

This Letter being read, the Secretary demanded of him whether he wrote it not. To whom he would not otherwise answer, but that he would still adhere and stand unto his former recalculation and appeals. Which the Commissioners, seeing determined to continue this case in state as it was until Friday then next following between the hours of eight and nine of the clock before Noon, affixing the Bishop to be there at the same time and place, it came to hear a final Decree of this matter, he still protesting as before.

**The seventh Session or appearance of Bonner upon Tuesday the fourth of October, before the Kings Commissioners at Lambeth.**

**THE 4th OCT.** Upon Friday the Commissioners, for divers urgent causes, letting them, did not sit in Commission as to their cause, but by their appointment, but deferred it until Tuesday the first of October then next following, upon which day the Bishop appearing before them, the Arch-

bishop declared unto him, that although as upon Friday last they had appointed to pronounce their final Decree and Sentence in this matter, yet forasmuch as they thought that that Sentence (although they had just cause to give it) had been very fore against him, they had not only deferred the same until this day, but minding to be more friendly to him than he was to himself, and to give him more ease, and gentle reformation towards him, had the said made chiefly offed the Kings Majesty, and very disobediently behaved himself, yet if he would in the mean while have acknowledged his fault, and been contented to make some part of amends in submitting himself according to his bounden duty, he should have found much favour: So the Sentence should not have been to fore and extreme against him, as it was like now to be, for which they were very sorry, especially to see the continuance of such stubborn disobedience, whereby they were then more enforced to give such sentence against him.

The Bishop nothing at all regarding this gentle and friendly admonition and favour, but perceiving fill in his wonted contumacy, draw forth a Paper, wherein he read these words following.

**I** Edmund Bishop of London brought in as a prisoner by his keepers, one of the Marshalsea, here before you a Declaration, that I have presented of late and heard with mine ears, what vile Beasts and Heretics have preached unto you, or rather like themselves prated and railed against the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, defaming the verity and presence of Christs true Body and Blood in these, giving you and the people liberty to believe what ye list, teaching you doubtfully, that Faith in this behalf must not be coerced, but that every Man may believe as he will; by reason whereof, left my presence and silence might unto you have been given to have allowed their heretical Doctrine, and given credit unto them, betraying my Flock of the Catholick flock, ye know I departed Yesterday from the heretic Praters uncharitable charity, and I could have said that you and all other that be Catholick should have done likewise, and thus with him that be already cast away, that will not be recovered. For your tarrying with him still, shall not only hurt your selves in receiving his poisoned Doctrine, but also shall give cause that their Doctrine is tolerable by reason that ye are content to hear it, and say nothing against it. And because I cannot tell what I shall speak with you to advertise you hereof, therefore I thought good for mine own discharge and yours, thus much to write unto you, requiring and praying you again and again to God himself, and for mine own discharge, that ye suffer not your selves to be abused with such naughty Preachers and Teachers, in hearing their evil Doctrine that ye shall perceive them go about to sow. And thus our blessed Lord long and well preserve you all with this noble City in all good joy, peace, and prosperity. Written in haste, this Monday morning, the sixth of September 1549.

As soon as the Bishop had read these words, he did deliver as well that Paper, as also two other, unto the Achary, the one containing an appellation, and the other a supplication unto the Kings Majesty, which appellation beginneth thus. In the Name of God, Amen.

Wherein first he shewed how natural every Creature doeth shewably from that thing which goeth about to hurt it, and also seeketh help and remedy to withstand such hurts and injuries.

Further he shewed that it is found by experience to be hurtful and dangerous to trust him that once hath hurt and beguiled, lest he might aid more, rather than to take cognizance.

Moreover he shewed, that he had found heretofore at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the Collegues in this matter, much extremity and cruelty, injuries, losses, and griefs, contrary to Gods Law and Statutes of this Realm, and against Justice, Charity and good order, bring well assured if they were not stayed but proceeded, they would add more evil to evils.

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to

KING.

## The Arch bishops

Secretary

**Banner.** 1

Secretary  
Smith.

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## The fourth Reason.

The fourth Reason. The form of an Altar was ordained for the Sacrifices of the Law, and therefore the Altar in Greek is called *Thysanacton*, *Quasi Sacrificii locus*. But now both the Law and the Sacrifices thereof do cease: wherefore the form of the Altar used in the Altar ought to cease withall.

## The fifth Reason.

The fifth Reason. Christ did institute the Sacrament of his Body and Blood at his last Supper at a Table, and not at an Altar, as it appeareth manifestly by the three Evangelists. And Saint Paul calleth the coming to the holy Communion, the coming unto the *Lords Supper*. And also it is not read, that any of the Apostles or the Primitive Church did ever use any Altar in ministration of the holy Communion.

Wherefore being the form of a Table is more agreeable to Christs Institution, and with the usage of the Apostles, and of the Primitive Church, than the form of an Altar, therefore the form of a Table is rather to be used than the form of an Altar in the Administration of the holy Communion.

## The sixth Reason.

The sixth Reason. Finally, It is said in the Preface of the Book of Common Prayer, that we should arise in the use and practising of the same Book; to appeale all each diversity, the matter shall be referred unto the Bishop of the Diocese, with by his discretion shall take order for the quieting, and appealing of the same, so that the same Order be not contrary unto any thing contained in that Book.

After these Letters and Reasons received, the forenamed Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, consequently upon the time did hold his Visitation, wherefore, amongst other his Injunctions, the said Bishop exhorted the Churches in his Diocese, where the Altars did then remain, to conform themselves unto those other Churches which had taken them down, and had set up in stead of the multitude of their Altars one decent Table in every Church.

Upon the occasion whereof there arose a great diversity about the form of the Lords Board, some using it after the form of a Table, and some of an Altar. Wherein when the said Bishop was required to say and determine what was most meet, he declared he could do no less of his bounden duty, for the appealing of such diversity, and to procure one godly Uniformity, but to exhort all his Dioceses unto that which he thought did best agree with Scripture, with the usage of the Apostles, and with the Primitive Church, and to that which is not only not contrary unto any thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, (as is before proved) but also might highly further the Kings most godly proceedings in abolishing of divers vain and superstitious Opinions of the Popish Mass out of the hearts of the simple, and to bring them to the right use taught by holy Scripture of the *Lords Supper*, and to appointe the form of a right Table to be used in his Dioceses, and in the Church of Paul brake down the same Wall standing then by the high Altare side.

Now we will enter (God willing) into those matters which happened between King Edward and his Sister Mary, as by their Letters here following are to be seen.

To my Lord Protector and the rest of the Kings Majesties Council.

My Lord, I perceive by the Letters which I late received from you, and other of the Kings Majesties Council, that ye be all sorry to find so little Conformity in me touching the Observation of his Majesties Laws; who am well assured, that I have offended no Law, unless it be a late Law of your own making, for the altering of matters in Religion, which in my Conscience is not worthy to have the name of a Law, both

for the Kings Honour sake, the wealth of the Realm, and giving an occasion of an evil bruse through all Christendome, by the partiality used in the same, and (as my said Conscience is very well persuaded) the offering of God, which pertaineth all the rest: but I am well assured that the King his Father Laws were all allowed and consented to without compulsion by the whole Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal, and all ye Executors sworn upon a Book to fulfill the same, so that it was an unforced Law, and that I have obeyed, and will do with the Grace of God, till the Kings Majesty my Brother shall have sufficient cause to be a Judge in these matters himself.

Wherein, my Lord, I was plain with you as my left being in the Court, declaring unto you at that time whereunto I would stand, and now do assure you all, that the only occasion of my stay from altering mine Opinion, is for two causes:

One principally for my Conscience sake: the other, that the King my Brother shall not hereafter charge me to be one of those that were agreeable to such alterations in his tender years. And what fruits daily grow by such changes, since the death of the King my Father, in every indifferent person it well apparently, both in the disposition of God, and unpleasing of the Realm.

Nevertheless, I assure you all, I would be as loth to see his Kingdom take hurt, or that any evil should come to his Realm, as the help of you all, and if of you have the like cause, considering how I am compelled by nature, being his Majesties poor and humble Sister, most tenderly to love and pray for him, and unto this his Realm (being born within the same) with all wealth and prosperity to Gods Honour.

And if any judge of me the contrary for mine Opinions sake, as I trust none doth, I doubt not in the end, with Gods help, to prove my self as true a natural and humble Sister, as they of the contrary Opinion, with all their devices and altering of Laws, shall prove themselves true Subjects: praying you my Lord, and the rest of the Council, no more to trouble and inquiet me with matters touching my Conscience, wherein I am at a full point, with Gods help, whatsoever shall happen to me, intending, with his Grace, to trouble you with any worldly Suit, but to bestow the short time I think to live in quietness, and pray for the Kings Majesty and all you, heartily wishing, that your proceedings may be to Gods Honour, the safeguard of the Kings Person, and quietness to the whole Realm.

Moreover, where you desire it, That I should send my Controulers and Doctor Hopton unto you, by whom you would signifie your minds more amply, to my contentation and honour: it is not unknown to you all, that the chief charge of my house rests only upon the travels of my said Controulers, who hath not been absent from my house three whole days since the setting up of the same, unless it were for my Latters Parents; so that if it were not for his continual diligence, I think my little person would not have reached so far. And my Chaplain by occasion of sickness hath been long absent, and is not yet able to ride.

Therefore like as I cannot forbear my Controulers, and my Priests be not able to journey, I shall I desire you my Lord, and all the rest of the Council, that leaving any thing to be declared to me, except matters of Religion, ye will either write your minds, or send some trusty Person, with whom I shall be contented to talk, and make answer as the case shall require: assuring you that if any Servant of mine, either Man or Woman, or Chaplain, should move me to the contrary of my Conscience, I would not give ear to them, nor suffer the like to be used within my house. And thus my Lord, with my hearty Commendations, I wish unto you the rest, as well to do as my self.

From my house at Kinning-Hall, the two and twentieth of June, 1549.

Your assured friend is my power,

Mary.

A remem-

KING  
Edward.

A remembrance of certain matters appointed by the Council to be declared by D. Hopton to the Lady Maries Grace, for answer to her former Letter; which said Hopton was after she came to her Reign Bishop of Norwich.

Her Grace writeth, That the Law made by Parliament be not worthy the name of Law, meaning the Statute for the Communion, &c.

Thou shalt say thereto;

The fault is great in any Subject to disallow a Law of the King, a Law of a Realm, by long study, free disputation, and uniform detestation of the whole Clergy, confused, debated, and concluded; but the greater fault is in her Grace, being next of any Subject in blood and estate to the Kings Majesty her Brother and good Lord, to give example of disobedience, being a Subject, or of unaturalness, being his Majesties Sister, or of neglecting the Power of the Crown, being by limitation of Law next to the same. The example of disobedience is most perilous in this time, as the can well understand; Her unkindness redden in the Kings own acceptance; The neglecting of the Power before God is answerable, and in the World toucheth her honour.

The Executors (the faith) were sworn to King Henry the Eighth by his Laws.

Thou shalt say,

It is true, they were sworn to him, his Laws, his Heirs and Successors; which Oath they duly observe, and should offend if they should break any one of the Kings Laws now being, without a dispensation by a Law, and herein her Grace shall understand. That it is no Law, which is dissolved by a Law: neither may her Grace do that injury to the Kings Majesty her Brother, to diminish his Authority so far, that he may not, by the free content of a Parliament, amend and alter unprofitable Laws, for the number of inconveniences which heret might follow, as her Grace with consideration may well perceive.

Offence taken by the sending for her Officers.

Thou shalt say,

If her Grace could the first Letters of that purpose, they will declare our good meaning to her, and her gentle usage, requiring the presence of her truly Servant, because the might give more trust to our Message.

Her House is her Flock.

Thou shalt say,

It is well liked her Grace should have her House of Flock, but not exempt from the Kings Orders: neither may there be a Flock of the Kings Subjects, but such as will hear and follow the Voice of the King their Shepherd. God disalloweth it, Law and Reason forbideth it, Policy abhorreth it, and her Honour may not require it.

Thou shalt say,

Her Grace deferreth her Obedience to the Kings Laws, until his Majesty be of sufficient years.

She could in no one saying more disallow the Authority of the King, the Majesty of his Crown, and the State of the Realm. For herein the independent his Kingdom, and cleareth his Authority by his Age, not by his Right and Title. Her Grace must understand he is a King by the Ordinance of God, by descent of Royal Blood, not by the naming of his years.

As a Creature subject to Mortality, he hath Youth, and by Gods Grace shall have Age: but as a King he hath no difference by days and years. The Scripture plainly declareth it, not only young Children to have been Kings by Gods special Ordinance, but also (which is to be noted) to have had best success in their Reign, and the favour of God in their proceedings. Yea, in their first years have they most purely reformed the Church and state of Religion. Therefore her Grace hath no cause thus to diminish his Majesties Power, and to make him as it were no King until the third him of sufficient years. Whereas how much his Majesty may be justly offended, they be sorry to think.

She saith she is subject to none of the Council.

Thou shalt say,

If her Grace understandeth it of us in that acceptance as we be private men, and not Counsellors sworn to the Kings Majesty, we knowlege us not to be Superior; but if she understand her writing of us as Counsellors and Magistrates ordained by his Majesty, her Grace must be contented to think us of Authority sufficient by the reason of our Office to challenge a Superiority; not to rule by private affection, but by Gods Providence; not to use estimation, but to the Kings Honour, and finally to increase the Kings estate with our Council, our Dignity and Vocations and we think her Grace will not forget the saying of Solomon in the sixth Chapter of the Book of Wisdom, to move a King to Rule by Council and Wisdom, and to build his estate upon them. Wherefore her Grace must be remembered, the Kings Majesties political Body is not made only of his own Royal material body, but of a Council, by whom his Majesty ruled, directed and governeth his Realm. In the place of which Council her Grace is not ignorant that we be fit and placed. Wherefore the reputation she shall give us, the shall give it to the Kings Honor, and that which the shall take from us, the shall take from his Majesty, whose Majesty we think if it might take increase or honor, as God giveth a daily abundance, it should receive rather increase from her, being his Majesties Sister, than thus any abatement.

She received Master Arundel, and Master Englefield.

Thou shalt say,

All the Council remembereth well her refusal to have her house charged with any more number, alleging the small proportion for her charge, and therefore it was thought to come more for their earnest Suit, meaning to be privileged Subjects from the Law, than of her desire, which refused very often to increase her number. Their censure the King might not suffer, to have his Law disobeyed, their Countries where they should live by them to be desolate, and having been Servants to his Majesty, the circumstances of their departure might in no wise be liked.

She refused to hear any man to the contrary of her Opinion.

Thou shalt say;

It is an answer more of will than of reason, and therefore her Grace must be admonished neither to trust her own opinion without ground, neither to mislike all others having ground. If hers be good, it is no hurt if she hear the worse. If it be ill, she shall do well to hear the better. She shall not alter by hearing, but by hearing the better. And because she shall not mislike the offer, let her Grace name of Learning men whom she will, and further than they be learned shall prove the shall not be moved. And to far it is thought reason will compel her Grace.

In the end ye shall say,

The good wills and minds of the Lord Protector and the Council is so much toward her Grace, that howsoever the would her self in honour be esteemed, howsoever in confidence quitted, yet howsoever benefited, living their duties to God and King, they would as much, and in their doings (if it please her to prove it) be nothing Inferiours, afflicting her Grace, that they be most forry that she is thus diquitted; and if necessity of the cause, the honour and fury of the Kings, and the judgment of our own confidence moved them not, thus far they would not have attempted. But their trust is, her Grace will allow them the more, when the shall perceive the cause and think no less could be done by them, where the provoked them to far.

These and other of like credit, more amply committed to you in speech, you shall declare to her Grace, and further declare your confidence for the allowing of the manner of the Commission, as ye have plainly profited before us.

At Richmond the fourteenth of June, 1549.

The Lady Mary to the Lord Protector and the rest of the Council, June 27. 1549.

**M**<sup>y</sup> Lord, I perceive by Letters directed from you, and to order of the Kings Majesties Council, to my Convent, my Chaplain, and Master Englefield my Servant, that ye will them upon their Allegiance, to repair immediately to you, whereas you gave me evident cause to charge mine accustomed opinion of you, that I, that in joy to stand, ye careful of my questions and well doing, considering how earnestly I write to you for the play of two of them, and that without very just cause. And as for Master Englefield, as he could have prepared himself, having his heart so far off, although he had not at this present, he would have performed your request. But indeed I am much deceived. For I suppose ye would have weighed and taken my Letters in better part, if ye have received them; if not, to have tarried my answers, and not to have found so little friendship to have been used so urgently at your hands, in sending for him upon whose travel doth rest the whole charge of my whole house, as I write unto you lately, whose absence therefore shall be to me, and my said house no little displeasure, especially being so far off. And before I say all this, I do greatly marvel to see your writing for him, and the other two, with such extreme words of peril to insue towards them in case they did not come, and especially for my Convent, whose charge is so great, that he cannot justly be more to take a journey: which would in mine opinion needed not (unless it were in some very just and necessary cause), to any of mine, who take my self Subject to none of you all, not doubting but if the Kings Majesty my Brother were of sufficient years to perceive this matter, and knew what lack and incommodity the absence of my said Officer should be to my house, his Grace would have been so good a Lord to me, as to have suffered him to remain where his charge is. Notwithstanding, I have written him at this time to repair to you, and to return to me, as before you need any of my very necessities, and I have given him the like leave to my poor sick Priest also, whose life I think undoubtedly shall be put to hazard by the wet and cold painful travel of this journey. But for my part I assure you all, that since the King my Father, your late Master, and every good Lord, died, I never took you for other than my Friends; but in this it appeareth contrary. And saving I thought verily that my former Letters should have discharged this matter, I would not have troubled my self with writing the same, not doubting but you do consider that none of you all would have been contented to have been thus used by your inferiours hands: I mean, to have had your Officer or any of your Servants sent for by force (as ye make it) knowing no just cause why. Wherefore I do not a little marvel, that ye had not this remembrance towards me, who always have wished and wish you all as well to do as my self, and both have and will pray for you all as

heartily, as for mine own Soul, to Almighty God, whom I humbly beseege to illuminate you all with his light Spirit, to whose mercy also I am at a full point to commit my self, whose favour shall become of my Body. And thus with my Commendations I bid you all farewell. From my house at Kensington, the 27th of June.

Your Friend to my power, though you give me contrary cause, Mary.

A Copy of the Kings Majesties Letter to the Lady Mary the four and twentieth of January, 1550.

**R**ight dear, &c. We have been by Letters of our Council, sent to you of late, and by your answer therunto, touching the cause of certain your Chaplains, having offended our Laws in saying of Mass, their good and convenient advice, and your fruited and indirect milking of the same: which thing moveth us to write at this time, that where good counsel from our Council hath not prevailed, yet the like from our self may have due regard. The whole matter we perceive lies in this, that you being our next Sister, in whom above all other our Subjects nature should place the most estimation of us, would willingly and purposefully, not only break our Laws your self, but also have others maintained to do the same. Truly howsoever the matter may have other terms, other sense it hath not: and although by your Letters it seemeth you challenge a promise made, that to you may do: yet surely we know the promise had no such meaning, neither to maintain, nor to continue your fault. You must know this, Sister, you were at the first time, when the Law was made, born without, not because you should disobey the Law, but that by your leasly and love thowed you might learn to obey it. We made a difference of you from our other Subjects, not for that of all other should you be Laws, and you only gainst them, but that you might be brought as far forward by love, as others were by duty. The error wherein you would rest is double, and every part to great, that neither for the love of God we can well suffer it undesired, neither for the love of you can we but with it amended. First, you retain a fashion in honouring of God, who indeed thereby is dishonoured, and therein are you in real lack of Science, and having Science offered you, you refuse it, not because it is Science, we trust (for then should we despair of you) but because you think it is none. And surely in this we can best reprove you, learning daily in our School, that therefore we learn things because we know them not, and are not allowed to say we know not those things, or we think they be not good, and therefore we will not learn them. Sister, you must think nothing can commend you more than reason, according to the which you have been hitherto used; and now for very love we will offer you reason our self. If you are perfwaded in conscience to the contrary of our Laws, you or your Perfwaders shall freely be suffered to say what you or they can, for that you will hear what he said to you.

In this Point you see I pretermitt my estate, and talk with you as your Brother rather than your supreme Lord and King. Thus should you, being as well content to hear of your opinions as you are content to hold thith, in the end think us as much for bringing you to light, as now before you learn you are loth to be it. And if thus much reason with our natural love shall not move you, whereof we would be ready, then must we consider the other part of your fault, which is the offence of our Laws. For though hitherto it hath been suffered in hope of amendment, yet now, if hope be none, how shall there be surance? Our charge is to have the same care over every mass estate, that every man ought to have over his own. And in your own house as you would be loth openly to suffer one of your Servants, being next you, must manifestly to break your Orders, to fault you think in our fate it shall miscontent us to permit you, to great a Subject not to keep our Laws. Your name is to be in blood, your greatness in estate, the condition of this time maketh your fault the greater. The example is unnatural that our Sister should do less for us than our other Subjects. The cause is flagrant for so great a Personage to forsake our Majesty.

Finally,

**KING** Finally, it is too dangerous in a troublesome Commonwealth, to make the people to mistrust a Father. We be young, you think, in years to consider this. Truly Sister, if you trouble us somewhat the more, for it may be, this evil suffered in you is greater than we can discern, and so we be as much troubled because we doubt whether we for the whole part, as we be for that we see. Indeed we will presume no further than our years give us; that is, in doubtful things not to trust our own wits, but in evident things we think there is no difference. If you should not do as other Subjects do, were it not evident that therein you should not be a good Subject? Were it not plain in that case, that you should use us not as your Sovereign Lord? Again, if you should be suffered to break our Laws manifestly, were it not a comfort for others to do so on our? These things be to plain, as we could almost have judged them six years past. And indeed it grieveth us not a little, that you, which should be of our most comfort in our young years, should alone give us occasion of discomfort. This you not but it must needs trouble us, and if you can so think, you ought Sister to amend it. Our natural love towards you without doubt is great, and therefore diminish it not your self. If you will be loved by us, these come token of love towards us, that we may not the with the Psalm, *Mala primum mihi reddiderunt*. If you will be believed when by writing you confit us to be your Sovereign Lord, hear that which in other things is often alleged, *Offende mihi filium tuum ex facilius*. In the answer of your Letters to our Council, I remember you remember your Highness upon one reason divided into two parts. The first is, that in matters of Religion your Faith is none other, but as all Christians doth confite. The next is, you will assent to no alteration, but with things: stand as they did. At this time, when you mean in the first to our Father's death, if you are given pardon craved of your Majesty for my sins and kind writing, I beseech Almighty God to preserve the same in Honour with as long continuance of health and life as ever had Noble King. From Beaulieu, the third of February.

a challenge of a promise made otherwise than it was meant, the truth is, the people could be denied before your Majesties presence at my last writing upon the same. And although I confite, the ground of Faith (whereunto I take reason to be but an Hand-Maid) and my conscience also hath and do agree with the same: yet touching that promise, for so much as it hath pleased your Majesty (God knoweth by whose persuasion) to write, it was not so meant; I shall most humbly desire your Highness to examine the truth thereof indifferently, and either will your Majesty acknowledge me being with the Emperor, to inquire of the same, if it be your pleasure to have him move it, or else to cause it to be demanded of the Emperor's Ambassador here, although he were not within this Realm at that time. And thereby it shall appear that in this point I have not offended your Majesty; if it may please you so to accept it.

Your Majesties most humble and unworthy Sister, Mary.

The Lady Mary to the Lords of the Council the fourth of December, 1550.

**M**<sup>y</sup> Lords, your Letters dated the second of this present were delivered unto me the third of the same. And whereas you write that two of my Chaplains, Doctor Millet and Baskly, be indicted for certain things committed by them contrary to the Kings Majesties Laws, and Provis for their more assured foris, and delivered to the Sheriff of Essex: I cannot but marvel they be so used, considering it is done, as I take it, for saying Mass, which was always and yet I have been assured that the Emperor's Majesty hath been promised that I should never be suspected nor troubled in my so doing, as some of your Lords can witness. Furthermore, besides the declaration of the said promise made to me by the Emperor's Ambassador that dead is from a Majesty, to put my Chaplain more out of fear, which I was the last year with the Kings Majesty my Brother, that question was then moved, and could not be denied, but affirmed by some of you before his Majesty to be true, being not so much suspected for the trouble of my said Chaplain, as I am to think here this matter may be taken, the promise to such a person being more regarded. And for mine own part, I thought full little to have received such ungentleness at your hands, having always (God is to my self) wished unto the whole number of you as to my self, and have referred to trouble you, or to create any thing at your hands, but your good will and friendship, which very friendly appears in this matter. Notwithstanding, to be plain with you, howsoever ye shall live in or mine (which God help) I shall never vary from my opinion touching my Father. And if ye or any of you be not the least good will for that matter, or favour in your friendship towards me only for the same, I wish and will be contented, trusting that God will in the end fulfil my

promise

mercy upon me, assuring you, I would rather refuse the friendship of all the world, (whereunto I trust I shall never be drawn) than forsake any point of my Faith. I am not without some hope that ye will stay this matter, not enforcing the rigour of the Law against my Chaplains. The one of them was not in my house *thoſe* four months, and Doctor Mallet, having my licence, is either at Windſor, or at his Benefice, whome, as I have heard, was indited for saying Majeſty one of my houses, which was not true. But indeed, *thoſe* before my removing from Woodman-water, he said in a letter to me, that he would not be ſaid, my whole household in offence. *thoſe* Majeſty there by mine appointment. I ſee and hear of divers that do not obey your Statutes and Proclamations, and nevertheless escape without punishment. Be ye Judges if it be well used to have mine punished by rigour of a Law, besides all the false bruits that ye have suffered to be spoken of me. Moreover, my Chaplain Doctor Mallet, breaks mine own Commandment, was not ignorant of the promise made to the Emperor, which did put him out of Tears. I doubt not therefore but ye will consider it, as by that occasion no piece of friendship be taken away, nor I to have cause but to bear you my good will, as I have done heretofore: for albeit I could do you little pleasure, yet of my friendship ye were sure, as if it had been in my power, ye should have well known. Thus with my hearty Commendations to you all, I pray Almighty God to send you as much of his Grace, as I would wish to mine own Soul.

From Buxton, the fourth of December.

Your assured friend to my power,  
Mary.

The Council to the Lady Mary, the five and twentieth of December.

**A**fter our due Commendations to your Grace, by your Letters to us, as an answer to ours, touching certain Proceſs against two of your Chaplains, for saying Majeſty against the Law and Statute of the Realm, we perceive both the offence of your Chaplains is otherwise executed than the matter may bear, and also our good wills otherwise misconstrued than we looked for. And for the first part, where your greatest reason to excuse the offence of a Law, is a promise made to the Emperors Majesty, whereof you write, that first some of us be witnesses, next that the Embassador for the Emperor declared the same unto you, and lastly, that the same promise was affirmed to you before the Kings Majesty at your last being with him: we have thought convenient to repeat the matter from the beginning, as it hath hitherto proceeded, whereupon it shall appear how evidently your Chaplains have offended the Law and you also maintain the promise. The promise is but one in itself, but by times twice as you say repeated. Of which times, the first is chiefly to be considered, for upon that do the other two depend. It is very true the Emperor made request to the Kings Majesty, that you might have liberty to use the Majeſty in your house, and to be as if they were exempted from the danger of the Statute. To which request divers good reasons were made, containing the difficulties that should follow the grant thereof, and means devised rather to persuade you to obey and receive the general and goodly Reformation of the whole Realm, than by a private favour to prejudice a common Order. But yet, upon earnest desire and entreaty made in the Emperors name, thus much was granted, that for his sake and your own also, it should be suffered and winked at, if you had the private Majeſty used in your own Closet for a season, until you might be better informed, whereof there was some hope, having only with you a few of your own Chamber, so that for all the rest of your Household the Service of the Realm should be used, and none others further than this the promise exceeded not. And truly such a matter it then seemed to some of us, as indeed it was, that well might the Emperor have required of the Kings Majesty a matter of more profit, but how more weight or difficulty to be granted his Majesty could not. After this grant in words, thereby by the Embassadors now dead, oftentimes desired free writings, as a testimony of the same. But that was ever denied; not because we

meant to break the promise, as it was made, but because there was daily hope of your Reformation.

Now to the second time, you say the Emperors Embassadors Declaration made mention of a promise to you, it might well be so. But we think otherwise than as it appeared before written. If it were, his fault is to declare more than he heard; ours it may not be, that deny not what we have said. As for the last time when ye were with the Kings Majesty, the same some of us (whom by these words your Letters note) do well remember, that no other thing was granted to you in this matter, but as the first promise was made to the Emperor, at which time you had too many arguments made to approve the proceedings of the Kings Majesty, and to condemn the abuse of the Majeſty, to think that where the private Majeſty was judged, that also was not only denied, but divers good reason alleged, that he should think it denied with reason, and to be contented with an answer. It was told him, in reducing that which was commonly called the Majeſty to the Order of the Primitive Church, and the Indulgence of Christ, the Kings Majesty and his whole Realm had their Conscience well quieted, against the which if any thing should be willingly committed, the same should be taken as an offence to God, and a very sin against a true King. Wherefore to license by open act such a deed, in the conscience of the Kings Majesty and his Realm, were even a sin against God. The most that might herein be born, was, that the Kings Majesty might, upon hope of your Graces reconciliation, suspend the execution of his Law, so that you would use the license as it was first granted.

Whatever the Embassador hath said to others, he had no other manner of grant from us, nor having it thus granted, could allege any reason against it. And where in your Letter your Grace note it as a breakers of the promise made to the Emperor, it shall appear who hath broken the promise: whether we that have suffered more than we licensed, or you that have transgressed that which was licensed. Now therefore we pray your Grace consider the doings of your Chaplains with every point of the premises; and if the same cannot be excused, then think also how long the Law hath been spared. If it prick our consciences somewhat, that so much should be used as by the promise you may claim, how much more should it grieve us to license more than you can claim? And yet could we be content to bear a great burthen to satisfy your Grace, if the burthen pressed not our consciences so much as it doth, whereto we must say as the Apostle said, *Gloriamus offiſſe hac, testimonium conscientiae nostrae*. For the other part of your Graces Letters by which we say you misconstrue our good wills in writing to you, howsoever the Law had proceeded against your Chaplains, our order in sending to you was to be liked, and therein truly had we special regard of your Graces Degree and Estate. And because the Law it self respecteth not persons, we thought to give respect to you, in signifying to you what the Law required, before it should be executed, that being warned, your Grace might either think no transgression in the execution, or for an example of obedience call it to be executed your self.

Others we see perplexed with fullness of matters; your Grace we would have been unwary, to think any thing done on a sudden. Truly we thought it more commendable for your Grace to help the execution of a Law, than to help the offence of one condemned by Law. And in giving you knowledge what the Kings Laws required, we looked for help in the execution by the Kings Majesties Sister. The greater Personage your Grace is, the mightier to the Kings, so much more ought your example to further his Laws. For whose cause it hath been called a good Commonwealth, where the people obeyed the higher Estate, and they obeyed the Laws. As nature hath joined your Grace to the Kings Majesty with love most entirely, so hath Reason and Law subjoined you to obey him willingly. The one and the other we doubt not but your Grace remembereth; and as they both be joined together in you by the Majesties Sister, so we trust you will not fewer them; for indeed your Grace cannot love him as your Brother, but you must obey his Majesty as his Subject.

Example

**RING**  
**LEASO**  
Example of your obedience and reverence of his Majesty's Laws is instead of a good Preacher to a great number of his Majesties Subjects, who if they may see in you negligence of his Majesty, or his Laws, will not fail, but follow on hardly, and then their fault is not their own, but yours, by example, and so may the Kings Majesty, when he shall come to further judgment, impute the fault of divers evil people (whose things God forbiddeth) to the influence of your Graces doings. And therefore we most earnestly, from the depth of our hearts desire it, that as nature hath set your Grace nigh his Majesty by blood, for your love and zeal to his Majesty will further his estate by obedience. In the end of your Letter two things be touched, which we cannot permit: the one is, you seem to charge us with permission of men to break Laws and Statutes. We think indeed it is too true, that Laws and Proclamations be broken daily, the more pity it is, but that we permit them, we would be fary to have improved. The other is, that we have suffered brutes to be spoken of you, and that also must be answered as the other. It is pity to see men of us, as whom they may touch with tales and infamies they care not, yet thus misnot the best. Such is the boldness of people, that neither we can fully bribe them to raise tales of you, nor of our selves. And yet whosoever any certain person may be gotten, to be charged with any such, we never leave them unpunished. Indeed the best way is, both for your Grace, and us also, that when we cannot find and punish the offender, let us say as he said that was evil spoken of, *Tu viſi loſice, an crediti ſibi ſe deſerunt a meſi backſitters*. Certainly, if we had credited any evil tale of your Grace, we would friendly have admonished you thereof, and so also proceeded, as either the tale-tellers should have been punished, or else to have proved their tales. And therefore we pray your Grace to think no unkindness in us, that any evil brutes have been spread by evil men; but think rather well of us, that howsoever we were spread, we have not spread them. Hitherto your Grace hath been written somewhat at length, of the promise made to you, and our meanings in our former writings. And now for the latter part of our Letters, we pray you to consider, as we remember your Grace of the great number of persons that are come into the Church, whereupon you make your foundation: The tables of false Miracles and Jew's Pilgrimages may somewhat teach you. Only this we pray your Grace to remember with your self, the two words that the Father said of his Son Jesus Christ, *Ipſum audite*. To the second point of the commodity that may follow your obedience, we having by the Kings authority in this behalf, the governance of this Realm, must herein be plain with your Grace. And if our speech offend the same, then must your Grace think it in our charge and office to find fault where it is, and our part to amend it as we may. Most sorry truly we be, that your Grace, whom we should otherwise honour for the Kings Majesties sake, by your own deeds should provoke us to offend you; we do perceive the great difformity to the Realm by your Graces singularity (if it may be so named) in opinion; and in one respect, as you are Sister to our Sovereign Lord and Master, we most humbly beseech your Grace to hear your affliction continually towards him, as becometh a Sister, and as your Grace is a Subject, and we Counselors to his Majesties Estate, we let you know the example of your Graces opinion hindereth the good weal of this Realm, which thing we think is not unknown to you; and as we be, we let your Graces know it is too true. For Gods love we beseech your Grace, let nature let before your eyes the young age of the King your Brother. Let reason tell you the looms of the people; how then can you without a willing heart think that you should be the cause of disturbance? If you are to be the King, being the ordinary Ruler under God, not only of all orders in the Realm, but of you also, call his people by ordinary laws one way, with what heart can you Grace play your self without following; much worse to fly other that would follow their Sovereign Law? You see the danger in you to forsake him, his rule and law, and take a private way for your self? If it be not love, it is much less obedience. If your Grace think the Kings Majesty to be over his people as the head in a mass body is over the ree, not only in place but in dignity and science, how can you

we have evident Scriptures to forbid them. And although fault may be found, that to late Baptism hath been used in your Graces house, contrary to law, and truly without licence, yet is the worse, that contrary to the Primitive Church, it hath been in an unknown Tongue by the which the best part of the Sacrament is unveiled, and as it were a blind bargain made by the Godfathers in a matter of illumination; and thus in the rest of the things in which your Grace differeth from the common order of the Realm, where have you ground or reason, but from custom, which oftentimes is mother of many errors? And although in Civil things the may be followed where the cause is quiet, yet not in Religion, where the execution is error, as in *Leviticus* it is said, *Tu ſhall not do after the custom of Egypt, wherein ye dwelled, nor after the custom of Canaan; no, ye ſhall not walk in their laws, for I am your Lord God, keep your laws and commandments*. The pains wherewith your Grace differeth in your Faith, as you call it, may be heaved where, how and by whom they began since the Gospel was preached, the Church was planted, and the Apostles married. At tales and infamies they care not, yet thus misnot the best. Such is the boldness of people, that neither we can fully bribe them to raise tales of you, nor of our selves. And yet whosoever any certain person may be gotten, to be charged with any such, we never leave them unpunished. Indeed the best way is, both for your Grace, and us also, that when we cannot find and punish the offender, let us say as he said that was evil spoken of, *Tu viſi loſice, an crediti ſibi ſe deſerunt a meſi backſitters*. Certainly, if we had credited any evil tale of your Grace, we would friendly have admonished you thereof, and so also proceeded, as either the tale-tellers should have been punished, or else to have proved their tales. And therefore we pray your Grace to think no unkindness in us, that any evil brutes have been spread by evil men; but think rather well of us, that howsoever we were spread, we have not spread them. Hitherto your Grace hath been written somewhat at length, of the promise made to you, and our meanings in our former writings. And now for the latter part of our Letters, we pray you to consider, as we remember your Grace of the great number of persons that are come into the Church, whereupon you make your foundation: The tables of false Miracles and Jew's Pilgrimages may somewhat teach you. Only this we pray your Grace to remember with your self, the two words that the Father said of his Son Jesus Christ, *Ipſum audite*. To the second point of the commodity that may follow your obedience, we having by the Kings authority in this behalf, the governance of this Realm, must herein be plain with your Grace. And if our speech offend the same, then must your Grace think it in our charge and office to find fault where it is, and our part to amend it as we may. Most sorry truly we be, that your Grace, whom we should otherwise honour for the Kings Majesties sake, by your own deeds should provoke us to offend you; we do perceive the great difformity to the Realm by your Graces singularity (if it may be so named) in opinion; and in one respect, as you are Sister to our Sovereign Lord and Master, we most humbly beseech your Grace to hear your affliction continually towards him, as becometh a Sister, and as your Grace is a Subject, and we Counselors to his Majesties Estate, we let you know the example of your Graces opinion hindereth the good weal of this Realm, which thing we think is not unknown to you; and as we be, we let your Graces know it is too true. For Gods love we beseech your Grace, let nature let before your eyes the young age of the King your Brother. Let reason tell you the looms of the people; how then can you without a willing heart think that you should be the cause of disturbance? If you are to be the King, being the ordinary Ruler under God, not only of all orders in the Realm, but of you also, call his people by ordinary laws one way, with what heart can you Grace play your self without following; much worse to fly other that would follow their Sovereign Law? You see the danger in you to forsake him, his rule and law, and take a private way for your self? If it be not love, it is much less obedience. If your Grace think the Kings Majesty to be over his people as the head in a mass body is over the ree, not only in place but in dignity and science, how can you

being a principal member in the same body, keep the nourishment from the head? We pray your Grace most earnestly, think this thing of most grievous us, as for our private affection and good wills to you (though we should differ) yet for our public office we cannot but plainly inform your Grace, not doubting but that your wisdom can judge what our office is, and if it were not our own cause, we know your Grace by wisdom could charge us, if we differed the like in any other. Truly every one of us apart honour your Grace for our Masters sake, but when we join together in public service, as in this writing, we do, we judge it not tolerable, to know disorder, to see the cause, and leave it unattended. For though we would be negligent, the World would judge us. And therefore we do altogether effrons require your Grace, in the Kings Majesties name, that if any of your two Chaplains, *Malle* or *Barkley*, be returned, or sifion as any of them shall return to your Graces house, the same may be, by your Graces commandment or order sent and delivered to the Sheriff of *Essex*, who hath commandment from the Kings Majesty, by order of the Law and of his Council, to attach them, or if that condition shall not like your Grace, yet that then he may be warned from your Graces house, and not kept there, to be as it were defended from the power of the Law. Which thing we think fairly neither your Grace will mean, nor any of your Council affect thereto. And so to make an end of our Letters, being long, for the matter, and hitherto deferred for our great business, we trust your Grace will see the usage of your Chaplains different from the manner of our lieutenants, and what good intent moved us to write to you in our former Letters; lastly, that the things whereunto the King and the whole Realm hath consented, be not only lawful and just by the policy of the Realm, but also just and good by the laws of God. So that if we, which have charge under the King, should willingly consent to the open breach of them, we could neither discharge our selves to the King for our duties, neither to God for our conscience, the consideration of which things we pray Almighty God, by his holy Spirit, to lay in the bottom of your heart, and thereupon to build faith, profession in you, as both God may have his true honour, the King his due obedience, the Realm concord, and we most comfort. For all the which we do heartily pray, and therewith for the continuance of your Graces health to your heirs desire.

From Winchester the five and twentieth of December.

The Lady Mary to the Lords of the Council, the second of May, 1551.

**M**Y Lords, after my hearty commendations to you, although both I have been and also am both troubled with my Letters, yet nevertheless the news which I have lately heard touching my Chaplain Doctor Mallett, forceth me thereunto at this present, for I hear by credible reports, that you have committed him to the Tower, which news I cannot be in every frange. Notwithstanding I thought it good by this to advise you, what is the cause of his imprisonment; affirming you I would be fery that any of mine should deserve the like punishment, and that there is no creature within the Kings Majesty Realm would more lament, than any belonging to them should give just cause to be used, than I would do; who would not have thought much friendship in you, if you had given me knowledge wherein my said Chaplain had offended, before you had ministered just punishment unto him, effrons requiring you to let me know by this how the truth of the matter. And thus thanking you for the short dispatch of the poor Merchant of Portugal, I wish to you all no worse than to my self, and so bid you farewell.

From Beaulieu the second of May.

Your Friend to my power,

Mary.

The Council to the Lady Mary, the sixth of May, 1551.

**A**FTER our humble commendations to your Grace, we have received your Letters of the second of this Month, by the which your Grace seemeth to take it frange, that Doctor Mallett is committed to Prison, whereas we have the more marvel, seeing it hath been heretofore signified unto you, that he hath offended the Kings Majesties Laws, and was therefore condemned, and your Grace hath been by our Letters earnestly desired that he might be delivered to the Sheriff of *Essex*, according to the just process of the Law, to the which all manner of persons of this Realm be subject: Wherefore howsoever it seem frange at this time to your Grace, that he is imprisoned, it may seem more frange to other that he hath escaped it thus long; and if the place, being the Tower, move your Grace not to impute his imprisonment to his former offence, then we pray your Grace to understand that indeed it is for the very same, and the place of the imprisonment to be at the Kings Majesties pleasure, from whom, besides the charge of his Laws, we have express commandment to do that we do. And so we beseech your Grace to think of us, that neither in this case, nor in any other, we mean to do any other than minister, and fee, as much as in our power lies, justice ministered indifferently to all persons. Which doing, then we think your Grace should not think it any lack of friendship that we did not certify you of the offence of your Chaplain, although indeed the cause hath already been certified. And we trust your Grace both of your natural reverence to the Kings Majesty, and your own good wisdom, will not mislike our Ministry in the execution of the Laws of the Realm, and the pleasure of the Kings Majesty. So we wish to your Grace, from the bottom of our heart, the grace of Almighty God, with the riches of his holy gifts.

The Lady Mary to the Council, the eleventh of May.

**M**Y Lords, it appeareth by your Letters of the sixth of this present, which I have received, that the imprisonment of my Chaplain Doctor Mallett is for saying of *Malle*, and that he was condemned for the same. Indeed I have heard that he was indicted, but never condemned. Nevertheless I must needs comfort and say, that he did it, but by my commandment, and I laid unto him, that none of my Chaplains should be in danger of the Law for saying *Malle* in my house. And thereof to put him out of doubt, the Emperors Embassador that dead is, declared unto him before that time, how and after what sort the promise was made to his Majesty, whereby it appeareth that the man hath not in that willingly offended. Wherefore I pray you to discharge him of imprisonment, and set him at liberty, if it not, ye minister cause not only to him, but to others, to think that I have declared more than was true, which I would not willingly do, to gain the whole World. And herein, as I have often said, the Emperors Majesty can be best Judge. And to be plain with you according to mine old custom, there is not one amongst the whole number of you all, that would be more loth to be found untrue of their word than I. And would I am assured, that none of you have found it in me. My Lords, I pray you seek me to my humble honour, as to disprove my word, whereby it shall appear too plain, that you handle me not well. And if you have cause to charge my Chaplain for this matter, say that to me, and I will discharge it again by your promise made to the Emperors Majesty, which you cannot rightly deny; wishing rather that you had refused it in the beginning, than after such promise made, and so such a person, to seem to go from it: which my Lords, your very friend I heartily desire you to consider, and to give me cause to think you otherwise than my friends, considering I have always, and yet do (God is my judge) wish to you all no worse, neither in souls nor bodies, than to my self, and so with my hearty commendations, I commit you all to God.

From Beaulieu the 11th of May.

Your assured friend to my power, Mary.

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The Council to the Lady Mary, the seven and twentieth of May 1551.

**A**FTER our due commendations to your Grace, although the same receive not answer so soon, as perchance was looked for upon the return of your Graces fervent. Yet we doubt not but your Grace understanding that where we have matters of estate pertaining to the Kings Majesty in hand, as indeed we have had of late, the deferring of the answer, in a matter being no greater, requirith to be born withal. And touching the answer of your Graces Letter for Doctor Mallett, we pray your Grace to understand, that although you write he was indicted, but not condemned, and so seem to take exception at the manner of his imprisonment; yet if they which informed your Grace of that manner of reason in the law, were as well disposed to please your Grace with truth as the reason indeed is not true, then should they have told your Grace that by the Act of Parliament, if either Mallett hath been convicted by the Oaths of twelve men, or that the fact have been notorious, then the punishment should follow justly. The truth of the one and the other way of conviction in this case is notorious enough, besides his flying from the process of the law. And where your Grace, to relieve him, would take the fault upon you, we are sorry to perceive your Grace to be ready to be a defence on one that the Kings Law doth condemn. Nevertheless, he is not punished because your Grace had him, and willed him to do that which was an offence, but he is punished for doing it. And if he should not to see the Kings Laws executed without respect, it might appear that we have too much neglected our duty; and for that your Grace taketh it as a discredit to your self, that he should be punished for that you had him, do, alleging to him that you had authority to do so, and that so promise was made to the Emperors, it hath been both written and said to your Grace what is truth in that behalf. And howsoever that your Grace prettendly your Licence have made said before your self, for a time of your reconciliation it had been far out of reason to have desired that who was your own child, might say *Malle* in any house that was yours when your Graces self was not there; for so Dr. Mallett's offence, for saying *Malle* at one of your houses where your Grace was not, which thing as it was never granted, so do we not remember that it was demanded. The fault that hath been in this time made, either by the Emperors Embassador that dead is, or by him that now is, was never but in respect of your Grace, and not to be taken that the Emperors or his Embassador meant to privilege Mallett Doctor Mallett, or any other, to say *Malle* out of your presence. Wherefore as we do plainly write to your Grace, so we do pray you to take it in good part, and think we be as ready to do our due reverence towards your Grace in any thing we may do without duty to our Master, as any your Grace may command; and of such wisdom we know you are to be, that ye should judge the better of us, for that we desire to see the Laws of the Realm executed, wherein relate the strength and safeguard of the Kings Majesty our Sovereign Lord and Master.

The Lady Mary to the Lords of the Council the one and twentieth of June 1551.

**M**Y Lords, although I received by my fervent this bearer (who lately delivered unto you my Letters, wherein I desired to have my Chaplain Dr. Mallett discharged of his imprisonment) your gentle message in general words, for the which I give you most hearty thanks, yet have I no knowledge whether you will let him at liberty or no; but I think that your weighty affairs at that time was the let and cause ye did not write for else I doubt not but ye would have answered me. Wherefore not being satisfied, and understanding ye would gladly receive me to me, I thought good effrons to desire you that my said Chaplain may have his liberty, wherein I assure you ye shall much gratify me, being not a little troubled, that he is so long in Prison without just cause, seeing his matter of his imprisonment is discharged by the promise made to the

Emperors Majesty, as in my late Letter I declared unto you. Wherefore, my Lords, I pray you let me have knowledge by this Bearer, how ye will use me in this matter; wherein if ye do pleasure me accordingly, then shall it well appear that ye regard the good will promise, and I will not forget your gentleness therein God willing, but require it to my power. And thus with my hearty commendations to you all, I bid you farewell. From Beaulieu the one and twentieth of June.

Your assured friend to my power, Mary.

The Council to the Lady Mary the twenty fourth of June 1551.

**A**FTER our humble commendations to your Grace, twentieth heretofore, wherein I received the false request that in your former Letters hath been made for the release of Doctor Mallett, and therein also your Grace seemeth to have looked for the faint answer of your former Letter, the which indeed partly was omitted, (as your Grace conjectured) by the reason of the Kings Majesties officers, wherewith we be thoroughly occupied: partly for that we had no other thing to answer, than you had heretofore heard in the same matter. And therefore where your Grace desireth a resolute answer, we offer the same be right right for the matter, and that it should be your Graces chance to move it with us, we cannot with our duties to the Kings Majesty accomplish your desire. So necessary a thing it is to see the laws of the Realm executed indifferently in all manner of persons, and in these cases of contentment of the Ecclesiastical Orders of this Church of England, that the same may not, without the great displeasure of God, and the slander of the State, be neglected; and therefore your Grace may please to understand that we have it not only punished your Chaplain, but all others whom we find in like cause to have disobeyed the Laws of the Kings Majesty. And touching the excuse your Grace of times used, of a promise made, we assure your Grace, none of us all, nor any of the Council as your Grace hath been certified, hath ever been privy to any such promise, otherwise than hath been written. And in that matter your Grace had plain answer both by us of the Kings Majesties Council, as by your being left in his Majesties presence, and therein also your Grace might perceive his Majesties determination; wherewith we beseech your Grace not only to incline your self, but also to judge well of us that do addit our selves to do our duties. And so shall we be ready to do, with all our hearts, our due reverence, toward your Grace, whose prefection we commend to Almighty God with our prayer.

The Copy of the Lady Maries Letter to the Kings Majesty.

**M**Y Duty must humbly remembered to your Majesty's it may please the same to be advertised, that I have received by my fervent your most honourable Letters, the contents wherof do not a little trouble me, and so much the more, for that any of my said servants should move or attempt me in matters touching my soul, which I think the conscience Subject within your Highness Realm could evil bear at their servants hands, having for my part utterly refused heretofore to talk with them in such matters, and of all other persons least regarded them therein, to whom I have declared what I think, in the which your Majesty would have suffered me your poor Sister and Handmaiden, which I have not suffered me your Majesty, which the King your Father and mine, with all his Predecessors did evermore also. Wherein also I have been brought up from my youth. And therewith my Conscience, which my only bond me, which by no means will suffer me to think on things, and do another, but also the promise made to the Emperors by your Majesty's Council was an assurance to me, that in so doing I should not offend the Law, although they seem now to qualify and derogate things, and as my self waiting upon your Majesty,

I was fo bold to declare my mind and Confidence to the same, and desired your Highness, rather than you should constrain me to leave Majesty take away my life; whereunto your Majesty made me a very gentle answer. And now I most humbly beseech your Highness to give me leave to write when I think touching your Majesties Letters, indeed, they be signed with your own hand, and nevertheless (in mine opinion) not your Majesties in effect, because it is well known (as heretofore I have declared in the presence of your Highness) that although your Lord be pleased, your Majesty hath for more knowledge and greater gifts than other of your years, yet it is not possible that your Highness can at these years be a Judge in matters of Religion; and therefore I take it that the matter in your Letters, which I have sent from such as do with this things to take place which be most agreeable to themselves, by whose doings your Majesty not offended, I intend not to rule my Confidence, And thus without molesting your Highness any further, I humbly beseech the same, even for Gods sake, to bear with me as you have done, and not to think that by my doings or example any inconvenience might grow to your Majesty or your Realm; for I use it not after such sort, putting no doubts but in time to come, whether I live or dy, your Majesty shall perceive that mine intent is grounded upon a true love towards you, whose Royal Estate I beseech Almighty God long to continue, which is and shall be my daily prayer according to my duty. And after pardon craved of your Majesty for these rude and bold Letters, if neither as your humble son, nor for the regard of the promise made to the Emperor, your Highness will suffer and bear with me as you have done, till your Majesty may be a Judge herein your self and rightly understand their proceedings, of which your goodness yet I despair not; I otherwise rather than to offend God and my Conscience, I use my body and soul with care and shall be more welcome than he with a troubled Confidence; most humbly beseeching your Majesty to pardon my forwardness in answering your Letters. For mine old desire would not suffer me to write any longer, and thus I pray Almighty God to keep your Majesty in all health and honour, with good health and long life to his pleasure.

From my poor House at Copp'd-Hall, the  
Nineteenth of August.

Your Majesties most humble Sister  
Mary.

#### A Copy of the Kings Majesties Letters to the said Lady Mary.

Right dear and right entirely beloved Sister, we greet you well, and let you know that it grieveth us much to perceive no amendment in you, of that which we for Gods sake, your souls health, our confidence, and the common tranquillity of our Realm, have so long desired; alighting you that our surance hath much more demonstration of natural love, than contentation of our Confidence, and forethought of our safety. Wherefore although you give us occasion, as much almost as in you is, to diminish our natural love, yet we be loth to feel it decay, and mean not to be so careless of you as we be provoked.

And therefore meaning your weal, and therewith joining a care not to be found guilty in our Confidence to God, having cause to require forgiveness that we have to have, for respect of love towards you, contrary to our bounden duty, we find at this present our right trusty and right well-beloved Councillor, the Lord Rich Chancellor of England, and our trusty and right well-beloved Counsellors, Sir A. W. Knight, Controller of our Household, and Sir W. P. Knight, one of our Principal Secretaries in message to you, touching the order of your health, willing you to give them firm credit in those things they shall say to you from us, and do therein in our name.

Given under our Signet at  
our Castle of Windsor, the  
24th of August, in the  
fift year of our Reign.

A Copy of the Kings Majesties instructions, given  
to the said Lord Chancellor, Sir A. W. and  
W. P. Knights, &c. the four and twentieth of  
August 1551.

First you the said Lord Chancellor and your Colleagues shall make your immediate repair to the said Lady Mary, giving to her his Majesties hearty commendations, and shew the cause of your coming to be as followeth.

Although his Majesty hath long time, as well by his Majesties own mouth and writing, as by his Council, travelled that the said Lady being his Sister, and a principal Subject and Member of his Realm, should both be inclined, and also shew her self conformable to the Laws and Ordinances of the Realm, in the Protection and Rites of Religion, using all the gentle means of exhortation and advice that could be devised, to the intent that the Reformation of the fault might willingly come of her self, as the expectation and desire of his Majesty, and all good wille men was; yet notwithstanding his Majesty hath hitherto no manner of amendment hath followed, but by the continuance of the error, with the breach of his laws no small peril conceivably may hap to the state of his Realm, especially the sufficiency of such a fault being directly to the dishonour of God, and the great offence of his Majesties Confidence, and all other good men, and therefore of late, even with the counsel and advice of the whole state of his Privy Council, and divers others of the Nobility of his Realm, whose names we may repeat, if you think convenient, his Majesty did refully determine it just, necessary and expedient, that her Grace should not in any wile use or maintain the private Mass, or any other manner of Service, than such as by the Law of the Realm is authorised and allowed: And to participate this his Majesties determination to her Grace, it was thought in respect of a favourable proceeding with her to keep her the same only to be manifested by her own Officers and Servants, being most esteemed with her, but also to be executed with them in her house, as well for the quiet proceeding in the very matter, as for the less molesting of her Grace with any message by strangers, in that time of her solitariness, wherein her Grace was then by reason of the late sickness, For which purpose her three servants, Rochester, Egglefield and Walgrave were sent in message in this manner. First to deliver his Majesties Letter to her, next to discharge the complaints of saying Mass, and prohibiting all the Household from hearing any. Wherein the Kings Majesty perceiveth upon their own report, being returned to the Court, how negligently, and indeed how falsely they have executed their commandment and charge, contrary to the duty of good Subjects, and to the manifest contempt of his Majesty. Informing as manifestly they have before his Majesties Council refused to do that which peralteth to every true faithful Subject, to the offence to his Majesty, and derogation of his authority, that in no wile the punishment of them could be forgiven; and yet in the manner of the punishment of them, his Majesty and his Council hath such consideration and respect of her person being his Sister, that without doubt his Majesty could not with honour have had the like consideration or favour in the punishment of the desert Councilor he hath, if any of them had so offended; and therefore his Majesty hath sent you three not only to declare to her Grace the causes of their sending thither of late, but also to shew her the causes of their absence now presently. And further, in the default of the said Officers, to take order, as well with her Chaplains, as with the whole Household, that his Majesties laws may be there observed. And in the communication with her, you shall take occasion to answer in his Majesties name certain points of her Letter, sent now lately to his Majesty. The Copy of which Letter is now also sent to you to peruse, for your better instruction how to proceed therein. First, her allegation of the promise made to the Emperor, must be so answered, as the truth of the matter sheweth, whereof every of you have heard sufficient testimony divers times in the Council. For her offering of her body at the Kings will, rather than to change her

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her Confidence, it grieveth his Majesty much, that her Confidence is so fettered in error, and yet no such thing is meant of his Majesty, nor of any one of his Council, once to hurt, or will evil to her body, but even from the bottom of their heart they wish her *Majesty's name in corpse's name*. And therefore ye shall do very well to persuade her Grace, that this proceeding cometh only of the Confidence the King hath to avoid the offence of God, and of necessary counsel and wisdom to fee his laws in to weighty cause executed. Item, because it is thought that Rochester had the care and consideration of her Graces provision of household, and by his absence the same might be disordered or diminished; his Majesty hath sent a truly faithful man of own household, to serve her Grace for the time. Who also is furnished with instructions of Rochester of the state of her things of household. And if there shall be any thing lacking in the same, his Majesties pleasure is, that his servant shall advertise his own chief Officers of household, to the intent if the same may be supplied of any more here, or otherwise helped conveniently, her Grace shall not lack.

Item, Having thus proceeded with her Grace, as for the declarations of the causes of your coming, ye shall then come to be called before your Chaplains, and all thereof of the household there present, and in the Kings Majesties name most faithfully forbid the Chaplains either to say or use any Mass or kind of Service, other than by the law is authorized; and likewise ye shall forbid all the rest of the company to be published as any such prohibited service, upon pain to be most faithfully punished, as worthily falling into the danger of the Kings indignation, and alike charge to them all, that if any advertise shall be openly or secretly committed, they shall advertise them of his Majesties Council. In the which clause ye shall use the reasons of their natural duty and allegiance that they owe as Subjects to their Sovereign Lord, which derogate all their earthly duties.

Item, If you shall find either any of the Priests, or any other person disobedient to this order, ye shall commit them forthwith to Prison, as ye shall think convenient.

{Ann.  
1550}

Item, Forasmuch as ye were privy to the determination at Richmond, and there understood how necessary it was to have reformation herein; his Majesty upon the great confidence he hath in your wisdom and uprightness, recommiteth to your discretion the manner of the proceeding herein, if any thing shall chance to arise there that in your opinions might, otherwise than according to their Instructions, conduce you to the execution of your charge, which in one manner is to avoid the use of the private Mass, and other unlawful service in the house of the said Lady Mary.

Item, Ye shall devise by some means as you may, to have understanding after your departure, how the order you give is observed, and as you shall judge fit, to certify the same.

E. S. W. W. L. W. L. B.  
W. N. W. H. F. H. I. G.  
T. D. W. C.

The Story of Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester briefly collected, the residue whereof concerning his ads and doings may further appear in the Book of Ads and Monuments, in the first Edition, pag. 728.

The Story  
of Stephen  
Gardiner.

Although the first imprisonment of Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, in order of time was before the deprivation of Bishop Bonner; yet forasmuch as he was not depoted from his Bishoprick till the next or second year after, which was 1551. I have therefore driven off the History of the said Bishop of Winchester to the present place, intending nevertheless here not to extend and prosecute the explication of that base matter, with all circumstances and particularities thereof, to simply and fall all might, partly for that being done in my first Volume of Ads and Monuments, it may here suffice and content the Reader, being disposed there to search and further to read touching the same, partly also considering

how this present Volume is grown already very large and great, I thought not to peltter the same with any more superfluity than needs must; and therefore leaving out his idle Letters, his long process of Articles and Examinations, his tedious talk, with the multitude of Depositions brought in against him, and other his ads and intercourses superfluous, I mind here (the Lord willing) briefly and summarily to except only the principal effects, as they stand to the Story may seem most apparent, referring the residue to be searched (if any Reader be loth to read) in the Book of Admonitions aforesaid, beginning in the Page 728.

Briefly therefore, as touching the ads, doings, dealings and misdeemeanors of this stout Prelate and Bishop of Winchester; first, he came to the Court before the Reader the Copy of a certain Writ or Evidence against the said Bishop, wherein as in a brief sum generally is described the whole order and manner of his misdeemeanor, copied out of the publick Records in manner as followeth.

The Copy of a Writ or Evidence touching the order and manner of the misdeemeanor of Winchester, with declaration of the faults whereunto he was justly charged.

Whereas the Kings Majesty, by the advice of the Lord Protector and the rest of his Highness Privy Council, thinking requisite for sundry urgent necessities to have a general visitation throughout the whole of his Realm, did about ten Months past address forth Commissioners, and by the advice of sundry Bishops, and other the best learned men of the Realm, appointed certain Orders or Injunctions to be generally observed; which being such as in some part touched the Reformation of many abuses, and in other parts concerned the good governance and quiet of the Realm, were (as may be seen) by all men of all sorts obediently received, and reverently observed and executed, saving only of the Bishop of Winchester, who as well by conference with others, as by open Protestation and Letters also, showed forth wilful disobedience therein, as if it had not been quickly epined, might have bred much unequieness and trouble: Upon the knowledge thereof he being first for, and his lewd proceedings laid to his charge, in the presence of the whole Council he said himself, (as well in denying to receive the said Orders and Injunctions, as otherwise) as he was thought worthy most sharp punishment; and yet considering the place he had been in, he was only sequestered to the Fleet, where after he had remained a certain time, as much as his ease as if he had been at his own house, upon his promise of conformity he was both let at liberty again, and also licensed to repair to and remain in his Diocets at his pleasure. Where when he was, forgetting his duty, and what promise he had made, he began forthwith to set forth such matters as bred again more strife, variance and contention in that one small City and Shire, than was almost in the whole Realm after. Besides that, the Lord Protectors Grace and the Council were informed, that to withstand such as he thought to have been sent from their Grace and Lordships into those parts, he had called all his servants to be secretly armed and harnessed; and moreover when such Preachers, as being men of godly life and learning were sent into that Diocets by his Grace and Lordships to preach the Word of God, had appointed to preach, the Bishop, to disquiet and disquiet them, and to hinder his Majesties proceedings, did occupy the Pulpit himself, not fearing in his Sermon to warn the people to beware of such new Preachers, and to embrace none other Doctrine but that which he had taught them (than the which words none could have been spoken more perfidious and seditious). Whereupon being efforts first for, and their Grace and Lordships objecting to him many particular matters whereunto they had just cause to charge him, they did in the end upon his second promise leave him at liberty, only willing him to remain at his house at London, because they thought it most meet to sequester him from his Diocets for a time; and being come to his house, he began afresh to mislead and meddle in matters wherein he had no wile nor right, neither in the Council.

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It is hardly done indeed my Lord, if that you, and a few which can read, should take away from the unlearned multitude their Books of their Images: but it were more hardly done, if that you or a few which can read in one or two Languages, (as Greek and Latin) the word of God, and have had thereby many reliefs and privileges, should pull away the English Books from the rest which only understand English: and would have only your Letters of Greek and Latin in estimation, and bind all them which understand not their languages, from the knowledge of Gods Word. And indeed, my Lord, by your saying they have just occasion to suspect my intent.

What you mean by true Images and false Images, it is not so easy to rectify. If they be only false Images, which have nothing that they represent, as Saint Paul writeth, *An Idol is nothing*, (because there is no such god) and therefore the Gods can be no false Image, because it is true that Christ suffered upon the Image of the Sun and the Moon were no Idols, for such things there be as the Sun and the Moon, and they were in the Image then so represented, as Painting and Carving doth represent them. And the Image of *Moses* and *Cafars*, and as some write the Image of all the twelve chosen gods (as they called them) were the Images of one living man. And it might be said that the Image of God the Father hath no such eyes, nose, lips, and a long gray beard, with a turreted robe, nor ever had, as they carve and paint him to have. But neither of false Image and an Idol which is otherwise worshipped and accepted than it ought to be, as the Bruen Serpent, being a true Image and representation of Christ, by abuse was made an Idol: it may be thought in times past, and peradventure now in this time, in some places, the Image not only of St. *Jehan*, or St. *Anne*, but of our Lady and Christ be false Images and Idols, representing to foolish, blind and ignorant mens hearts and thoughts, that which was not in them, and they ought not to be made for. The which were by you (my Lord) to have been removed sooner, and before that the Captain there should have need to have done it. But if your Lordship be fack in such matters, he that removeth false Images and Idols abused, doth not a thing worthy of blame.

Christ called not the money, having *Cafars* Image in it, an Idol, when it was used to lawful uses, and to pay the due tribute withal. But when a man doth not use those Images graven in money to do his neighbour good, and the Commonwealth service, St. *Paul* Christ's Disciple called that covetousness, and the serving and bondage to Idols. So that even in money may be idolatry, if we make too much of those Images which Christ here doth not reprehend. There be some to ticklish, and to fearful one way, and to tender stomachs, that they can abide no old abuse to be reformed, but think every reformation to be a capital enterprise against all Religion and good order: as there be on the contrary side some too rash, who having no consideration what is to be done, headlong will let up every thing. The Magistrates duty is between these, to in a mean to see and provide that old dotings should not take further or deeper root in the Commonwealth, neither ancient error overcome the firm and tried truth, nor old abuse, for the age and space of time only, fill be suffered; and yet all these with equanimity and gentleness, and with all contentions, if it were possible to be reformed. To the which your Lordship, as a man to whom God hath given great qualities of wit, learning, and perswasion, could bring great heat and perswasion, if it were your desire, with great thanks of men and reward of God. The which thing is our full due and purpose, and our hearty and daily prayer to God, that in the Kings Majesties time, whose Majesties Reign God preferre, all abuses with wisdom reformed, Christs Religion with good and politic order of the Commonwealth, without any contention and strife among the Kings subjects, might flourish and daily increase. And for this your Lordships Letter sent to Master *Laughe* of *Portsmouth*.

## Wincheler to the Lord Protector.

MAY it please your Grace to understand, that I have this noted some points in my Lord of St. *David*'s Sermon, which I send unto you herewith, whereby to declare unto you some part what I think, for the whole I cannot express: somewhat I shall incommure you with my tabling, but he hath incommured me friends more with his talking. And alas, my Lord, this is a pitious case, that having so much business as ye have, their inward dissent should be added unto them, to the courage of such as would this Realm any ways off. For this is the thing they would desire, with hope thereby to disorder this Realm, being now a time rare to repair that which needeth reparation, that we may make any new buildings, which they pretend. Ought tranquillity, unity, and concord shall maintain estimations. The contrary may animate the enemy to attempt that which was never thought on, which God forbid. There was never attempt of alteration made in England, but it was upon comfort of discord at home, and we be to them that mind it. If my Lord of St. *David*, or so fash others cannot their head combed with any new Platform, I would with they were commanded, between this and the Kings Majesties full age, to draw the Plat, diligently to have the stones, dig the fund, and chop the Chalk in the unfeasible time of building, and when the Kings Majesty cometh to full age, to prevent their labours to him, and in the mean time not to disturb the State of the Realm, wherein your Grace is Proceeder, but that you may in every part of Religion, Laws, Lands, and Decrees (which four contain the State) deliver the same unto our Sovereign Lord, according unto the trust you be put in, which shall be much to your honour, and as all honest men wish with desire.

To which defined effect these can be nothing so necessary, and contrarious, as trouble and disquiet. Wherein your Grace shall be specially troubled, as on whole households all the weight lyeth, and whatsoever shall happen amiss by the faults of others, shall be imputed to your Grace, as doer thereof, or wanting foresight in time to withstand the same. And albeit that you mind not to be faulty in either, yet if the effect be to the Realm as it were to be withheld, the Prince thought he were of age should be excused, and the Governors bear the blame. And this is the infelicity of preeminence and authority, especially in this Realm, as for the same fault mention, which should not discourage you, for you need fear nothing without, if quiet be referred at home: and at home if the beginning be refuted, the intended folly may easily be interrupted. But if my Brother of St. *David*, may like a Champion with his sword in his hand, make entry for the rest, the door of licence opened, there shall more by folly thrust in with him than your Grace would wish. Thus, as I think, I write homely to your Grace, because you were content I should write, wherein I consider only to have all things well. And because your Grace is the Protector, and the chief Director of the Realm, to prevent unto your wisdom what may befall, I have been oftentimes blamed for fearing over much, and yet I have had an illing that they that so blamed me, feared even as much as I. Being in the state that you be in, it shall be ever commendable to foresee the world. In quiet ye be innocent, in trouble ye be greatly weak, and bring your self into danger of one part, when parties be, therewith one to scourge the other. Whereas in concord they be both yours, in an honest, reverent, lovely fear to their duty, which I doubt not your wisdom can consider. And consider also how noisome any other outward commotion might be in the time of the minority of our Sovereign Lord. I told the Emperors Council, that our late Sovereign Lord did much for the Emperour, to end War with him, and to put his Realm in his old days in the adventure of fortune, whether he should enjoy it or no, for that is the nature of War. And sometimes the contented and abject have had the upper hand. And when ye advise the Realm for another, it were a marvelous question of him that shall enjoy the Realm to say, What meant you in the time of administration to adventure my Realm? Why took ye not rather for the time of my minority any Peace, whatsoever it were, which is better than the belated War, as some men have written? I know you have authority

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## A Letter of Stephen Gardiner to the Lord Protector.

chiority sufficient, and wisdom plenty, and yet being content to write, I forgot for the time what ye be, and continue with you as I were talking at *Brussels* with you, deviling of the world at large. And if I were from to say what I think of the state of the world, I would for a while let *Seas* be *Sows*, with dignity to have them, unless it were by conquest, which shall be a goodly enterprise for our young Master when he cometh to age. And in the mean time prepare him money for it, and let the Realm be in an order which I think of. And for as much as the Emperour would offer the King of *Romans* Daughters, as he did: do with him in our Masters minority, as he did with his, whereby all this hath chanced unto him. And by this alliance your elimination shall encrease, and our Sovereign Lords unity shall be more confirmed. Fox of *France* it must be taken for a rule, They who do wanton, they cannot do well longer than they fear they may be scourged if they do not. Here is all the wit that I have, which I offer unto you upon this occasion of writing, and shall pray God to put into your mind that which shall be for the best, as I trust he will: and in the mean time to extinguish this barbarous contention at home, which can never be to do hurt, and no good.

I have fashioned a Letter to Master *Radley*, which I send unto you, to your Grace, and encourage you with these melancholy writings, intended of this fondness, which be not worth the reading. And so it may like you to use them, for having heard that which ye have said unto me, and other things that be in the world, I shall go occupy my wit hard and find what you do. I shall go occupy my wit in other matters, and now such as have found errors shall find that I letted not their follies, which they call Gods Word. But for this time the King our Sovereign Lord that dead, and after his time you have done much for your honour and reputation: I knowed as well that he be not contented: his miscontentation hath been to him in some, as they have burnt out and wished that they might without breach of his Laws kill me, which is to me a token of a marvelous will, which hath been cause why I am bound to depart, which I will depart the sooner, and pray to God to order all things for the best. With prefection of our Sovereign Lord, and increase of your Majesty. At my House in *Somerset*, the last of February.

Your Grace humble Bedman, S. W.

Another Letter of S. W.

Free my humble commendations to your Grace, it may like the same to understand, I have seen of late two Books let forth in English by *Bale*, very pernicious, full of lies, and flanders, and very much to the dishonour of our Grace, and to the dishonour of this matter, yet I am bold to trouble your Grace with my letters to mine own commodity, whereas to latine mine own conscience, to write and say as becometh me in such matters, which I desire your Grace to write in good part. For it grieveth me not a little to see, so soon after my late Sovereign Lord and Masters death, a Book spread abroad more to his dishonour (if a Prince honour may be by vile inferior subjects impeached) than professed enemies have imagined, to name a woman to have suffered under him as a Martyr, and the woman therewith to be by *Bale* own elucidation (as he call it) to go forth and painted as the apparition to be, and is foisted to be a Sacramentary, and by the Laws worthy (as the flanders) the pains of death: such like things have by faith in our late Sovereign Lords days gone abroad as they do now. And as I am wont in such cases to speak, I keep my mouth to write to your Grace now, in whose hands I know the state of the Realm to be for the time in Government, and to whom for respects of old acquaintance I wish all felicity. In these matters of Religion I have been long exercised, and have (thanks be to God) lived so long as I have seen them thoroughly ried, and besides that I have learned in written Books of *Bale*, I have perceived by Books written without authority, as by Master *Bale*, *Tay*, and other, and especially as *Bale* useth now, that Scripture doth by abuse, service to the right hand and the left at once, in so much as at one time *Bale* praiseth *Luther*, and

tereth his death forth in English, with commendation as of a Saint, which *Luther* (whatsoever he was otherwise) stoutly affirmed the Prefence really of Christs natural Body in the Sacrament of the Altar: and yet *Bale* the noble Clerk would have *Anne Askew*, blaspheously denying the Prefence of Christs natural Body, to be taken for a Saint also. So as *Bale* Saints may vary in Heaven, if they chance not by the way: which might suffice to disprove the man credence, if thrawing talk were more desired of many than the truth indeed. And yet truth was supposed to have been both in writing and exercise well established, long before our late Lords death: as *Bale* and his adherents in their madly plainly removed and condemned. I cannot forget, your Grace told me you would suffer no innovation: and indeed if I deliver this Realm to the King at eighteen years of age as the King his Father, while the soul God afford, let it, as I trust you will, the act is so honourable and good, as it were pity to trouble it with any innovation, which was a charge to your Grace more than needed, being already burdened heavily. And albeit in the Commonwealth every man hath his pray, yet as God hath placed you, the matter is (under the Kings Majesty) chiefly yours, and as it were yours alone. Every man hath his say directed unto you both here and abroad, and shall find shadow mens doings if they be done, which is an incommodity of high role. And for my part, besides my duty to the Kings Majesty and the Realm, I would that your Grace in whom I see your Government I have found much gentleness and humanity, as has much honour with good success as ever any had, and pray to God that when you would let your Grace alone and suffer the Realm in the time of your Government to quiet among our selves, whereby we may be the more to let foreign troubles range, which your Grace doth prudently fear. Certain Printers, Players, and Preaches make a wonderment, as though we knew not yet how to be justified, nor what Sacraments we should have. And if the agreement in Religion made in the time of our Sovereign Lord be of so force in their judgment, why without doubt could any new agreement have? And every incertainty is noisome to our Realm. And where every man will be Master, there must needs be uncertainty. And one thing is marvellous that at the same time it is taught that all men be liars, and so force in their judgment, why without doubt could any new agreement have? And every incertainty is noisome to our Realm. And where every man will be Master, there must needs be uncertainty. And one thing is marvellous that at the same time it is taught that all men be liars, and so force in their judgment, why without doubt could any new agreement have? And every incertainty is noisome to our Realm. And where every man will be Master, there must needs be uncertainty. And one thing is marvellous that at the same time it is taught that all men be liars, and so force in their judgment, why without doubt could any new agreement have? And every incertainty is noisome to our Realm. And where every man will be Master, there must needs be uncertainty. 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there that were wrote full Kings and Plays as you speak of, and some against the Kings proceedings, who were yet unpunished, because they were unknown or forgotten. And when we do weigh the matter, we do very much marvel, why that, about *Jack of Lent* Iude Ballad, and certain other, it was not thought fit to be burnt, (which be very true in your Letters joining together) by me to censure, when against *Dr. Smiths* Book, being a man learned in the Doctors and Scripture, which made for plain against the Kings Highness authority, and for the furtherance of the Bishops Reformation, the Kings Majestyship neither wrote nor said anything. And as it appeared you to be angry with his retractation (which frankly without fear, dread, compulsion, or imprisonment, only with candour and truth for the Kings sake) can you then not cannot abide his beginning, although he saith not his own words of Scripture. Except peradventure you, think that the saying of *David, Omnis homo mendax*, cannot be interpreted *Every man is a liar*, which howsoever your Lordship nakes it as plain as the sun, that you think him taken but godly, to declare the inhumanity of a man, and the truth of Gods and his word. And we are not able to reason to Clerically with you, yet we have heard of the saying and telling of a lie, or as it is in *Latin* called, *mentiri*, which is *to lie from deum*, if your Lordship be loth to be counted *mendax*, which be like he hath interpreted a liar, or a lying man, and think it a matter of combat, he was deceived in the interpretation, and the matter of debate is not so plain, as either they think them, or who so ever putteth it so. And it is not by and by done that is spoken. The people bayeth those foolish Ballads of *Jack-a-Lent*. So bought they in several Parades, and Carols, and *Robin Hood* Tales. All be true means, and do good, and yet are not true (although not to the more part) it is the more pleasant and meet; and peradventure the Sermons there is, and indeed there is (if it be true that we have heard) otherwise from the Sermons that it was of the Preachers there then and spoken for mean. And yet against your Lord, and all God willing till the Kings Highness, with our advice and the residue of his Graces Council, take another order, although some light and low men do buy it to be true, and yet the residue of the Kings Highness of the Church, although through sniffer ways, and by subtil means move Traytors have gone about, and daily do, to abuse the Kings Majesties Supremacy, and bring in the Bishop of *Rome* Tyranny, with other Superstition and Ignorance, which both sides agree to, and yet against your Lordship written, we are set in a painful course to reform all lightness and lewdness, to the which we do endeavour our self to the best of our power, although not so cruelly as some have thought fit to be done, and yet we fear to be. We do study to do all things attentively, and with quiet and good order. And we would with nothing more than your Lordship to be as ready to the reformation of the Kings Majestyship, as the other side is ready to the contrary, or Papacy, should be brought in, nor lightness, nor contempt of good order to be maintained. They both take beginning at small things, and increase by little and little at unawares. And quietness is very broken with petty quarrels, and with too few laws, and yet with too many. No ways worth when the one is over light excited the one way, and deaf on the other side. Rumours by space and time increase naturally, and by that time they come at you, and therefore, if you will, let us be diligent to deceive your diligent eye towards us, and we will with (and trust you have) the heart faithful to us: our most hearty and continual prayer to God is, to leave this Realm to the Kings Highness, at the Kings age by you written, rather than to flourish in us, men, popes, and prelates, wilful, and Gods Religion and Doctrine, if it were polluted.



dash, so Enghlished, and such a new humility, as he would make all the Doctors of the Church. Lias with himself, knowing what opinions were abroad, it informed me to write unto your Grace for the sake of my confidence; giving this judgment of Smith, that I neither liked his tractation of unwritten verities, nor yet his estimation, and was glad of my former judgment, that I never had familiarity with him. I saw him not, that I wrote these three years, nor talked with him these seven years, as curious as I am noted in the Commonwealth. And whereas in his unwritten verities, he was so fond to say, Bishops in this Realm may make Laws; I have witness, that I said at that word, we should be then *Deus*, and was bound by forty that ever he had written of the Sacrament of the Altar, which was not, as it was noted, untouched with that word. All men are liars, which is a narrow word, as it foundeth in our tongue, when we say a man were better to have a thief in his house than a liar. And the depraving of man's nature in that sort not the setting out of the authority of the Scripture. For albeit the authority of the Scripture dependeth not upon man, yet the ministration of the letter, which is writing and speaking, is exercised, and hath been from the beginning delivered through men's hands, and taught by man's mouth: which men the Scripture calleth holy men, and that is contrary to liars. And therefore St. Augustin in his Book de Mendaciis, saying, *Omnis homo mendax*, signifieth, *Omnis homo peccator*. If Smith had only written of Bishops Laws, and then said he had, saving your honour, lied badly, or to mitigate the matter, had he had cred by ignorance, that had been done truly and humbly; for he that seeketh for much company in lying as he did, hath small humility; for he would hide himself by the number. And thus much as touching Smith, of whom, or his Book, till he was in trouble, I never heard talking. But to the matter I wrote of, I have told your Grace how I came to knowledge of them, very fearfully in time, but in the things over-sighted, and never hid any such thought in my life, as I desired to your Grace, to be worthily charged with them, by then I mean that may hereafter charge; for I know no fact yet in this world, and I never was in mine opinion so mad, as to write to your Grace in that sort. When all things be well, I have many causes to rejoice; but where things were otherwise (as I trust they shall not) I have nothing to do to ask any account. I trust I shall never forget my self so much. I thank God, I am even as well learned to live in the place of obedience, as I was in the place of discretion in our late Sovereign Lords life. And for my quarters in this estate I account my self to have a great treatise of your Graces rule and authority, and therefore will worship and honour it otherwise than to use such manner of presumption to ask any account. And I pray your Grace cannot stay these matters so faintly, and I esteem it a great matter, that things be thus hitherto thus; but if things had been as the rumours purposed, your Grace might have been incumbered more in the execution of your good determination. Now, thanks be to God, your Grace goeth well about to lay it. As for my self, I know mine inward determination to do, as I may, my duty to God and the world, and have no cause to complain of the universal disposition of them in my Days. I have, but one way of quiet, to keep and follow such Laws and Orders in Religion as our late Sovereign Lord left with us; which, by his life, as the Bishops and Clergy said was the very truth, I do never read or hear any thing which I to swear from it, nor think it expedient to call any one thing in doubt, during the Kings Majesties minority whereby to impair the strength of the accord established. Which I write not mistaking your Grace in the contrary, but declaring my felt, and willing the same mind to other about you, as I have said, and which I shall pray to God, who preserved our late Sovereign Lord from rebellion, as we have seen experience, and by your Graces foresight and politic government shall find the life prosperity to our Sovereign Lord that now is; wherein I shall do my part as subject and bounden man's ways thereunto. I find unto your Grace herewith my declaration of My Lord of St. Davids Purgation, wherein I walk somewhat more at liberty than writing to your Grace, and yet I take my self pretty enough, with a reverend mind notwithstanding to keep me within my bounds; which if I at any time exceed, I trust your Grace will bear with

me after your accustomed goodness, for whose prosperity I shall continually pray, with increase of honour.

At Winchester the sixth of June.

#### S. W. To the Lord Protector.

AFTER most humble commendations to your Grace, I have received this day Letters from My Lord of Canterbury, touching certain Homilies, which the Bishops in the Convocation holden *Annus Domini* M. c. c. xlii agreed to make for day of such errors as were then by ignorant preachers spouted among the people, for their agreement there had not then passed among us. Since that time God gave our late Sovereign Lord the gift of pacification in these matters, which established by his Highness authority in the convocation extinguished our devices, and remaneth of force with your Grace, wherein to avoid many encumbrances arguments which wit can devise against the truth, I find to your Grace the Copy of mine answer to My Lord of Canterbury, to whom I write and offer my self more largely, than I ever did in any matter of the Realm, to any man besides my Sovereign Lord, or the chief Governor as your Grace, for I am not factious, and use only to say as I am bound to say as caution, fervently, for that is my duty, having no other thing purposed but truth and honesty, whatsoever any man shall otherwise say of me, I am bolder with your Grace than needeth but such commendations as is pleased your Grace to find me by Master Cokes for the which I most humbly thank your Grace; I had expended thus much more boldness, that ever me thinketh I should desire your Grace, not to suffer the Kings Majesty our late Sovereign Lords determination to slip the Anchor-hold of authority, and come to a disputation, for evidence whereof, afterward the burden shall rest on your Grace, unto whom I desire all prosperous success, and the increase and continuance of such honour as God hath granted to your virtue, not to fall in example of any bismar that need not to be feared. If your Grace think not your self incumbered with my babbling, and inculting that needeth not of you, I would answer your Graces Letters of 6. of April, so as your Grace will by other Letters withdraw your name, that I may be free to dispute with one I do not far above me in authority, as your Grace is, which I have thought requisite to advertise, left by my silence your Grace should deem I thought my self overcome in those matters, where indeed I am of a contrary mind, and can show whereupon to ground me, why I should so think. And thus desiring your Grace to take in good part my doings, I shall continually pray for the preservation of your Grace long in felicity. At Westminster the 10th of June 1547.

S. W.

#### To the Lord Protector.

AFTER most humble commendations to your Grace, since my Letters unto your Grace wherewith I sent unto you such Letters as I had written to My Lord of Canterbury for answer to his Letters touching Homilies, I have editions received other Letters from My Lord of Canterbury, requiring the said Homilies by virtue of a Convocation holden 5 years past, wherein we commended of that which took none effect then, and much less needeth to be put in execution now, nor in my judgment cannot without a new authority from the Kings Majesty that now is, commanding such a matter to be entered, I wrote at length to My Lord of Canterbury, and sent the Copy of those Letters to your Grace, not to the intent your Grace should leave so much time to read them, for they be tedious in length, but only for my discharge, who never meddled, yet by private Letters with any man in the Realm to persuade or dissuade matters of Religion.

signs, but with the Prince himself, or him that had the managing of the great matters under him. And following this determination we hold to find your Grace the Copy of such Letters as I write to My Lord of Canterbury; whose Letters to me, I could not of congruence forbear to answer, nor answering forbear to speak freely a little. And forty I am to leave the matter of Homilies spoken in of this time, your Grace hath done prudently to stop the vain rumours by Proclamation, and it hath wrought good effect, and me thinketh is not left to entertaine any thing to tempt the people with occasion of this, whereby to break the Proclamation and offend: And to this effect I wrote to My Lord of Canterbury: For like as in a natural body, left without trouble doth confirm and strengthen it, so is it in a Commonwealth, trouble travel to make for day of such errors as were then by ignorant preachers spouted among the people, for their agreement there had not then passed among us. Since that time God gave our late Sovereign Lord the gift of pacification in these matters, which established by his Highness authority in the convocation extinguished our devices, and remaneth of force with your Grace, wherein to avoid many encumbrances arguments which wit can devise against the truth, I find to your Grace the Copy of mine answer to My Lord of Canterbury, to whom I write and offer my self more largely, than I ever did in any matter of the Realm, to any man besides my Sovereign Lord, or the chief Governor as your Grace, for I am not factious, and use only to say as I am bound to say as caution, fervently, for that is my duty, having no other thing purposed but truth and honesty, whatsoever any man shall otherwise say of me, I am bolder with your Grace than needeth but such commendations as is pleased your Grace to find me by Master Cokes for the which I most humbly thank your Grace; I had expended thus much more boldness, that ever me thinketh I should desire your Grace, not to suffer the Kings Majesty our late Sovereign Lords determination to slip the Anchor-hold of authority, and come to a disputation, for evidence whereof, afterward the burden shall rest on your Grace, unto whom I desire all prosperous success, and the increase and continuance of such honour as God hath granted to your virtue, not to fall in example of any bismar that need not to be feared. If your Grace think not your self incumbered with my babbling, and inculting that needeth not of you, I would answer your Graces Letters of 6. of April, so as your Grace will by other Letters withdraw your name, that I may be free to dispute with one I do not far above me in authority, as your Grace is, which I have thought requisite to advertise, left by my silence your Grace should deem I thought my self overcome in those matters, where indeed I am of a contrary mind, and can show whereupon to ground me, why I should so think. And thus desiring your Grace to take in good part my doings, I shall continually pray for the preservation of your Grace long in felicity. At Westminster the 10th of June 1547.

S. W.

#### S. W. To the Lord Protector.

AFTER most humble commendations to your Grace, My Grace with thanks, that he had pleased you to be content to hear from me, wherein now I have from your Grace liberty to write at large, I cannot find the like gentleness in my body to spend as much time as I would: And therefore shall now desire your Grace to take in good part, though I gather my matter into brief sentences. The injunctions in this visitation contain a commandment to be taught and learned, two Books, one of the Homilies that must be taught other by Priest. Another of Erasmus Praeparationis, that the Priest must learn himself, these Books have one with another directly, &c. Thus I have signified to your Grace some special faults that be Erasmus own faults; and in my judgment great faults, but I never written all: And your Grace shall further understand that he who is it, I know not who hath taken the labour to translate Erasmus into English, hath for his part offended sometime, as appeareth plainly by ignorance, and sometime evidently of purpose, to put in, leave out, and change as he thought best, never to the better but to the worse, with the specialities whereof, I will not encumber your Grace, but assure you it is so. And here I will grant to your Grace, that for every lie I make unto you, let one c. pound fine upon mine head, and let me live here like a Beggar, whilst my revenues pay it: My words you shall find in writing, and be against me matter of record, and I yield to have me charged, as the Bishop of London was with offering the form of his Bishoprick, which matter came to my remembrance in the writing hereof; and now I have written unto your Grace upon what foundation my Conscience is grounded. I shall truly declare unto you the manner of my proceeding from the beginning I never heard of the execution of the visitation, till your Grace was departed from London Northward; and as the Books Rowed already by liberty of the Printers they came to my hands, I never slept till I had perused them, so soon as I had found certain faults I wrote to the Council, trusting upon such earnest advertisement as I made, they would accordingly have sent for me, and upon knowledge of 60 evident matter as me thought I had to shew, have stayed till your Graces return. I saw a determination to do all things suddenly at one time, whereunto although your Grace agreed, yet of your wisdom I conjectured ye had rather have had it tarry

whiles your return, if you had not been precluded: And thus I need profess I noted in your Letters, wherein I wrote you were pulled on both sides: me thought if by any way by bringing my self to molest extreme danger in your absence, I could have stayed this matter, besides my duty to God, and to my Sovereign Lord I had done all you Graces pleasure, of whom I have this firm opinion, that willingly and willingly your Grace will neither break the Act of Parliament, nor command Books to be brought with authority, that contain such doctrine as these Books do: Thus I advertised in your Graces absence, and notwithstanding I had remembrance of your Grace, yet I made me unto your Grace my foundation, but God sheweth God knoweth with the preservation of our late Sovereign Lords notwithstanding that dead is, and the fequacy of our late Sovereign Lord that now is.

Let no man be offended with the vehemency of my writing, for I wrote with a whole heart, and if I could have written it with the blood of my heart I would have done it, to have done good, in staying the thing till it had been more maturely digested, and till your Graces free return, I touched the Act of Parliament lively, but as truly as ever was any thing spoken of. And I never wept more bitterly then I did for a conceit that troubled my head which never passed my lips, nor shall never come out of my Pen, I will tell it your Grace, and you require it. Now whether the King may command against an Act of Parliament, and what danger they may fall in, that break a Law with the Kings consent I dare say know no man alive at this day hath had more experience, than the Judges and Lawyers have said then: First I had experience in mine old Master the Lord Cardinal, who obtained his Legacy by our late Sovereign Lords request at Rome: And in his right and knowledge occupied the same time with his two Coils, and Mice born before him many years; yet because it was against the laws of the Realm, the Judges concluded the offence of the Procurement to mine: Which conclusion I bear away, and take for a Law of the Realm, because the Lawyers for confirmation of their doings, brought in a case of the Lord Tyrpoff as I remember, a jolly Civilian, he was Chancellor to the King, who because in execution of the Kings Commission he had offered the Laws of the Realm he suffered on *Tower-hill*, they brought in examples of many Judges that had fines set on their heads in like case for doing against the Law of the Realm by the Kings commissions. And thus I have written to your Grace, not to stay any Procees or judgment for any commandment from the Kings Majesty. And one Article against My Lord Cardinal, was that he had granted Injunctions to stay the Common Laws, and upon that occasion, *Magna Charta* was spoken of, and it was made a great matter the stay of the Common Law, and this I learned in that case, fithence that time being of the Council, when many Proclamations were devised against the Carriers out of Court, as such time as the transgressors should be punished, the Judges would answer it might not be by the Laws, whereupon enforced the Act of Proclamations, in the passing of which Act many liberal words were spoken, and a plain promise, that by authority of the Act for Proclamations, nothing should be made contrary to an Act of Parliament or Common Law, when the Bishop of Exeter, and his Chancellor were by one body brought in a *Premunire*, which matter my Lord Priory Seal cannot forget, I rest found with the Lord *Stuarts* then Chancellor, so far as he bade me hold my peace for fear of entering into a *Premunire* my self, whereupon I stayed, but concluded, it seemed to me strange that a man authorized by the King (as since the Kings Majesty hath taken the Kings Majesty's favour every Bishop is such a one) could fall in a *Premunire*. After I had reasoned the matter once in the Parliament House, where was free speech without danger, and there the Lord *Stuarts* then Chancellor, to fithence the factually, because I was in that better estimation as he did know, thou art a good fellow Bishop, quoth he, which was the manner of his familiar speech, look the Act of Supremacy, and there the Kings doings be restrained to spiritual jurisdiction, and it is above all that is given, thus no spiritual Law shall have place contrary to

Common Law or Act of Parliament. And this were not (quoth he) your Bishops would enter in with the Kings, and by means of his Supremacy order the Laity as ye liked; but we will provide quoth he that the *Præsumption* shall ever hang over your heads, and as we say that the Kings will be obeyed in the things that touch the Laws, and the Acts of Parliament. It is not yett full two years agoe since in a case of *feverell* I was faine with the Emperours Ambassador, and afterwards in the Emperours Court, to defende and maintain by the above the orders of their Laies, and the Kings, and the Emperours Commendments. And therefore the *feverell*, although he had the Kings Bill binde, yett it would not be allowed in the Kings Court, because it was not obtained according to the Laws, in which matter I was very much troubled, even this daye I am troubled with the Emperours Commendment. My Lord great Maier, and the Earl of *Southampton* for altering the Court of Augmentations. There was My Lord *Augmentacion*, and other of the Kings Learned Council, of whom by occasion of that matter I knowed what they would doe, and how they would doe it. But I was so much daunted that waye that I was to them what danger it was to them that medd against the Actes it is fresh in memory, and they can tell whether I said true or no: so therefore being learned in so notable cases, I wrote in your Graces absence to the Council therein, as I have written to the Council since your Graces returne, and I have written to the judgesmen, let thole matters, howsoever my reason can digest them, and so wrote to the Council: in which my writings I fashioned as I trusted My Lord would have stayed till your Graces returne. And thus I have declared to you the manner of my proceeding in this case of *feverell*, and the judgement, which nevertheless I continue with all humbly to abide the order of authority, and learn all other obedience: for thereto I have ever had as great regard as any man in this Realm. And as my word is *perpetuall* in my mouth, so I assure your Grace I practise it throughly in my deede.

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have learned this lesson in the world, never to look backward, as *S. Paul* faith, nor remember that is past, I will never grudge or complain of nothing for my self

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done again, in the later Sovereign Lords time. I have then the Council much afflicted, when the King would have done something against an Act of Parliament, it was made then a great matter. The Lord Cromwell had once said that he thought our late Sovereign Lord King Edward had him to have his will and pleasure regarded for a Law, for that he said was to be a very King, and thereupon I was called for at *Hampton Court*. And as the Lord Cromwell was very bold, come out to say I had whatever he talked with me, he knew ever as much as I, Greek or Latin and all. Answer the King here (quoth he) but speak plainly and directly, and finish it not in many words. I answered (he) that pleased the King. I say. Have ye not therein the Civil Laws (and quote) *quod principis placuit*, and so forth (quoth he) I have forgotten forgotten it now. I stood fill and wondered in my mind to what content this should tend, and I answered him not. I answered with courteous gentleness I said. Answer him whether it be or no, I would not answer my Lord Cromwell, but delivered my speech to the Kings word told him: I had read indeed of Kings that they will always receive for a Law, but I thought the form that we have is not so, and that our Law was more free and quiet, and by this form of Government ye be established (quoth I) and it is agreeable with the nature of your people: if ye begin a new manner of policy, it will be framed to that manner, and I will be as ready with you as I can. He would never advise your Grace to leave a certain for an uncertain: The King turned his back, and left the matter after till the Lord Cromwell turned the Cat in the Pan, after company, when I was angry with him, and I thought he had played his part: This tale is true, and not without purpose to be remembered, how I have been toiled to and from this kind of matter. Thus I have shewed your Grace the matter with much more fullness than I could have the entry of my letters, and make now an end, enforced by weariness of my body, fed with clofe air, rather then meat, which my stomach defirethnot, yet I must lay some of this in the matter of my Faith, wherein my Lord of *Cambridge*, is much troubled.

Furth in this, he shall never prove that he would say in that matter, but to make an end of it, either I am a very fool in mine own conceits, which may easily be, or I see an occasion given you *Grace*, to which I may easily be moved, if it so be, as may be convenient to your Grace, the consideration of all the world, the preservation of the Kings honour that deads, without prejudice of the Act of Parliament, without derogation to my Lord of *Cambridge* honour, without diminishing of the reputation of the Kings honour, without any glory to the Bishop of *Winchester*. Which is infense men conceive the greatest matter of all that be ye yet referred, and in good faith I would I were not, and so will be well. Your Graces doing in *Scotland*, is not to my judgment more to my liking, than your Graces doing in *France*. Which God grant and your Grace much honour and felicity,

*At the Fleet the xiv of October*

*Your Graces humble Beadman, S. W.*

*To the Lord Protector*

**A** For my much humble commendations to your goodness, Grace, since the writing of my last long Letters to you good Grace, which as they wearied me in writing, for I have I think wearied your Grace in reading, I have been in great expectation to hear frome from your Grace, of whole gentle and favourable mind towards me. I cannot doubt, howsoever the Declaration thereof at this time be hindered by other by-perfuasions, wherewith all though your Grace may be somewhat moved, I marvel not, and therefore while all things may be tyed, do I satisfie my self, not minding by what way your Grace may be contented to answer me, but that you may be contented to be overtaken by the Declaration of your Grace that you now present. And yet for I must of congruence, for declaration of your humbleness and also importantly use, left I should be seen to contemne and to be entered into a melancholly, proudly to disdain the world, which I assure your Grace I do not, nor desire

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T<sub>0</sub>[illegible][illegible]



inop of Saint *David's* (for *Winchſter* wrote againſt them both) had written and ſent immediately their Anſwers to the ſame, refuting the frivolous and unfavoury Reaſons of this Popiſh Prelate, as may well appear by a par-  
ce!

(b) if ye did see any  
Printer yet to do worship to  
his Graven Letters, then  
nighte ye well iudge thus as  
ye do, a knot in a Russh.

as they have wrought, when I was in *brachia*, I have been  
 to have them, and I have been to have them, and I have  
 to have them, with offer of as much for them, as I have  
 double worth. Some will say, What are Rings to Hold  
 W<sup>o</sup>rry? Marry thus I say, (¶) If the Metal of Gold  
 were to be wrought, it should be wrought in the  
 of the Name of God effectually for the Purp<sup>o</sup>se  
 may also serve to carry along the Invocation of  
 the Name of God, wherewith to drive away Devils, *there*  
*is* *the* *name* *of* *God* *in* *the* *name* *of* *God* *in* *the* *name* *of* *God*  
 But the Story telt, The W<sup>o</sup>rry of the Rings Ma-  
 jor (frangers say and affirm by experience, The Kings Ma-  
 jorities Rings have done the service, And our late Ma<sup>o</sup>rt  
 continued all his life the exercise of that Gift of God, and  
 the strength of the Invocation of the Name of God, by  
 him, and he used it amongst us that served him in it  
 when he had thought deeply and seen what might be  
 for that, that pake of Rings of Silver or Gold no more  
 is for the Almes Minutred a little before ye left preached.

[illegible]

Holy-water both together in like case of abuse and superstition.

And by our own Principles we  
say, that our (f) Cramp-rings be

thop of Saint *David's* (for *Wine*  
both) had written and sent in  
to the same, refuting the frivolous  
sons of this Popish Prelate, as m

better wrote against them  
 immediately their Answers  
 alous and unfavoury Rea-  
 may well appear by a par-  
 cel

And because we have begun to write to you, we are put in remembrance of a certain Letter or Book, which you wrote unto us againt the Bishop of Saint David's Sermon, and Doctor Ridley's, to the which answer being immediately made, It was by negligence of us forgotten to be sent. Now we Leth fend you that, and also the Answer which the Bishop of Saint David's wrote to the same Book of yours.

Articles and Positions ministred and objected  
each of them joyntly and severally to the  
Bishop of Winchester; as followeth.

**I**N primis, That the Kings Majesty justly and rightfully is, and by the Lawes of God ought to be Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, and so is by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocation, and by All of Parliament justly, and according to the Lawes of God recognised.

Wischeren.

1572-1581 This first Article the Bishop granteth.

### The 2. Article.

Item, That his Majesty, as Supreme Head of the said Church, hath full Power and Authority to make and set forth Laws, Injunctions, and Ordinances for and concerning Religion, and orders of the said Church, for the increase of Virtue, and repressing of all Errors, Heresies, and other enormities and abuses.

*Winchester.*

To this second Article he answereth affirmative

### The 2. Article.

Item, That all and every his Graces Subjects are bound by the Law of God to obey all his Majesties said Laws, Instructions and Proceedings concerning Religion, and orders in the said Church.

*Winchester.*

To the third Article the said Bishop answereth affirmatively. and granteth it.

### The 4. Article.

Item, That you Stephen Bishop of Winchester have sworn obedience unto his Majesty as Supreme Head of this Church of England, and also of Ireland.

*Winchester.*

To the fourth Article, the said Bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

### The 5. Article.

Item, That all and every his Graces Subjects, that do obey any his Majesties said Laws, Injunctions, Ordinances and Proceedings already set forth and published, or hereafter to be set forth and published, ought worthily to be punished according to his Ecclesiastical Law used within this Realm.

Winchester.

To this fifth Article the said Bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

### The 6. Article.

Item, That you the said Bishop, as well in the Kings Majesty late Visitation within your Diocels, as at sundry times have been complained upon, and sundry Informations made against you for your doings, sayings and preachings against sundry Injunctions, Orders, and other Proceedings of his Majesty, set forth for reformation of Errors, Superstitions, and other abuses of Religion.

*Winchester.*

This Article toucheth other mens Adts, who or how they have complained and informed, I cannot thoroughly tell. For at the time of the Kings Majesties Visitation I was not present, but the next day after the same was delivered at Hampton Court, my Lord of Somerset, and my Lord of Canterbury then being in Council, with many other Councellors, and was delivered by these two Lords, and by the said Lord of Somerset, who was assisted by the benefit thereof I was discharged: whereunto I answered, That I was learned never to refuse the Kings Majesties Pardon, and in strength at that was: And I did so, and so was discharged. And the next day after when they began with me in an Article of Learning, touching Justification, whereunto they willed me to say my mind; adding therewith, that the said other Learned men, who were present, should be my witnesses, and that which I could alter at it: which I received of them, and promised the Thursday after to repair to my Lord of Somersets House at Stow, in the County of Middlesex, which I did the next day from thence following; appearing before him and other of the Council, was committed to my House for Prisoners, because I refused to subscribe to the form of words, which they presented to me, and to sign my Name thereto. In which time of Imprisonment in my House, the Bishop of Rochester then being sent for me, and after Mr. Smith, and then Mr. Cecil: to which Mr. Cecil, I delivered the same, and he delivered it to my Lords Grace, wrote me, in his manie, thanks for it; and then it was within the time of Lent, ere I was discharged of that which was committed to Winchester, as a man clearly out of all travay of Love.

And within fourteen days after that, or therabouts, began other travel with me, upon a request made by my Lord of *Sumner* to surrender a College in *Cambridge*, and divers Letters were written between his Grace and me in it. Whereas I was to have been there, and his Grace had intended to have called on me, and to have taken occasion to pick me more, than I trusted my Lords Grace himself would have done. And by this trouble was I deduced to an end. Then shortly after I received Letters to come to the Council, and by reason I alleged my sickness, I was excused. And when the Letters came, before *Whitfoote* received yet other Letters to come, by which it might seeme unto me, that it was not so all believed that I was diseased. And therefore with all expedition, when I could not ride, I came in an *Hortle*-and according to my duty presented my self before the Council, and did deliver up the Letters, and did shew me most humbly, and with all respect, and did shew me most faithfully among them before the matters were objected unto me, as if I had been in the same place with them that I was in our late Sovereign Lords days. Afterwards my Lord of *Sumner's* Grace charged me with these Matters following, and in this form, having the

First, with disobedience, that I came not at his sending  
for. Whereunto I answered, That I had his Letters of  
License to stay till I might come conveniently. And up-  
on these last Letters I came incontinently in a Horfe-  
man's

Then it was objected, That I bare Palms, and crept to the Croſs. Whereto I answered, That they were miſinformed, and I truſted they would not think I durſt deny it, if I had done it, becauſe Ceremonies had ſuch circumſtances, as I might eaſily be reproved if it were otherwiſe.

Then it was objected, That at *Easter* I had a solemn Sepulchre in the Church; and such other Ceremonies. I answered, That I had even as many as the Kings Majesties

{KING  
Ed. 6.}

**{KING}** *And 6* Majestyes Proclamations commanded me: declaring plainly That I thought it not expedient to make any alteration wherein to offend the Kings Majestyes Proclamation; adding, how he that followeth as he is commanded, is very obedient.

It was then objected unto me, That I went about to defect two of the Kings Majesties Chaplains, first down to be Canons of the Church of *Windsor*. Whereunto I answered, declaring the Fact truly as it was, which I am yet able to justify. After this matter thus ob-  
jected and answered, I was commanded to go apart, and being called in again, my Lord of *Somersetts* Grace looking up-  
on a Bill of Articles, filed, I had preached how the Apo-  
stles went from the preference of the Council, of the  
Council, of the Council ; which matter I denied, adding,  
That it was not my fashion of Preaching, so to play in  
iteration of words.

Real Pre-  
sence.

After that, it was objected unto me for Preaching of the Sacrament, to say, The Body of Christ was really present, being a fault to use the word Really, not comprised in the Scripture. Whereunto I answered, That I did not use the word Really, which needeth-not. For as I once heard my Lord of *Canterbury* reaf against one *Lambert*, in the presence of the Kings Majesty that dead is; the words of the Scripture, *This is my Body that shall be betrayed for you*, do plainly and lively expref the very Presence, and fo did I fet it forth to the People in my Discourse.

And this is the effect of all that was said against me at my being at the Council, as I can remember. To whom I declared how much I esteemed obedience, and told them, I had taken the Oath, and was bound to it. If a Christian man conflict in suffering properly, and therefore we may not do our own will, but the will of God: and among men, we must either suffer the Rulers will, or hide powers, their will to order us, and their power to punish us. *Answer* Some of them said, If you will, Yermut tarry in the Town. Whereunto I answered, I would be contented at their commandment or pleasure to tarry; but being I was no Offender, I desired them I might not tarry as an Offender; and for defence thereof, that I had taken the Oath, and was bound to the Country about *London*, to remove forth for a shift. In the deviling whereof, I took much to borrow *Asfar*. My Lord of *Summers* said, if he had any, in faith he would lend me. And in the end, my Lord of *Sumers* desired me to tarry, and to be at the Ceremonies, and to feed in the town hall, and with that departed.

Thus I have truly opened after what fort I have been  
complained on, that hath certainly come to my know-  
ledge: Truth it is, that one *Philips* in *Wilmstine*, whom  
I accounted altered in his wits (as I have heard) devised  
tales of me, the specialties whereof I never was called  
to answer unto. Players and Minstrels also railed on me,  
and other Ballads and Rhymes of me, but never

Man his selfe, I saide to complaine of any sayings, doings, or sayings, or to my knowledge did, otherwise than as he. And if any man should put to me any charge of other complaint that might in my absence be made of me, if I have heard it, I will grant it. But well assured I am, I was never complained on, and called to make answer to the complaint, but this one time in all my whole life by any man of any degree. Once the Lord God pardoned, God pardoned him, who was the first one day and a half to be spent in a matter between Sir Francis Brins and me, which was ended, and I declared an honest man, which the Kings Majesty that is dead, God pardon his Soul, let forth with his familiarity to me incontinently. And this I do create a new bond and tie, saying the death of the Fleet, being occasioned by my own Letter to the Council, upon a zeal that I had, which they allowed not. And finally, this finding of me to the Tower, which was without calling me before the Council, to hear what I could say. I am both to be forgiven, and made glad, because the Christians of this whole life made against me whereunto I have made strive.

Winchester  
when and  
how oft he  
hath been  
called to  
JUSTICE.

*Articles objected against Winchester, and by him answered*

### The seventh Article

Item, That after and upon occasion of those and many other Complaints and Informations, you have been sundry times admonished, commanded and enjoyned to conform your self, as to your duty addertained.

### **Einsetzen**

To this seventh Article I answer, I was never called afore the Council by way of outward Complaint and Information, but only once in all my whole life, which was at my last coming to *London*. Whereunto I answered as afore, and have since that time never been called to answer for further of answer to this and that Article; for more than I have before written, I remember not to have done or suffered by the higher Powers in all my whole life, nor having any thing to be charged upon me, nor had any by Admonitions, as a man faulty or negligent at any time, that I remember not, for the observation of any thing already made or yet forth by the Kings Majesties, but have been ever ready to do my duty, and to my power, the Kings Majesties Aids, Statutes, Injunctions and Proclamations, inavoiably, having for that purpose foch a Chancellor, as in Orders and Ordinances hath been by himself directed, and to procure, for that time I might have knowledge of his doings.

### The eighth Article

Item, That after the promiss, and for that their former Administrators and Commandants notwithstanding, you did yet still prove your self not conformable, and for that also others by your example were much animated, and thereby occasioned the great multitude of papists, you were by the King's Majesty commanded to be removed out of the said Island before the Kings Majesty Council on the 10th of June, in the second year of his Majesty's Reigne, and by them on his Majesty's behalf commanded to Preach a Sermon before the said Kings Majesty Council on the 17th of June, in the second year of his Majesty's Reigne, in which Sermon you did touch his Majesty's Father, in his proceedings upon certain Articles partly mentioned in certain Articles to you delivered in Writing, and partly otherwise declared unto you.

And that after the said Sermon, touching the same Point, and Authority of the Right Reverend Father, you did not only give and take away in this Realm, and other the Kings Majesty Dominions, touching the just Supplanting and taking away of the said Religion, but also the said Religion of the English, Strangers, and

Certain points are omitted, as being unworthy to be inserted into the second year of his Majesty's Reigne, and touching the same Point, and Authority of the Right Reverend Father, you did not only give and take away in this Realm, and other the Kings Majesty Dominions, touching the just Supplanting and taking away of the said Religion, but also the said Religion of the English, Strangers, and

*The Superstitions going about of Saint Nicholas Bishop, Saint Edmund, Saint Katharine, Saint Clement, and such like: and just taking away of Chantryes, Abbies and Collegedges, hallowing of Candler, Water, Aprer, Palm, Holy Bread, Beards, creeping to the Croft, and such like.*

*Also touching the fitting forth of the Kings Majesties Authority in his young years, to be as great as if his Highnes were of many more years.*

*That Avaricious Conffion is indifferent, and of no necessity by the Law of God's and touching the Procession and Common Prayer in English.*

*Winchester.*

This Article being of many parts as is I, some true, some otherwise, must be answered by division, it into divers members, to divide the one from the other, granting that which is true, and denying that which is false, and opening that which is ambiguous, avoiding that which is capacious; so as, according to my Oath, I may open directly and plainly the truth, with Integrity of Conscience. The mention of Preaching was not in the Council, nor was I charged by *Mr. Cressil*, upon the Duke of Somers's behalf, after I had been before the Council, as I have before said; from which Council I departed (as before is rehearsed) as an offender; and therefore when *Mr. Cressil* spoke to me of Preaching before the Duke of Somers, I refused to write my Sermon before, I denied that manner of Preaching, because I laid it was to Preach like an Offender, and I was none, but departed from the Council contrary to what I have said. And so, I have said, that *Mr. Cressil* did not say to me that I was moved to Preach.

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After this Sequelation, the said Bishop was convented unto Lambeth before the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and other the Kings Commissioners, by virtue of the Kings special Letters sent unto the said Commissioners, to wit, the arch-bishop of Canterbury, Nicholas Bishop of London, Thomas Bishop of Ely, Henry Bishop of Lincoln, Secretary Peters, Sir James Hales Knight, Dr. Leyton, Dr. Oliver, Lawyers, and John Goddold Esquire, &c. before them, and they to be examined, by whom were objected against him nineteen special Articles, in order and form here following.

### Articles and Poisons ministered jointly, and severally objected to the Bishop of Winchester.

Item, That the Kings Majesty, justly and righteously, by the Laws of God ought to be, the Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England and Ireland, and by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocation, and in the Act of Parliament justly, and according to the Laws of God recognized.

Item, That His Majesty as Supreme Head of the said Churches, hath full power and authority to make and give such Laws, Episcopall and Ordinances for and concerning Religion, and Order in the said Churches, for the increase of Virtue, and a poynting of all Errors, Heresies, and other Excesses and Abuses.

Item, That all and every his Grace Subjects are bound by the Laws of God to give his Highness full Loye, Justice, and Obedience, concerning Religion, and Order in the said Churches.

Item, That you Stephen Bishop of Winchester have done unto his Majesty, as Supreme Head of this Church of England, and also of Ireland.

Item, That all and every his Grace Subjects that disobey unto his Majesty Laws, Episcopall, Ordinances and Proceedings already forth published, and heretofore to be forth put and published, ought necessarily to be punished according to his Grace Ecclesiastical Law within this his Realm.

Item, That you the said Bishop, as well as the Kings Majesty Law, Episcopall within your Diocese, as in sundry other times, have been complained upon, and sundry Informations made against you for your doings, sayings and preachings against sundry Episcopall, Order and other Proceedings of his Majesty for forth Reformation of Errors, Superstitions, and other Abuses in Religion.

Item, That after and upon the occasion of thefts and other many Complaints and Informations you have been justly and lawfully commended and enjoined to conform your self, as to your duty appertains.

Item, That after the Penalties, and that for thefts, former Admonitions and Commandments notwithstanding, you did yet still show your self not Conformable, and for most default your example, the people were much distressed, and thereby occasion of much acquired mischief, you were called before the Kings Justices Council in the Month of June, the second Year of his Majesty Reign, and by them on his Highness behalf commended to preach a Sermon before his Majesty, and therein to declare, the benefits and goodness of his Majesty Father and his proceedings, upon certain matters partly mentioned in certain Articles to you delivered in Writings, and partly otherwise delivered unto you. The self which of teaching the aforesaid Authority of the Bishop of Rome, and that his papistical Authority was justly and lawfully taken away from this Realm, and other the Kings Majesty Doctrines, touching the full support and taking away of Monasteries, Religious Houses, Pilgrimages, Reliques, Shrines and Images, the superstitions given about of St. Nicholas Bishop of S. Edmund, St. Katherine, St. Clement, and such like, for taking away of Chancellors, Officers and Colleges, touching Dilation of Causes, Water, Alms, Palm, holy Bread, Breads, enjoining to the Confessors, touching the setting forth of the Kings Majesty Authority in his young years, to be as great as of his Highness were of many more years, touching Archaicall Confusion, touching the Precedence and Common Prayer in English, and that things done in General Councils against the Word of God, may be justly reformed in particular Councils.

Item, That you touching the same, and promising to declare them in a Sermon by you made before his Majesty for that purpose, on the Feast of St. Peter, in the said second Year of his Highness Reign, did then and there contemptuously and deliberately omit to declare and to forth many of the said matters, to the great contempt of his Majesty, and diverse great example of others.

Item, That you being also commanded, and on his Majesty behalf, for the avoiding of tumult, and for other great Considerations, inhibited to treat of any matter in Conference concerning the Mass of the Communion (then commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar) did contrary to the said Commandment and Inhibition, declare divers your Judgments and Opinions in the same, in manifest contempt of his Majesty said Inhibition to the great offence of the Hearers, and dishonour of the common Quiet and Unity of the Realm.

Item, That after the Penalties, viz. in the Month of May or June, or one of them, in the third year of his Highness Reign, his Majesty forth enjoined unto you, to know your Conformity towards the said Reformation, and especially touching the Book of Common Prayer then lately forth made by his Majesty, whereunto you at the same time refused to show your self Conformable.

Item, That after that, viz. the ninth day of July in the fourth year of his Majesty Reign, his Highness sent unto you his Graces Letters, with a certain Submissiō and Articles, whereunto his Grace would and commanded you to subscribe, to the which Submissiō, you contemptuously refused to subscribe.

Item, That you having offence certain of the Kings most Honourable Council sent unto you the twelfth of July, in the said fourth year, with the same Submissiō, and being in the said Majesty lawfully required, and Commanded to consider againe letters the said Submissiō, and to subscribe the same, for justification of your self, and would as to wife subscribe thereto.

Item, That after all this, the fourteenth day of July, in the said fourth year, the said Kings Majesty sent yet againe unto you certain of his Majesty most Honourable Council with another Submissiō, and divers other Articles, willing and commanding you to subscribe your Name thereto, which to do you utterly refused.

Item, That after all this, videlicet, the nineteenth day of July, in the said fourth year, you were lawfully called before the whole Council, and having the said Submissiō and Articles openly and distinctly read unto you, and required to subscribe the same, refused, for unjust contempt and factual Contumacy to you alleged, to subscribe unto the same.

Item, That for your sundry and manifest Contumacy, and Disobedience in this behalf said, the Fruits of your Benefice were then by special Commission of his Majesty justly and lawfully seized.

Item, That after this you had Intimation and preceptory Mandate, with Commination, that you should, within three months arise full unto the said Intimation, reconcile and submit your self upon pain of Excommunication.

Item, That the said three Months are now fully expired and run.

Item, That you have not hitherto, according to Winchester Terms to deliver them, returned your self, but contemptuously yet still remain in the same disobedience. Whereupon the King the Bishop of Winchester, these three personally present, to show faithful and truly to make answer.

After these Articles were exhibited unto him, and he having cause to say for himself, wherein he used all the Cautels, Shifts and Remedies of the Law to his most advantage, by way of Prolonging, Recalling, and Excusing against the Commission, and requiring allo the Copies as well of the Articles, as of his Protestation, or the Articles, (which were W. Say, and Th. Gage) time and repitue was assigned unto him to answer to the said Articles in Writing. But he to avoid trouble and dilate from day to day to answer directly, although he was sufficiently labored and persecuted to the same by sundry Callings and Acts, and also abundantly Convinced by Depositions and Witnesses, especially by matter induced by the Lord Paget, and Sir John Bournes, and Master Gloucours, pag. 846. all which I refer to my first Booke that at last he appeared from

from them (reputing them to not to be competent and indisposed to hear and determine his cause) unto the Kings Royal Justice, notwithstanding by profection all ways referring to himself the benefit of his Appelation, and so proceeded he to the answering of the foreaid Articles, but in such crafty and obdurate manner, as before he had been accustomed, and as at large, to them that be desirous to understand the said process thereof, in the first Booke of the Acts and Monuments of the Church aforesaid may appear.

But briefly to conclude, such exceptions he used against the witnesses produced against him, and he himself produced such a number of witnesses in his defence, and used to many delays and cavillations, that in the end the Commissioners, seeing his stubbornness, proceeded to the sentence definitive against him, as hereunder followeth.

### Sentence definitive against Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester.

In the Name of God Amen. By authority of a Commission by the high and mighty Prince our sovereign Lord Edward the Sixth, by the Grace of God King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, in fact, Edward the Sixth, the tenth whereby heretofore made, the said Thomas, Sir Thomas by the Office of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, with the Right Reverend Fathers in God, Nicholas Bishop of London, Thomas Bishop of Ely, and Henry Bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter Knight, and Sir James Hales Knight, one of our said Sovereign Lords Justices of his Common Pleas, Griffith Litch, and John Oliver Doctors in the Civil Law, Richard Goodrich, having God before our eyes, with express consent and assent of Nicholas Bishop of London, Thomas Bishop of Ely, Henry Bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter Knight, and John Goddold Esquires, Judges and Colleges with us in the matters aforesaid, and with consent of divers learned men in the Law, with whom we have conferred in and upon the premises, do judge and determine, you Stephen Bishop of Winchester, to be deprived and removed from the Bishopric of Winchester, and from all the rites, authority, commendations, and other appurtenances to the said Bishopric, in the which we do deprive and remove you from your said Bishopric, and all rites and other commendations aforesaid, and further pronounce and declare the said Bishopric of Winchester, and all appurtenances to it, to be void by this our sentence definitive, which we give, pronounce and declare in these writings.

And thus have you the whole Discrete and Process of the said Stephen Gardiner late Bishop of Winchester, unto whom the said Papistical Clergy doth to much lean, as to a mighty pillar and upholder of their ruinous Religion. And although I have not beenhold to fully expresse all his Letters, Answers, Preachings, Examinations, Definitions, Exhibits and Antefayers, with the Depositions of all such witnesses as he could and did produce for the most advantage of his cause, with such notes and collections gathered upon the same, as here I might, and as before I have done, I must intreat the Reader to consider that the greatness of this Volume, which would not well bear the tedious tradition thereof, and secondly, to content him self in referring to our said History, where not only he shall find all that he could and did produce for the most advantage of his cause, but also may briefly read in a few famous pages collected the whole discourse of his doctrine and judgment, touching what points of Religion he did content and agree, or not agree unto, Page 862.

And thus an end of Winchester for a while till we come to talk of his death hereafter. Whom as we number a worthy good Lawyer, so is he to be reckoned among good learned and good Divines, great Prelates, and bloody rancorous Persecutors, as both in his cruel life and in a few famous pages may appear, especially in the Article of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and Images, and also in crying out



should be made plain by the Schoolmen, did read their Brevie, and after that he had said therein, in opinion of Transubstantiation was every day *Maga & magna laude*, that is, weaker and weaker, and that there was no such Transubstantiation as they made; adding thereto, that the whole School did not know what was meant by Consecration, which he said was the whole action of the holy Communion.

#### ¶ To the thirteenth Article.

Item, That he did repent him that he had so much sinned against Justification by Faith only.

#### ¶ To the fourteenth Article.

Item, That Works had their crown and reward, but that they did not deserve eternal life, and the Kingdom of God, nor the works of Grace: *Nam domum Dei vita eterna: Per everlasting life is the gift of God.*

Although these testimonies above alleged may suffice for a declaration touching the honest life, good Doctrine, and sincere judgment of Dr. Redman: yet (as he abundantly) I thought not to cut off in this place the testimonial Letter or Epistle of Dr. Young, written to Master Cheke, specially concerning the premises. Which Epistle of Doctor Young, as I received it written by his own hand in the Latin Tongue, the Copy which he himself neither hath nor can deny to be his own, and is extant to be read in the former Book of *Acts* and *Monuments*, so I have here exhibited the same faithfully translated into the English Tongue, the tenor whereof followeth.

#### The Letter of Master Young to Master Cheke concerning Doctor Redman, translated out of Latine into English.

Although, right Worshipful, I am stricken into no little damp and dolour of mind for the unripe that it otherwise pleased Almighty God, and lamentable death of that most blessed and learned man Doctor Redman, inasmuch that, all along with weeping and lamenting, I cannot tell what to do or think, yet nevertheless, perceiving it to be your Worthipps will and pleasure, that I should do, I gladly call my wits together, and purpose, by Gods grace, here in these my Letters sincerely and truly to open and declare what I heard that worthy learned man speak and confess at the hour of his death, as touching the controversy of Religion, whereof the Spout of Christ is in these our days most miserably troubled and commoted.

This Doctor Redman, being continually by the space of twenty years, or somewhat more, exercised in the reading of the holy Scriptures, with such industry, labor, modesty, magnanimity and prayers to Almighty God, tried and weighed the controversies of Religion that in all his doings, as he would not seem to approve that which was either false or superfluous: so he would never improve that which he thought to stand with the true worship of God. And albeit in certain Points and Articles of his Faith, he seemed to divers, which were altogether ignorant of that singular Gravity, either for notions, fear, or lack of stomach to change his mind and belief, yet they, to whom his former life and conversation, by familiar acquaintance with him was thoroughly known (with whom also which were present at his departure) may easily perceive and understand, how in grave and weighty matters, not rashly and unadvisedly, but with constant judgment and undisturbed confidence, he defended into that manner of belief, which at that time of his going out of this world he openly professed.

I gave your wisdom to understand, that when death drew nigh, he calling away all hope of recovery, attended and talked with other things (as we which were present heard) but of Heaven and heavenly matters, of the later day, of our Saviour Jesus Christ, with whom most fervently he declared to be: whose incredible love towards us miserable sinners most worthily, and not without tears, he confutes us out to extol and speak of: and us which were

there present he earnestly moved and exhorted to prepare our selves to Christ, to love one another, and to beware of this most wretched and corrupt world. And besides that he promised (calling God to witness thereto, to whom he trusted shortly to come, if any would demand any thing, that he would answer him what he thought in his judgment to be the truth: At what time there were present Mr. Alexander Nowel, a man earnestly bent to the true Maister, who loved the said Dr. Redman, to whom he spake on this point.

Your excellent learning, and purity of life, I have ever both highly favored, and had in admiration; and for no other cause (God be my judge) I do ask these things of you which I shall propose, but that I might learn and know of you what is your opinion and belief touching these troublesome controversies which are in these our days; and I shall receive and approve your words as Oracles (sent from Heaven).

To whom when Doctor Redman had given leave to demand what he would, and had promised that he would faithfully and sincerely answer (all affection left aside) what he thought to be the truth, Mr. Nowel said, I would (quoth he) right gladly, but that I fear by my talk and communication, I shall be unto you, as feeble and weak almost, first, a trouble and grief. Then did Doctor Redman, replying, What shall I care my Carke (quoth he) which hath so long a time here to remain? Go to, go to, (said he) propose what you will. Then Master Nowel put forth certain questions, which in order I will here declare; as were those said Dr. Redman severally answered; wherefore followeth.

The first question that he asked of him was, What he thought of the Bishop of Rome. Unto whom Doctor Redman answered, That the See of Rome in these our latter days had much favored from the true Religion, the worshiping of God, and a with horrible vice, pains, and penalties, which I therefore (quoth he) promise to be the first of all evil, and shortly will come to utter ruin in the course of God, except it be laid the former to repentance: which he lately complained of the filthy abode of our English Church.

Being then asked, what his opinion was concerning Purgatory, and what the Schoolmen judged thereof, he answered, That the foolish reasons of the Schoolmen concerning Purgatory, seemed to him to be no less vain and frivolous, than disagreeing from the truth; adding thereto, That when we be kept to the Clouds to meet Christ coming to judgment with a great number of Angels in all glory and majesty, then every one shall be purged with fire, as it is written, *The fire shall go before him, and shall burn round about his enemies, and the fire shall burn in his sight, and round about him shall be a great tempest, faying, That divers of the old Wives approved this his sense concerning Purgatory.*

When he was asked whether wicked and ungodly people in the holy Communion did eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood: he answered, That such kind of men did not eat Christ's most blessed flesh, but only took the Sacrament to their own damnation; faying, That Christ would not give his most pure and holy flesh to be eaten of such naughty and impure persons, but would withdraw himself from them. And that (quoth he) that is objected by St. Augustine, That Judas received the self same thing which Peter received, that I think to be ungodly, derogated of the external Sacrament. And the like kind of phrase of speaking (said he) we may use concerning the Baptism of Magus; That Simon Magus received that which the Apostles did receive. Indeed as concerning the Sacrament of the external Baptism, Simon Magus received that which the Apostles did; but that internal grace wherewith the Apostles were endued, and that holy Spirit wherewith by Baptism they were inspired, he lacked. And so (quoth he) the wicked and forsaken people, which rashly presume to come to the holy Table of the Lord, do receive the Sacrament and the self same which good and godly men receive; but the body of Christ they do not receive. For Christ doth not vouchsafe to deliver it to them, and thus, he said, was his opinion and belief, although he knew others to be of a contrary judgment.

Being

Being then after this demanded, whether he thought Christ's preference to be in the Sacrament or none answered, That Christ did give no order to faithful and Christian men his very real body and blood, until he truly, under Sacraments of Bread and Wine's infomuch that they which devoutly come to be partakers of that holy food are by the benefit thereof united and made one with Christ in his flesh and body. And therefore he said that Christ did dilute his body spiritually, that he gave it truly, yet not so nevertheless, that all and the like words would offend any gods and carnal intelligences, such as the *Carnepotes* once dreamed of, but that (quoth he) we might labour and endeavor to express by some kind of words the ineffable Majesty of this Mystery. For the manner whereof by Christ is there present, and ministrated to the faithful his flesh, is altogether inexplicable; but we must believe (quoth he) and think, that by Gods mighty power, and the holy operation of his Spirit, this so notable a Mystery was made; and that Heaven and Earth was joined together in that moment, as the blessed man St. Gregory faying, The lowest parts are joined with the highest, by which is understood that holy food whereby they which be regenerate in the Holy Ghost in Baptism, are united to such a degree that And further he said, That Christ's body was vouchsafed to us, in said Sacrament by faith; which being received to such body and soul were quickened to everlasting life.

Being then required to say his mind about Transubstantiation, he gave answer, That he had much cavilled in that point, and that he felt much favored and inclined to that part which maintained Transubstantiation, in fatching the very word most indubitably he had seen little while compiled, and found to be useful, and indubitable and almost incredible, although he might be contenting whereof, when he had but finally contented himself he had took in hand the Schoolmen's works and perused *Gabriel* and other Writers of that sort, for thereby they did help and aid he hoped that all differences which did spring and arise by maintenance of Transubstantiation might be clean convinced and wiped away. Of which his hope he was utterly fruitless (said he) for that he did find in those Books many fond and phantastical things, which were both too foolish to be believed in writing, and also to be alleged about such a Mystery, and truly (said he) ever after the reading of them, my former zeal and opinion touching the maintenance of Transubstantiation, did every day more and more decay, and therefore in conclusion he persuaded himself to think that there was no such Transubstantiation as the Schoolmen imagined and feigned to be; faying that indeed the ancient Writers were plainly against the maintenance thereof, amongst whom he recited by name, *Justin, Irenaeus, and Tertullian*, notorious adversaries to the same. Furthermore he added hereunto, That the whole School understood not what this word *Consecratio* was, which he denied to be the full entire action of the whole Communion.

Being demanded also, whether we ought to worship Christ present in his holy Supper: he told us, that we ought bound to do, and that it was most agreeing to piety and godly Religion. Likewise being asked, whether he would have the visible Sacrament to be worshipped, which we see with our eyes, and is lifted up between the Priests hands, and to be answered, That nothing which was visible, and to be seen with the eye, is to be adored or worshipped, nor would Christ be elevated into any higher, nor be lifted up higher, nor placed lower, and that he can neither be lifted up higher, nor pulled down lower.

Again, being asked his opinion about the custom and manner in carrying about the Sacrament in solemn Pomes, Processions, and otherwise: he said, that he always much hated and reported that order; inasmuch that about sixteen years ago, openly in the Palace at Cambridge, he spoke against that custom, and disallowed that Ceremony: faying that Christ had expelled by plain and evident words a very filthy and night use of this Sacrament, when he said, *Take ye* (by which plain words, he doth express that he will give a gift.) *Et ye* (by which words he doth declare the proper use and order of that precious gift.) *This is my body*, (whereby he doth evidently and plainly show what by that gift they should receive, and how low and precious a gift he would give them;) and therefore he judged (such pompous and superstitious observations utterly

to be condemned and taken as plain mockeries and counterfeits of vilous.

His judgment also being asked about the commemoration of the dead, and the remembrance of them in the Oblation of the Mass, he gave answer, that he was of the opinion, whether he thought it profitable or no: he answered, That it seemed to him to be no less profitable than religious and godly; and that might be well proved out of the Books of *Maccabees*. The which Books although *Sherens* as judging as not authentic, thought good to be read in the Temples only for the edifying of the Church, and not for the alteration of opinions; yet with me the opinions of the other Writers, to whom those Books were allowed as Canons, prevail, which he in that point thinketh good to be read. Being furthermore required to show his mind about the Trinital Maffes, and Maffes of *Scala celi*; he shewed them that they were altogether superfluous, superstitious and irreligious, flowing out of the filthy and impure fountain of superstition, not yielding to be true and very edifying in the being forth. The facilitated the Supper of the Lord (the Eucharist I mean) that Sacrifice, he said, could not be offered for the sins of the quick and the dead.

Finally, of his own voluntary will, and no man (as far as I can call to remembrance) demanding of him, he shewed his opinion concerning justification by Christ. I termed (said he) and repent, beseeching God forgiveness of the time, that too frequently and earnestly I have without this proposition, that only faith doth justify, but I always feared that it should be the liberty of the flesh, and I should doubt the innocency of life which is in Christ. But that proposition, That only faith doth justify, is true, (quoth he) lower, and full of spiritual content, if it be truly taken, and rightly understood. And when he was demanded what he thought to be the true and very edifying thereof, I understand (quoth he) that to be the lively faith which relict in our only Saviour Jesus Christ, and embraceth him, so that in our only Saviour Jesus Christ all the hope and fruit of our salvation be fully fixed. And as concerning good works, faith he said, he loved their exercise, and he was not desirous of their rewards; yet he desired, that they do merit the Kingdom of Heaven. For no works (said he) could purchase and obtain that blessed happy and everlasting immortality nor yet that life, which we do under grace by the action of the Holy Ghost. For that blessed and immortal glory is given and bestowed upon us mortal men of the heavenly Father for his Son our Saviour Christ sake, as St. Paul testified, *The gift of God is eternal life.*

And these be the resolutions which I heard him give to the questions of Master Nowel proposed. From which his sentence and judgment I heard by me, and of him uttered (as I remember) he never declined or varied. I beseech our Lord Jesus Christ to send these troubles during which we do under grace by the action of the Holy Ghost, for that blessed and immortal glory is given and bestowed upon us mortal men of the heavenly Father for his Son our Saviour Christ sake, as St. Paul testified, *The gift of God is eternal life.*

At London the third of November.

Here followeth the Epistle, now left lamentable than notable, of William Gardiner an Englishman, faying much comfortably in Portugal, for the reformation of Gods Church.

Coming now to the next year following, 1552, we will somewhat the side, and know a little how, in 1552, the English Church, whereby a certain Country-man of ours doth call me, named William Gardiner, a man very in my judgment not to be compared with the most principal and chief Martyrs of these our days, but also such a one as the ancient Champions in the time of the last Persecutions could not flow a more famous, whether we do behold the force of his faith, his spirit and steadfast countenance, the invincible strength of his firm, or the cruel and horrible torments the report only and heard wherewith were enough to put any man in honour or fear. Yet notwithstanding, to stir off it was that the same did discourage him, that it may be doubted, whether the pain of his body, or the courage of his mind were the greater; when as indeed both appeared to be very great.

Where-

**The great** of Atonement  
Clergy Mar-  
tyrs have been  
of Christendom  
in our day.

logical Superstition. There were also besides him divers other good men in the same City. Neither did he lack good books, or the conference of good and honest men, unto whom he was continually resorting. His conversation needs that he was neither sufficiently touched with the hatred of his Insuperstitious yet inflamed with the love of godliness.

Will it be there a thing, it happened that there should be a solemn Marriage celebrate the first of September in the year abovewritten, between two Princes, that is to a German Prince, and a French Prince, who were both of the Kings daughter. The Marriage day being come, there was great number of the Nobility and Estates. There lacked no Bishops, Abbots, Prelates, Knights, Barons, and Nobles, together with Miter, nor Cardinals with Hats, to set out this Royal Wedding. To be short, they went forward to the Church, where there was a great multitude of people resorting, some of good will, for a great purpose of grace (as the manner is) to fawn and flatter. Great preparation of all parties was there throughout the whole City, as in such cases is accustomed, and all places were filled with mirth and gladness. In this great assembly of the whole Kingdom, *W. Gardiner*, who albeit he did not carry any gift

King; by whom he was demanded what Country

But they not being therewith satisfied, added another strange kind of torment, which (as I suppose) passeth the Ball of Phalaris. Because there should no kind of extreme cruelty be left unsatisfied, they caused a linnen cloth to be drawn thertoe, and then with violence put down thre thurt into the bottom of his hands, and then with a small finger which they held in their hands, and when it was down, they pulled it up again with violence, to place it into it and to fro through the meat pipe, in such sort as that with much less grief they might have rid him out of his hands.

Thus came it to pass, that when all torments and torments were wearied, said that it did nothing at all prevail to go thys way to them, they asked him whether he did not repent his wicked and felonious deed? As touching the deed, he answered, that it was so far off that he did repent, that if it were to do again, he thought he should do the same. But touching the punishment, he said, that he was content that it was done in the Kings presence, to the disquietness of his mind. Howbeit, that was not to be imputed unto him, which neither interpreted nor thought upon any such matter, but was rather to be ascribed unto the King, in that he having power would nor prohibit to great Roderick using among

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Thus it seemed good in the sight of God, by this messenger to provoke the *Portugals* to the sincere knowledge of him; and therefore they ought the more to have acknowledged the great love and kindness of God offered unto them, and also the more to be mindful of their own duty and thankfulness towards him. And if it be so great an offence to violate the ordinances of mans Law, and to contemn the Ambassadors of Kings and Princes, let the *Portugals*

Albeit this death of *William Gardiner* seemeth to have profited very many of them little or nothing; yet for all that there are some (as I have heard divers report) out of whose minds the remembrance of this constant Martyr can never be pulled, and is so fresh yet amongst them, as if it were now lately done; and finally, albeit it be a good while since he was put to death, yet the memory of his death, as fruitful feed, hath taken such root in some, that

The blind and miserable cruelty of the *Portugals* against a poor *Englishman*. A Pope holy fast for pacifying the wrath of their God of the Altar.

Displeasure  
between the  
Queen and  
the Dutchess  
of Somerset.

*An Answer to the Lord Protectors Letter.*

TO this Letter of the Lord Protector sent the sixth of *October*, the Lord *Rex* returning again upon the eighth of the said month, first lamented the heavy diffinition faln between the Nobility and him, which he taken for such a Plague, as a greater could not be sent of Almighty God upon this Realm, being the next way, faith he, to make us our Conquerors, failes, and like to invade upon the whole Realm an universal calamity and shandall, unless the merciful goodness of the Lord doth send, and some wile order be taken in fuying their great contentment, as touching the Duke request in his Letters, forasmuch as he heard before of the said Duke, and fearing lest some conspiracy had been meant against the Kings person, he hatied forward with such

such company as he could make for the safety of the Kings, and then retired to his apartment. Now perceiving by the Lords Letters sent unto him the same sixth day of *Offshore* there were tumults rise upon private causes between him and several others he therefore thought it best to retire to his country house, where he was in a readiness to withstand the worst (what perils forever might ensue) for the preservation both of the King and state of the Realm from the invasion of foreign enemies, and also for the recovery of the same from the hands of those who intended between the parts in the heat of this Faction. And this he thinking best for discharge of his Allegiance humbly beseeched his Grace to have the same done in (special regard and consideration that he was a subject of the said King) and that if he felt that the Kings Majesty was thereby hurt, and that if he thought that thing wherein he hath given just cause to them thus to proceed, he will to conform himself as no such private quarrels do redound to the public disturbance of the Realm, certifying most humbly his Grace thereof by the Letters, that he thought should be sent by the Letters of the Lords, that he thought should be sent by the Letters of the Lords for raising up of the Commons, he liked not the same. Notwithstanding he trusted well that his words would follow.

[illegible]

And thus much for answer of the Lord *Ruffel* to the Lord Protector's Letters.

But now to the matter again of the Lords, who together with the Earl of *Warwick* (upon what occasion God knoweth) being assembled at *London*, as ye heard against the Lord Protector: where the King with his Council at *Hampton-Court* heard thereof, first Secretary *Peir* with the Kings meffage was sent unto them, whom the Lords notwithstanding detained still with them, making as yet no answer to the meffage. Whereupon the Lord Protector writeth to them in this manner as followeth.

A Letter of the Lord Protector to the  
Council at *London*.

**THE L**iterary and historical interest of the London of the year 1792 is increased by the fact that you were admitted by Sir John Darnley to the house of the Duke of Devonshire, and that you were admitted by Sir John Darnley to the house of the Duke of Devonshire, and that you were admitted by Sir John Darnley to the house of the Duke of Devonshire.

I seek, or what you do mean) and that you do seek no  
 heart to the KING. *Majesties* perform, as touching all other  
 private matters, to avoid the effusion of Christian blood,  
 and to preserve the KING *Majesties* perform, his Realm and  
 Subject, you shall find me agreeable to any reasonable  
 content that you will require. For we do esteem the KING  
 wealth and tranquillity of the Realm, more than all other  
 worldly things; yea more than our own life. Thus pray-  
 ing you to find your determinate answer hereby by Mafter  
 Secretary Peter, or if you will not let him goe, by the KING  
 himselfe, I beseege you to give forth your answer, deter-  
 mining this matter, as it will be to Gods honour, the pre-  
 servation of the KING, and the quiet of our all, which may  
 be, if the fault be not in you. And so we bid you most  
 heartily farewell.

From the Kings Majesties Castle  
of *Windsor*, the seventh of  
*October*, 1549.

Your Lordships Loving  
Friend, *E. Somerset,*

After these Letters received, and the reasonable conditions of the Lord Protector, and yet not much regarded of the Lords, they perverting still in their pretended purpose, took this advice, first to keep themselves in the City of London, as strong as they might : and therefore calling upon the Mayor and the Aldermen, they willed them in any scale to provide a good and substantial Watch by night, and a good Ward by day, for the safeguard of their City, and the Ports and Gates thereof : which was consented unto, and the Companies of London in their turns warned to watch and ward accordingly.

Then the said Lords and Counsellors demanded of the Lord Mayor and his Brethren five hundred men to aid them to fetch the Lord Protector out of *Winflor* from the King; but thereunto the Mayor answered, That he could grant none aid without the assent of Common-Council of the City : Whereupon the next day a Common-Council was warned. But in the mean time the said Lords of the Council assembled themselves at the Lord Mayors House of London, who then was Sir Henry Arden, Hufminger, and William Lock Mercer, and Sir John Alepie Sheriffs of the said City, and there the said Council did agree and publish a Proclamation forthwith against the Lord Protector, the effect of which Proclamation was as followeth :

First, That the Lord Protector, by his malicious and evil Government, was the occasion of all the sedition that of late happened within the Realm.

2. The loss of the Kings Pieces in *France*.
3. That he was ambitious and sought his own glory, as appeareth by building of most sumptuous and costly Houses in the time of the Kings Wars.
4. That he esteemed nothing the grave counsel of the Counsellors.

5. That he fowed division between the Nobles, the Gentlemen and Commons.

6. That the Nobles assembled themselves together at London for none other purpose, but to have caused the Protector to have lived within limits, and to have put such order for the surety of the Kings Majesty as appertained whatsoever the Protectors doings were; which they said were unnatural, ungerate and travertous.

7. That the Protector slandered the Council to the King, and did what in him lay, to cause variance between the King and the Nobles.

8. That he was a great Traytor, and therefore the Lord desired the City and Commons to aid them, to take him from the King.

And in witness and testimony of the Contents of the said Proclamation, the Lords subscribed their names, which were these :

*The Lord Rich, Lord Chancellor.  
The Lord Saint John, Lord great Master, and Pre-  
sident of the Council.*

*The Lord Marquess of Northampton.*

Th

{ KING 7  
 { Edw. 6 }

*The Earl of Warwick, Lord great Chamberlain.*  
*The Earl of Arundel, Lord Chamberlain.*  
*The Earl of Shrewesbury.*

*The Earl of Southampton, Wriothesley.  
Sir Thomas Cheyney Knight, Treasurer of the King  
House, and Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports.*

Sir John Gage Knight, Constable of the Tower.  
Sir William Peter Knight, Secretary.  
Sir Edward North Knight.

Sir Edward Montague, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.  
Sir Ralph Sadler.

Sir John Baker.  
Sir Edward Wootton.  
Doctor Wootton, Dean of Canterbury.

**The Lords  
coming in-  
to Guildhall.**

After the aforeſaid Proclamation was proclaimed, the Lords or the moſt part of them, continuing and lying in London, came the next day to the Guildhall, during the time that the Lord Mayor and his Brethren ſat in their Court or inward Chamber: and entred and communed long while with the Mayor: and at the laſt the Mayor and his Brethren came forth into the Common-Council, where

This Letter by name was directed to Sir Henry Amcotts Knight, Lord Mayor, to Sir Rowland Hill Knight Mayor Elect, and to the Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of London. The day and date of the Letter was the sixth of *October*, in the third year of his Reign being signed with the hand of the King, and the Lord Protector; the Contents of which Letter, for the satisfaction of the Reader, are here to be seen in manner and form as followeth.

## EDWARD.

By the King.

**T**Robby and Wilkewood, Wt Greet you well. We charge and command you most earnestly to give our duty all speed for the defence and preservation of that our City of London for us, and to levy out of hand, to put in array as many as conveniently you mayells sword and pike men, keeping good watch at the Gates, and to send of that our City, of Troops and faithful men, to attend upon us and our most entirely beloved Uncle Edward Duke of Somerset, Governour of our Person, and Protector of our Realm; Dominions and Subjects; ward harnessed and well good and ready armed, ready to march forth with our repaire rather unto the night, if it be published or the least to remove before noon, and in the meantime to do what opportunities unto your duty for us: and our said Uncles defence against all such attempts as an conspiracy or enterprise of violence against us and our said Majesty, as you know best for our preservation and defence being present. Given under the Great Seal of Great Brittain Hampt Court, the sixth of October, at the third of our Reine.

You shall further give credit to our trusty and welbeloved Owen Cleydon, the Bearer hereof, in all such things as he shall further declare unto you on the behalf of us and our said Uncle the Lord Protector.

## EDWARD SOMERSET

This Letter of the King and of the Lord Protector was not so secretly devised, nor so speedily sent, but the Lord keeping at London had knowledg immediately thereof (by the means, as some suppose, of the Lord Pagar, who was then with the King and the Protector, but the truth the

Lord knoweth) being there ready furnished with their own bands of Serving-men, and other Souldiers and men of Arms.

Who forthwith upon the same addrested their Letters in semblable wise to the said Lord Mayor and Aldermen in the Kings name; not only for a supportation of Armed men to serve their purposes, and for a sufficient Watch to fortifie their City, but also that they should not obey any such Letters, Proclamations, or Injunctions sent to them from the Duke. Which Letter of the Lords at the same instant came likewise to the Lord Mayor and his Brethren, the sixth day of the said month of *October*. The tenour and Copy of which Letter here ensueth.

To our very good Lord, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of *London*.

**A**fter our hearty commendations unto your good Lordship; knowing your hearty favour and earnest zeal to the preferation of the Kings Majesty, and to this Realm, and other his Majesties Realms and Dominions; we have thought good to advertise you, that notwithstanding all the good advice and counsel that we could give to the said Lord Somers, that he should not exceed his reasonable limits, and to use his Government now in the tender age of his Majesty, in such sort as might tend to his Highness safety, to the conservation of his estate, and to his honour; the said Duke nevertheless hath continuing in his pride, covetousness, and ambition, ceased not daily, by all means possible, and means that he thought himself lawful, to endeavour to procure his Majesty's death.

He buildeth in two or three places most sumptuously, and leaveth the poor Souliards employed of their wages, unprovided, and in all things so unprovided, as the lives lasteth of the poor, and the grief of the King, and the King and the King's Realm, do declare. He feweth daily division between the Nobles and Gentlemen, and Common. He rewardeth and entertaineth a number of Nobles, and retaineth a number of Nobles in their estate inferior to the Nobles, and daily in such wise putteth the Nobles and the Common, and good order (as it is evident) that putting his trust in the Commons; and perceiving that the Nobles and Gentlemen should be an impediment to him in his Devotion, he laboureth to labour to labour to labour to labour, and thinks after easily enough to achieve his desire, which is apparent plainly, to occupy the King's Majesty these places. For his sakes, who ever live to behold them, and to see the King's Majesty, who ever live to render account to his Majesty of his proceedings.

These things with many more too long to recite, considered, we pondered with our selves, that either we must leave for some reformation, or we must in effect as it were consent with some to the destruction of our Sovereign Lord and Country. Whereupon laying apart all respects, and resting only upon our duties, we joined in council, and thought quietly to have treated the matter with him. Who perceiving that we were joined for the defence of his Majesty, and not for the destruction of the same, he was ready to perform, and the Commencement, I brought put himself in for the same, and so we proceeded to the consideration of the same, and rests at plain point (as it appeared) not to go through with his detestable purpose in such sort as he hath done, or to try it in the sword.

Now foremuch as we see presently, that itself: there is  
a reformation, the person of the Kings Majesty is in most  
entire danger, and this Realm our natural Country like  
to be brought with all his people into utter confusion  
again fully replevied with Gods help, either to deliver  
the Kings Majesty and the Realm from this extreme ruin  
and destruction, or to spend our lives for the declaration of  
our faithfulness and loyalty to the Kings Majesty, and  
with us and truth to his Majesty, and therefore without  
doubting of your readiness, to join with us in our godly  
purpose, we thought good to let you know the very truth of our  
enterprize, and in the Kings Majestys behalf to require  
of you, to put your selves to the proof, and to stand  
and war, but also to have a earnest continual regard  
to the reformation, within your City, of all Heresies, Wic-  
peres, and Monitions, so as none be suffered to be conveyed  
to the said City, nor any other spreading such dangerous  
heresies.

besides, that you from henceforth obey no Letters, Proclamations, nor other Commandments to be sent from the said Duke. And thus we bid you. Your loving most hearty farewell.

From London, the sixth of October.

Your Lordships assured loving Friends,

William Saint John.

W. Northampton.

John Warrick.

Arundell.

Th. Southampton.

William Peter.

Edward North.

John Gage.

Richard Southwell.

After the receiving of these two Letters above mentioned, the one from the King, the other from the Lords, which came both at one instant, with contrary commandment to the Lord Mayor and Citizens of London, the said seemed hard to them, and very doubtful (as it was indeed) what way to take, and what were best for the Citizens of London to do. On one side the King's authority, the other the King's was much on the other side the power and greatness of the Lords, lying then in London, was not little, which seemed then to be such as would have no respect.

The three due friends for the Duke.

The three due friends for the Duke.

Hereto of a great part in the Common-Council was no other answer made but silence. But the Recorder (who at that time was Mr. Brooke) filled up then for his answer. At the last stepped up a wife and good Citizen named George Staddon, and said:

"In this case it is good for us to think of things path to avoid the danger of things to come. I remember, faith he, in a story written in Fabians Chronicle, of the War between the King and his Barons, which was in the time of King Henry the Third, and the same time the Barons (as our Lords do now) demanded aid of the Mayor and City of London and that in a rightful cause for the Commonwealth, which was for the execution of divers good Laws against the King, which would not suffer those Laws to be put in execution; and the City did aid them, and it came to an open Battle, and the Lords prevailed against the King, and took the King and his Son prisoner; and upon certain conditions the Lords released the King and his Son again to their liberties, and among all other conditions this was one, that the King should not give any grant his pardon to the Lords, but also to the Citizens of London; the which was granted, yea and the Duke was ratified by Act of Parliament. But what followeth of it? Was it forgotten? no fairly, nor fairly, when neither, during the King's life. The Liberties of the City were taken away, strangers appointed to be our Heads and Governors, the Citizens given away body and goods, and from one persecution to another were most miserably afflicted. Such a thing is it to enter into the wrath of a Prince, as Solomon faith, *The wrath and indignation of a Prince is death*. Wherefore, forasmuch as this aid is required of the Kings Majesty, whose voice we ought to hearken unto (for he is our high Shepherd) rather than unto the Lords, and yet I would not wish the Lords to be clearly shaken off; my counsel is, that they with us, and we with them may join in faith, and make our most humble Petition to the Kings Majesty, that it would please his Highness to hear each complaint against the Government of the Lord Protector, as may be justly alleged and proved, and I doubt not but this

matter will be so pacified, that neither shall the King not yet the Lords have cause to seek for further aid, neither we to offend any of them both.

After this tale the Commons stayed, and the Lord Mayor and his Brethren for that time brake up, till they had further communion with the Lords. To make short, I let pass what order by the City was taken. But the conclusion was, that the Lords (upon what occasion I know not) sat the next day in Council in the Star-Chamber, and from thence sent Sir Philip Hoby with the Letter of credence to the Kings Majesty, beseeching and requesting his Majesty to give credit to that which the said Sir Philip should declare unto his Majesty in their names; and the King gave him liberty to speak, and most gently heard all that he had to say. Who so handled the matter, declaring his message in the name of the Lords; that in the end the Lord Protector was commanded from the Kings presence, and shortly was committed to ward in a Tower within the Castle of Windsor, called Beauchamp Tower, and from thence were stayed Sir Thomas Smith, Mr. Whalley, Mr. Fisher, and many other Gentlemen that attended upon the Lord Protector. The same day the Lords of the Council referred to the King, and the next day they brought from thence the Lord Protector, and the other that were there, and conveyed them through the City of London unto the Tower, and there left them.

Shortly after the Lords referred unto the Tower, and there charged the Lord Protector with sundry Articles, which follow.

#### Articles objected against the Lord Protector.

**I**mprimis, You took upon you the Office of Protector and Governor, upon condition expressly and specially that you would do nothing in the Kings affairs, publicly or privately, but by the effort of the late Kings Executors.

2. Also, contrary to the said condition, of your own authority did say and let Justice, and subverted the Laws, as well by your Let ers, as by your Commandments.

3. Also you caused divers persons being arrested and imprisoned for Treason, Murder, Manfalgings, and Felony, to be discharged and let at large, against the Kings Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

4. Also you have made and ordained Licensers for the Kings Armies, and other weighty affairs, under your own writing and seal.

5. Also you have communed with the Embassadors of other Realm, discouraging all with them the weighty causes of this Realm.

6. Also you have sometime rebuked, checked, and tamed, as well privately as openly, divers of the Kings most Honourable Councillors, for shewing and declaring their advice and opinions against your purposes in the Kings weighty affairs, saying sometimes to them, that you were not to open matters unto them, and would therefore be otherwise advised, and that you would, if they were not agreeable to your opinion, put them out, and take other at your pleasure.

7. Also you had and held against the Law, in your own house, a Court of Requests, and thereby did induce divers the Kings subjects to answer for their Freeholds and Goods, and determined the same to the subversion of the Laws.

8. Also, you being no Officer, without the advice of the Council, or the more part of them, did dipose of the Offices of the Kings gift for money, and granted Leases and Wards of the Kings, and gave Prelatements to the Kings Benefices, and Bishopricks, having no authority to do so. And further, you did meddle with the selling of the Kings lands.

9. Also you commanded Multiplication and Alcinuity to be practised, to abuse the Kings Coyn.

10. Also you caused a Proclamation to be made concerning Indulgences, whereby the common people have made divers Infurrections, and levied open War, and distrained and spoiled divers of the Kings subjects, which Proclamation went forth against the will of the whole Council.

11. Also

#### The Story of the Troubles of the Lord Protector.

**11.** Also, you have caused a Communion, with certain Articles thereunto annexed, to be made out concerning Inclosures of Commons, High-ways, decaying of Cottages, and divers other things, giving the Commissioners authority to hear and determine the same causes, to the subversion of the Laws and Statutes of this Realm; whereby much Sedition, Infurrection, and Rebellion have risen and grown amongst the Kings Subjects.

**12.** Also, you have suffered the Rebels and Traitors to assemble and to lie in Camp and Army against the Kings Nobles and Gentlemen, without any speedy subduing or repressing of them.

**13.** Also, you did comfort and encourage divers of the Rebels, by giving of them divers sums of your own Money; and by promising to them fees, rewards and services.

**14.** Also, you in favour of the said Rebels did, against the Laws, cause a Proclamation to be made, that none of the said Rebels or Traitors should be fed or taxed by any person for any offences in the said Rebellion, to the clear subversion of the Law.

**15.** Also you have failed in the time of the Rebellion, that you liked well the doings and proceedings of the said Rebels and Traitors; and said, That the contrivances of the Gentlemen gave occasion to the common people to rise, saying also, That better it were for the Commons to die, than perish for lack of living.

**16.** Also you said, that the Lords of the Parliament were loth to incline themselves to reformation of inclosures and other things, therefore the people had good cause to reform the things themselves.

**17.** Also you, after the report and declaration of the defaults and lacks reported to you by such as did survey *Baldages* and the Pieces thereof, would never amend the same defaults.

**18.** Also you would not suffer the Kings Pieces beyond the Seas, called *New-borne* and *Black-moss*, to be handled with men and victuals, although you were made aware of the defaults therein by the Captains of the same Pieces and others, and were thereto advertised by the Kings Council; whereby the French King, being the Kings open Enemy, was encouraged and comforted to invade and win the Pieces, to the Kings great loss, and dishonour of his Realm.

**19.** Also you declared and published untill, as well to the Kings Majesty, as to other the young Lords attendant upon his Graces person, that the Lords of the Council at London minded to depose the King, and you required the King never to forget it, but to revenge it; and likewise you required the young Lords to put the King in remembrance thereof, to the intent to make ledition and discord between the Kings and his Lords.

**20.** Also where the Kings Majesties Privy Council, of their love and zeal that they did bear unto the King and his Realm, did consult at London, to have communed with you, to the intent to move you, charitably to amend your doings and misgovernment, you, hearing of their said assembly, caused to be declared by Letters in diverse places, the said Council to be high Traitors to the King, to the great disturbance of the Realm.

**A**nd thus much hitherto concerning the first trouble of the Lord Protector Duke of Somerset, with the Crimes and Articles objected against him, with his imprisonment all in the Tower, and the terrible Proclamation given out against him. All which purposes of mine, though they seemed fully to intend no less than the filling of his blood; yet the Lord above, the only dispeller of all mens purposes, fo ordered the matter by the means of the King labouring for his Lucre, that in short while after he was let out of the Tower, and that Proclamation which before had made him a Traitor, within three days after was called in again, (a *Domino factum est illud*) with commandment given, none of them to be held forth. And so the Duke of Somerset, graciously accepting this adversity, was again restored, though not to the former office, yet unto liberty, wherein he continued the space of two years and two days.

After the which time of reprieve being expired, the said Duke of Somerset was apprehended and committed again to the Tower, and with him all Sir Michael Smebly,

Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Miles Partridge, and other. At length the time being come of his arraignment, aforesaid good Duke being brought from the Tower, was conveyed through London with the Axe of the State before him, and with great preparation of Bills, Halberds, Pikes, and Polaxes in most forcible wise; a Watch also appointed before every mans Door through the high street of London, and so he was brought unto Westminster Hall, where the Lords of the Council sitting as Judges in the middle of the Hall upon a new Scaffold, he was there before them arraigned and charged both with Treason and Felony.

In the which judgment, I pass over the unkindly words of the vile taunts and defepled speeches, without modesty or honesty, used by certain of the Sergeants and Justices, and some other fitting, these. All which note withstanding he patiently and quietly did suffer, neither storming inwardly in stomach, nor trembling forth with words again; but like a Lamb, following the true Lamb, and example of all meekness, was contented to bear all things at their hands, and with no less patience to know their ungentle and cruel railings, than he did before their glowing words and flatterings in time of his high estate and prosperity.

And the sentence of this good Duke was marvelous in forbearing his enemies, for allowing his discretion and temperance no less in so awful a way for himself to the Articles to him objected; whereunto he wisely and substantially replied, putting himself in the end to be tried by his Peers. Who then at length, after consultation had, did frame and temper their verdict thus: That as concerning the case of Treason, whereas he was charged, they discharged him, but they accounted him guilty of Felony. When the people (which were there present to a great number) heard the Lords say, Not guilty, (meaning by the case of Treason) supposing no less but that he had been clearly acquitted by these words, and especially seeing the Axe of the Tower to be carried away, for great joy and gladness they made an outcry, well declaring their loving affection and hearty favour unto the Duke, and where like they greatly desired. But this opinion of the people was deceived, and the innocent Duke condemned to die for Felony. Which Act of Felony had been made a little before against the Rebels and unlawful assemblies, such as should seek or procure the death of any Councillor, for that every such attempt and procurement, according to the Act, should be adjudged Felony. By the virtue of which Act the Duke being accused, with certain other his Complices, to intend and purpore the death of the Duke of Northumberland, and of certain beside, was therefore cast and condemned of Felony, and so he returned toward the Tower again.

At whole passage through the City great exclamations and outcries were made again of the people, for rejoicing that he was acquitted, some bewailing that he was condemned.

Thus the good Duke passing through a great part of the City, landing at the Crane of the Vintrie, was conveyed to the Tower, where he induced till the 22 of January. Upon the which day, at the coming down of the Letter of execution from the King and the Council, the said Duke and Lady to the Kings lodging found no Traitor, only being set by the Act of Felony, was delivered unto the Sheriffs, and so brought to the place of execution.

Touching which execution a few words here would be bestowed, in describing the wonderful order and manner thereof, as it hath faithfully been suggested to us upon the credit of a certain Noble Personage who not only was there present at the deed doing, but also in a manner next unto him upon the Scaffold, beholding the order of all things with his eyes, and with his pen reporting the same in order and manner as he saw follow.

In the year of our Lord, 1552, the two and twentieth of January, in the sixth year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth, he being yet under age and governance of his Tutor, the noble Duke of Somerset, Uncle to King Edward, was brought out of the Tower of London, and according to the manner delivered to the Sheriffs of the City, and compassed round about with a great number of the armed both of the Guard and other men; was brought unto the Scaffold on Tower Hill, where he nothing changing either

either voice or countenance, but in a manner with the same gesture which he commonly used at home, kneeling down upon both his knees, and lifting up his hands, commended himself unto God.

After that he had ended a few short Prayers, standing up again, and turning himself toward the East side of the Scaffold, nothing at all abashed (as it seemed to me standing about the middle of the Scaffold, and diligently marking all things) either with the sight of the Duke, or of the Hangman, or of perfect death: but with the like alacrity and cheerfulness of mind and countenance as before times he was accustomed to hear the cautions and application of other, and especially the Poor (towards whom, as it were with a certain Fatherly love to his Children, he as always shewed himself most attentive) he uttered these words to the people.

Early beloved Friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, albeit that I never offended against the King's death, nor death by word nor deed, and have been always as faithful and true unto this Realm as any man hath been. But performance as I am by a Law condemned to die, I do acknowledge myself to be unworthy to be so publicly executed. Wherefore to testify my obedience which I owe unto the Law, I am come hither to suffer death: wherewith I willingly offer myself, with most lively thanks unto God, that hath given me this time of repentance, who might through sudden death have taken away my life, that neither I should have acknowledged him nor my self.

Moreover, dearly beloved Friends, there is yet some-thing that I must put you in mind of, as touching Religion: which I wish to long as I was in charity to all, I may diligently let forth and furthered to my power. Neither do I repent me of my doings, but rejoice therein, that now the State of Christian Religion cometh most near unto the form and order of the Primitive Church. Which thing I desire to see given of God both unto you and me, most heartily exhorting you all, that this which is most purely let forth unto you, you will with like thankfulness accept and embrace, and let out into your living. Which thing if you do not, without doubt greater mischief and calamity will follow.

When he had spoken these words, suddenly there was a terrible noise which I perceived that came a great fear upon all men. This noise was as it had been the noise of some great storm or tempest, which unto some seemed to be heard from above: like as if a great deal of Gunpowder being included in an Armoury, and having caught fire, had violently broken out. But unto some again it seemed as though it had been a great multitude of Hosts men running together, or coming upon them. Such a noise then was in the ears of all men, albeit they saw nothing. Whereby it happened that all the people being amazed without any evident cause, without any violence or smoke thence, or any man seen, they ran away, some to the Ditches and Puddles and some into the Houses thereabouts; others, being afraid of the horror and noise, fell down groveling unto the ground, with their Palaces and Hallways; and most of them cried out, *Jesus save us*. *Jesus save us*. Those which tarried still in their places, for fear knew not where they were; and I my self which was there present among the rest, being also afraid in this fearful hour, stood still altogether amazed, looking when any man would kneel me on the head. It happened here as the Evangelists write it did unto Christ, when as the Officers of the high Priests and Pharisees, coming with Weapons to take him, being affrighted ran backwards and fell to the ground.

In the mean time, whilst these things were thus doing, the people by chance spied one Sir *Anthony Brown* riding under the Scaffold: which was the occasion of a new noise. For when they saw him coming, they conjectured that he was not true, but notwithstanding which they all walked fast. That the King by that Messenger had sent his Uncle pardon; and therefore with great rejoicing and calling up their Caps, they cried out *Pardon is come*; *God save the King*. Thus yet the Duke, although he was deluged of all mans hope, good

law before his departure, in low great love and favour he was with all men. And truly I do not think that in so great laughter of Dukes as hath been in *England* within these few years, there were so many weeping eyes at one time; and all not without cause. For all men did see in the decay of this Duke the public ruin of all *England*, except such as indeed did perceive nothing.

But now to return from whence we have strayed; the Duke in the mean time standing still in the latter place, modestly and with a great countenance made a sign to the people with his hand, that they would keep themselves quiet. Which thing being done, and silence obtained, he spake unto them in this manner.

Dearly beloved Friends, there is no such matter here in hand as you vainly hope or believe. It seemeth that good unto Almighty God, whose ordinance it is meet and necessary that we all be obedient unto. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer, and let us now join in Prayer unto the Lord for the preservation of the Kings Majesty, unto whom I have always been most faithful and true Subject. I have always been most diligent about his Majesty in his affairs both at home and abroad, and he is so faithful therewith, that I am a commodity of the whole Realm. At which words all the people cried out and said, it was most true.

Then the Duke proceeding, said, Unto whose Majesty I am with continual thank, with all fidelity and all perfectness. Whereunto the people again cried out, Amen.

Moreover, I do wish unto all his Counsellors the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule in all things wisely and justly. Unto whom I exhort you all to the Lord to show your fervent obedience, as to your sovereign Lord, under the pain of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the Kings Majesty.

Moreover, forasmuch as hitherto I have often times affairs with diverse men, and hard it is to please every man, therefore if there be any that hath been offended and injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness, but especially Almighty God, whom throughout all my life I have most grievously offended, and who hath never been that he should have offended me. I do wish my whole heart forgive them. Now I once again require you dearly beloved in the Lord, that you will keep your lives quiet and still, let through your tumult you might trouble me. For albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering, and through your tumults I shall be much more quiet. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness that I do here in the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, desiring you to help me with your Prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same unto my latest end.

After this, he turning himself again about like a meek Lamb, knelt down upon his knees. Then Doctor Cox, which was there present to confer and advertise him, delivered a certain Scroll into his hand, wherein was contained a brief confession unto God. Which being read, he stood up again upon his feet, without any trouble of mind (as it appeared) and felt that the Sheriffs farewell, then the Lieutenant of the Tower, and other taking them all by the hands which were upon the Scaffold with him. Then he gave the Hangman certain Money. Which done, he put off his Gown, and kneeling down again in the draw, uttered his last things. After that, the Hangman coming unto him turned down his Collar round about his neck, and all other things which did let or hinder him. Then lifting up his eyes to Heaven, where is only hope remained, and covering his face with his own handkerchief, he laid himself down along, shewing no manner of token of trouble or fear, neither did his countenance change, but that before his eyes were covered there began to appear a red colour in the middle of his cheeks.

This most meek and gentle Duke lying along, and looking for the people, being by his Doublet covered, he was commanded to rise up and put it off; and then laying himself down again upon the block, and calling them upon the name of *Jesus saying*, Lord *Jesus* save me as he was the third time repeating the same even

the Duke of Somerset.

the Duke of Somerset.

the Duke of Somerset.

the Duke of Somerset.

the Duke of Somerset.

the Duke of Somerset.

the Duke of Somerset.

## A Disputation holden at Oxford about the Sacrament.

the name of *Jesus* was in uttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head and life, and leaping the Lord Jesus, being taken away from all dangers and evils of this life, and resting now in the peace of God; in the presence of whose truth and Gospel he always shewed himself an excellent instrument and member, and therefore hath received the reward of his labours. Thus, gentle Reader, thus hath been the true History of this worthy and noble Duke, and if any man report it otherwise, let it be counted as a lie.

As touching the manners, disposition, life, and conversation of the laid Duke and the Kings Uncle, which shall we need to speak, when he cannot be sufficiently commended, according to the dignity of his virtues? There was always in him great humanity, and such meekness and gentleness, as is rare to be found in so high Estate. He was prone and ready to give ear unto the complaints and supplications of the poor, and no less attentive unto the affairs of the Commonwealth. Which if he had lived together with King *Edward*, he was like to do much good in reforming many misdoers within this Realm. He was utterly ignorant of all craft and deceit, and as far void of all pride and ambition, as he was from doing of injury, being indeed utterly void of both. He was of a gentle disposition, not coveting to be revenged; more apt and ready to be deceived, than to deceive. His ancient love and zeal of the Gospel and of Religion he brought with him to the state of this Dignity. The proof whereof sufficiently was seen in his constant standing to Gods truth, and zealous defence thereof, against the Bishops of *Chichester*, *Norwich*, *Lincoln*, and *London*, and others once, in consultation had at *Winford*, the first year of the Kings Reign.

Briefly, considering the nature and virtues of this Duke, I may (as I seemeth) not unwisely compare and resemble him unto Duke *Humphrey*, the good Duke of *Gloucester*. Who likewise being taken unto King *Henry* the sixth and Protector of the Realm (as this was also King *Edward* the sixth) yet he wanted not his Enemies and privy envious, especially *Henry Beaufort* Cardinal, *Bishop of Winchester*, and Lord *Clarendon* (as I have said), at that time distaining and envying the rule and authority of this Duke, procured much trouble against him, and great division in the whole Realm, inasmuch that all the Shops within the City of *London* were shut in for fear of the favours of these two great persons; for each part had assembled no small number of people.

For pacifying whereof the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Duke of *Quinber*, called the Prince of *Portugal*, rode eight times in one day between the two adversaries. Such were when the troubles of this tumultuous division within the Realm, between these two, as is before expressed; not much unlike to the troublesome discord between parties in this Protector's days. And as in their afflictions and troubles these two Dukes seemed not much unlike, so in matters of Religion, and in discerning truth from falsehood, their zeals seemed not much discrepant. Although the light of the Gospel did not so fully then shine out, as in the time of this later Duke, (the Lord be praised therefore) yet the wisdom and true understanding of the other Duke also touching the same was not utterly unworthy of his commendation. For the more manifest declaration whereof, amongst many other his good doings, we may take for example the prudent and famous advice of Duke of *Gloucester* touching the same, was the false lying miracle and Purphry Hypocrite of the blind Beggar at Saint *Albans*, mentioned in his story before. For the which cause, and for his diligent study in remembering that and such other blind abuses of fained Religion, he was the more lured of the Spirituality, and such as *Witcher* then was.

Finally as this Lord Protector Duke of Somerset the Kings Uncle, by certain of the Council was then accused, arraigned and condemned to death, as I have said, he was given forth by *Percy* (although I never heard he murdered or robbed any) to the other Uncle of King *Henry* the sixth was made away. Of whose decease thus written *M. Tindal* in his practice of Prelates: at the last they found means to procure a shift or bring the matters to pass, and made a Parliament far from the Citizens of *London*.

where was slain the laid good Duke and the only wealth of the Realm, and the mighty Shield which so long had kept it from the fury, which thereafter after his death fell upon them by heaps. But the Chronicles (faith he) cannot tell wherefore he died, nor by what means. Nevertheless, they testify, that he was a virtuous man, godly and good to the Commonwealth.

But to leave Duke *Humphrey*, and to return to the manners and virtues of the Duke of Somerset, which before we were about to describe; as he was a gentle and courteous Duke at home, so was he no less fortunate a Captain in warlike abroad. Under whose government and guiding not only diverse rebellious commotions were happily suppressed here at home; but also abroad, in the expedition of *Scotland*, such a Victory was given him of God, that with the loss of scarce fix hundred of his own men, there were of the enemies as good or little less than ten thousand slain and put to flight, and even the very lame day and time in which all the Idolatrous Images were burnt at *London*. And yet all these Wars notwithstanding, wherewith he was against his will compelled, he was a man of nature singularly given to peace, as may be seen by the sweet and peaceable exhortation by him forth in Print before, and sent to the Realm of *Scotland*.

But as there is nothing in this world so perfect in all respects, which is not blotted or blemished with some defect of joy adjoined withal; so amongst the manifold commendations of this Duke, one thing there was too, which both diminished his honour and estimation much, and also more impaired and hindered his own life and safety; which was, that he in consideration of the death of his Brother, followed too rashly the perdition of certain who were his; for that matter lacked not perchance some singular fire and policy of fame, more craftily than godly disposed persons, as many good men have supposed. But whatsoever of that matter is the more credible it is that the said Duke, in suffering or procuring the death of his Brother, not only endangered himself, and weakened his own power, but also provoked the chafestment of Gods good favour and God, which did fight upon him.

Furthermore, as touching the death and decay of the Lord *Henry Earl of Surrey*, who suffered also at the Tower next before the Lord Admiral, the Lord Protector's Brother, because the calling of him was so near to the death of King *Henry*, as I know not upon whom or what cause the same did proceed; I pass it over and leave it to the Lord. Notwithstanding, as for the Duke of Somerset, whatsoever his other virtues and vertues were, this is certain, that he in the Lord to working with him) was constant in Christs cause, as his life was before a great maintenance of the same.

Moreover, on the 26. day of February, in the fance year was Sir *Ralph Sans*, and Sir *Alles Pertridge* both hang'd at the Tower-hill; and Sir *Michael Sinden*, and Sir *Thomas Arundel* beheaded upon the Scaffold, all which four were condemned by the said Act of unlawful assembly, and as accessories unto the Duke of Somerset.

Not long after the death of the Duke of Somerset, in the next year following, deceased the King himself about the Mouth of *June*, whereof more shall be said (the Lord granting) in his due order and course hereafter. In the mean fance, before we come to close up the later end and story of this good King, the pleasure present ferseth not unto us to intermit by this way a few other things before happening within the time of his Reign, namely, concerning matters incident of the Church, and of Religion. Which fate of Religion began well to grow, and to come happily forward during this Kings days, had not the unhappy troubles of the outward fate, among the Lords not agreeing within themselves, disquieted the good towardsness of things began. But the malice of the Devil how fitly would it, if men could see it? So long as the Lords agreed in one counsel, as was *Witcher* and *Banner* with all that Faction was cut off, and began to confound to good conformity. But afterward perceiving the States and Nobles of the Realm to be among themselves divided, and the Lord Protector the Kings Uncle distressed, and his Brother the Admiral before beheaded, and the young King now

left in that case, they began upon some hope to take more heart to them, till at last it came to pass that they themselves defired. And thus though nothing else will read us, yet experience may teach us what discord worketh in publick weals; and contrariely, what a necessary thing concord is to the advancement especially of Gods matters appertaining to his Church. Examples whereof in this Kings days be not far to seek. For as touching the success of the Gospel of peace, which publick peace, and the Gospel did join together, marvelous it was how Error and Popery were in themselves confounded, and ashamed almost to shew their faces. Inasmuch that then both Doctor Smith, Chadley, Standish, Tong, Ogilby, with many more recanted their former opinion, whose recantations I have to them. Blander then with his own hand subscribed unto the Kings Supremacy, and promoted his Injunctions.

The same also did Stephen Gardiner, subscribing with his own hand to the first Book of the Kings proceedings, and no doubt had done less to the second Book also to let forth by the King, had not the unfortunate discord fallen amongst the Nobles in time so unfortunate, as then it did. Briefly, during all that time of peace and concord, what Papist was found in all the Realm, which for the Popes duration would or did once put his neck in the Halter to die a Martyr for his faith?

I shewed before how in these peaceable days of King Edward, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paulus Pagninus, and with other learned men, were entertained, placed, and provided for in the two Universities of this Realm, Oxford and Cambridge, who there with their diligent industry did much good. The learned and fruitful disputations of whom I have likewise written in my hands here to make, but that the bigness of this Volume driveth me to inferre, forth especially seeing their disputations to be so long and prolix as they be, and also in Latin, and require of themselves a whole Volume to comprehend them.

First, Peter Martyr, being called in by the King to the publick reading of the Divinity Lecture in Oxford amongst his other learned exercises did set up in the publick Schools three conclusions of Divinity to be disputed and tried by Argument. At which disputations were present the Kings Tutor, to wit, Henry Bishop of Lincoln, Doctor Cox Chancellor of that University, D. Henr. Dean of Exeter, Master Richard Marston Esquire, Christopher Nevins, John Doctor of Civil Law. The conclusions propounded were these.

1. In the Sacrament of thanksgiving there is no Transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ.
2. The body and blood of Christ is not carnally or corporally in the Bread and Wine, nor, as other men say, under the kinds of bread and wine.
3. The body and blood of Christ is united to bread and wine sacramentally.

They which were the chief disputers against him on the contrary side, were Doctor Trithem, Doctor Chadley, and Morgan. The reasons and principal Arguments of Peter Martyr betwixt follow.

The Arguments of Peter Martyr upon the first conclusion.

The Scriptures most plainly do name and acknowledge bread and wine. In the Evangelists we read that the Lord Jesus took bread, blessed it, brake it, and gave it to his Disciples. Saint Paul likewise doth oft times make mention of bread.

Ergo, We also with the Scriptures ought not to exclude Bread from the nature of the Sacrament.

Cyprianus.

As in the person of Christ, his humanity was seen outwardly, and his Divinity was seen inwardly, so in this visible Sacrament the Divinity infaith is self in such sort as cannot be uttered, that our devotion about the Sacraments might be the more religious.

Ergo, As in the person of Christ, so in the Sacrament, both the natures ought full to remain.

Celsus.

The Sacraments which we receive of the body and blood of Christ are a divine matter; by reason whereof, we are made partakers by the same of his divine nature, and yet it canst not fill to be the substance of bread and wine. And certes the representation and similitude of the body and blood of Christ be celebrated in the action of the mysteries, &c.

Augustinus.

As the person of Christ consisteth of God and Man, made up when as he is true God, and true Man. For every thing containeth in it self the nature and verity of those things whereof it is made. Now the Sacrament of the Church is made of two things, that is, of the Sacrament that signifieth, and of the matter of the Sacrament that is signified, &c.

Theodoreus.

The visible mysteries which are seen he hath honoured thus. That with the name of his body and blood, not changing the true nature, but adding grace unto nature, &c. And the latter Theodoreus again faith.

Two mystical Sacraments after justification do us part. The one out of the same gross nature, but remain full in their first former substance, colour, and shape, &c. Ergo, Like as the body of Christ remained in him, and was not changed into his Divinity, so in the Sacrament, the bread is not changed into the body, but both the substances remain whole.

Oriogen.

If whatsoever entereth into the mouth goeth down into the belly, and so passeth through a man; even that meat which is also which is sanctified by the Word of God, and by Prayer, as touching that part which is made material within it, passeth into the belly, and so passeth through a man. But through the Word, which is adjoined to it, according to the measure of Faith, it is profitable and effectual, &c. And he addeth moreover, For it is not the outward matter of bread, but the word that is spoken upon it, that profiteth him which eateth it worthily, &c.

IRENEUS.

Jesus taking bread of the same condition which is after us, (that is, taking bread of the same nature and kind which we use commonly to eat) did convert it to be his body. And taking likewise the cup, which is of the same creature which is after us (that is, which we commonly use to drink) converted it to be his blood, &c.

Item, Ido. 4. Like as bread which is of the earth, receiving the word and calling of God, is now not common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, the one earthly, the other heavenly, so our bodies receiving the sacred Eucharist, be now not corruptible, having hope of Resurrection, &c.

Argument.

The bread in the Sacrament is so changed into the body, as our bodies are changed when they are made incorruptible by hope.

But our bodies are not made incorruptible by changing their substance.

Ergo, No more is the bread changed into the substance of the body.

Gregory.

Notwithstanding whether we take leavened or unleavened bread we are all one body of our Lord and Saviour, &c.

Argument.

Argument.

Da- Where bread leavened or unleavened is taken, there is substance of bread, and not accidents only.

ri- In the Sacrament bread is received either leavened or unleavened.

i- Ergo, In the Sacrament is substance of bread, and not accidents only.

Argument.

Ba- The body of Christ is named of that which is proportioned round, and is unseparable in operation.

ri- Accidents only of bread have no figure of roundness.

ca- Ergo, The body of Christ is not named of accidents, but of very bread substantial.

Argument.

The words of the Evangelist (speaking of that which Christ took, blessed, brake, and gave, do import it to be bread, and nothing else but bread.

Ergo, The substance of bread is not to be excluded out of the Sacrament.

Chrysostome.

Christ in giving Bread and Wine, said, Do this in remembrance of me.

Cyrillus.

He gave to them pieces or fragments of bread. Out of the same Cyril faith, In bread we receive his precious body, and his blood in wine.

Ergo, By these Doctors it remaineth bread after the consecration.

Ambrois.

Before the blessing of the heavenly word it is called another kind of thing. After consecration the body of Christ is signified.

Arguments of Peter Martyr disputing with Master Chadley upon the first question.

Da- The Analogy and resemblance between the Sacrament and the thing signified must ever be kept in all Sacraments.

ri- In the Sacrament of the Lords body this Analogy or resemblance cannot be kept, if bread be Transubstantiated.

fi- Ergo, The substance of bread must needs remain in the Sacrament.

The Major or this Argument is certain by Saint Augustin, Lib. de Catechizandis rudibus, & Epist. ad Dardanum. Where he faith, Sacraments must needs bear a similitude of those things whereof they are Sacraments, or else they can be no Sacraments.

The Minor is thus proved.

Argument.

The resemblance between the Sacrament and the body of Christ is this, that as the properties of bread and wine do nourish outwardly, so the properties of the body of Christ do nourish spiritually.

Without the substance of bread and wine there is no resemblance of nourishing.

Ergo, Without the substance of bread and wine the Analogy cannot hold.

Argument.

Ba- Again, another resemblance and similitude or analogy of this Sacrament is this, That as one loaf of bread and one cup of wine containeth many Corps and many Grapes; for the mystical Congregation containeth many Members, and yet maketh but one body.

ri- Without the substance of bread and wine no such resemblance or similitude of conjunction can be represented.

ca- Ergo, Without the substance of bread and wine, the Analogy of this spiritual conjunction cannot hold.

Another Argument.

Ba- Every Sacrament consisteth in two things, that is, in the thing signifying, and the thing signified.

ri- Without the substance of Bread and Wine there is nothing that signifieth in the Sacrament.

ca- Ergo, The substance of bread and wine in the Sacrament can in no wise be Transubstantiated from their nature. The Minor is thus to be proved.

There is no signification in any Sacrament without the element.

ri- The substance of bread and wine is the element of this Sacrament.

ca- Ergo, Without the substance of bread and Wine there is no similitude nor signification in this Sacrament.

And so far as the adversaries ground their Transubstantiation so much upon these words of Christ, This is my body, which they expound only after the literal sense, without Trope or figure; I now that their exposition is false, and that the said words are to be taken figuratively and spiritually, by three causes it is to be proved.

1. First by the words of the Scripture. 2. By the nature of a Sacrament. 3. By the testimonies of the Fathers.

1. First, By these words of the Scripture, where he faith, Do this in remembrance of me, forasmuch as remembrance properly importeth not for things corporally present, but for things, rather being absent.

2. Secondly, Where he faith, Until I come, which words were vain, if he were already come by consecration.

3. Thirdly, Where St. Paul faith, The breaking of bread is not the communion of the body of Christ? Which words of breaking in no safe can be verified upon the body of Christ, which for the glory thereof is unsufferable.

4. Furthermore whereas the Lord biddeth them to take and eat, it is evident that the same cannot be understood simply of the body of Christ without a Trope, forasmuch as he cannot be eaten and chewed with Teeth, as we use properly in eating other meats to do.

5. The words moreover of Luke and Paul, spoken of the Cup, do argue likewise that the other words spoken of the Bread must needs be taken mystically. As where it is said, This cup is the New Testament, which words must needs be expounded thus; this Cup doth signify the New Testament.

6. Item, These words of St. John, Chap. 6. My words are spirit and life. The flesh profiteth nothing, &c.

7. Item, Where in the same place of Saint John, Christ, to refer the carnal understanding of the Capernaumites of eating his body, maketh mention of his Alfection, &c.

The second cause why the words of Christ, This is my body, cannot be literally expounded without a Trope, is because the nature of a Sacrament; whose nature and property is to bear a sign or signification of a thing to be remembered, which thing after the substantial and real presence is absent.

As touching which nature of a Sacrament sufficiently hath been said before.

The third cause, why the words of consecration are figuratively to be taken, is the testimony of the ancient Doctors.

## Tertullianus.

*This is my body, that is to say, This is a figure of my body.*

Auguſt. Pſal. 3.

*Chriſt gave a figure of his body.*

Auguſt. contra Adamantum Manichæum.

*He did not doubt to ſay: This is my body, when he gave a ſign of his body.*

Hieronymus.

*Chriſt repreſented unto us his body.*

Auguſt.

*Auguſtine in his Book De Doctrina Chriſtiana declareth expreſly, that this ſpeech of eating the body of Chriſt is a figurative ſpeech.*

Ambroſius.

*As thou haſt received the ſimilitude of his death's ſo thou drinkſt the ſimilitude of his precious blood.*

Argument.

Fe- The death of Chriſt is not preſent really in the Sacrament, but by ſimilitude.

re- The precious blood of Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament as his death is preſent.

Erge, the precious blood of Chriſt is not preſent really in the Sacrament.

The Minor of this Argument is proved before by the words of Ambroſius.

*The ſecond Queſtion, Whether the Body and Blood of Chriſt be in the Bread and Wine, or under the forms of Bread and Wine carnally and corporally.*

Argument.

Di- The true natural body of Chriſt is placed in Heaven.

ſe- The true natural body of Man can be but in one place at once, where he is.

mi- Erge, the true natural body of Chriſt can be in no place at once, but in Heaven where he is.

The Major is plain by the Scriptures, *Teſtor was taken up to heaven, and ſitteth at the right hand of God.* Mat. 26. *The poor ye have always with you, but me ye ſhall not ſee.* Joh. 12. *I leave the world and go to my Father.* Joh. 16. *Many ſhall ſay in that day: Lo here is Chriſt, and there is Chriſt, believe them not.* Mat. 24. *Whom the heavens muſt receive for a time, until the reſurrection of all.* Acts 3. *Seeke thoſe things that are above, ſitteth Chriſt ſitting at the right hand of God.* Col. 3. Col. 3.

The Minor likewise is evident by Saint Auguſtine, who, ſpeaking of the glorified body of Chriſt, affirmeth the ſame to be in one certain place, *Preſent ubi corporis meum, that is, for the manner of a true body.*

Argument.

De- Every true natural body requieth one certain place.

Auguſtine.

re- Chriſt's body is a true natural body.

Erge, Chriſt's body requieth one certain place.

## Argument.

*Auguſtine giveth not the ſoul of Chriſt to be in moſt places at once but one. Auguſt. ad Dardanum.* Erge, moſt leſs it is to be given to the body of Chriſt, to be in moſt places at once, but one.

## Argument.

The nature of the Angels is not to be in divers places, but they are limited to occupy one certain place at once, *Rafimus de Spiritu ſancto, cap. 22.* Erge, The body of Chriſt being the true natural body of a Man, cannot fill divers places at one time.

## Argument.

Re- Whatſoever is in many and divers places at once, is God.

re- The body of Chriſt is not God, but a Creature.

Erge, The body of Chriſt cannot be in moſt places together.

## Argument.

Fe- We muſt not defend the Divinity of Chriſt, that we deſtroy his humanity, *Auguſt.*

re- If we affign to the body of Chriſt plurality of places, we deſtroy his humanity.

mi- Erge, we muſt not affign to the body of Chriſt plurality of places.

## Argument.

Fe- Whatſoever thing is circumſcribed, that is to ſay, contained in the limits of any peculiar place, cannot be diſperſed in moſt places at once.

re- The body of Chriſt is a thing circumſcribed.

mi- Erge, The body of Chriſt is not diſperſed in moſt places at one time.

## Argument.

De- Every quantity, that is every body having magnitude, length, and other dimensions, is circumſcribed in one peculiar place.

re- The body of Chriſt hath his dimensions, and is a quantity.

mi- Erge, The body of Chriſt is circumſcribed.

## Cyrillus.

The Major is proved by Cyrillus. *Whatſoever is under God, is ſubſtantially in one place, and in one quantity.* And if it be in one quantity, it cannot avoid circumſcription, that is, to have his place.

## Argument.

Re- If Chriſt had given his body ſubſtantially and carnally in the upper, then was that body either paſſible or impaſſible.

re- But neither can you ſay that body to be paſſible or impaſſible, which he gave at ſupper.

Erge, he did not give his body ſubſtantially and carnally at ſupper.

## Auguſtine.

The Minor is proved thus. For if ye ſay it was paſſible, Auguſtine is againſt it, which ſaith, *Ye ſhall not eat this body which you ſee, nor drink the ſame blood which they ſhall ſhed that ſhall crucify me.* And if ye ſay it was impaſſible, that may not be admitted by the words of the Evangelists, which ſaith, *Eat, this is my body which ſhall be given for you.* So that, that body was paſſible, and not impaſſible, wherein Chriſt was given.

## Vigilius.

## Vigilius.

*One Creature cannot receive in it ſelf two contrary or divers things together. But thoſe two things be divers and for unlike, that is to ſay, to be contained in a place, and to be every where. For the word is every where, but the ſelf is not every where.*

## Argument.

Fe- Bodies organical without quantity be no bodies.

Erge, The Popes Doctrine maketh the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament to be without quantity.

Erge, The Popes Doctrine maketh the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament to be no body.

## Argument.

De- All things which may be divided, have quantity.

re- The body in the Popes Sacrament is divided in three parts.

Erge, The body in the Popes Sacrament hath quantity, which is againſt their own Doctrine.

## Argument.

Fe- No natural body can receive in it ſelf, and at one time contrary or divers qualities. *Vigilius.*

re- To be in one place local, and in another place not local; to be in one place with quantity, and in another place without quantity; in another place indeterminate, is for a natural body to receive contrary qualities.

Erge, The body of Chriſt cannot be in one place local, and in another not local; in one place with quantity, and in another without quantity, as our adverſaries do affirm.

## Argument.

Fe- The wicked receive not the body of Chriſt.

re- The wicked do receive the body of Chriſt, if Tranſubſtantiation be granted.

ſe- Erge, Tranſubſtantiation is not to be granted in the Sacrament.

## Argument for probation of the Major.

re- To eat Chriſt, is for a man to have Chriſt dwelling and abiding in him. *Auguſtine.*

mi- The wicked have not Chriſt dwelling in them.

re- Erge, the wicked eat not the body of the Lord.

## Cyprian.

*Cyprianus, de Corna Domi. The eating of Chriſt is our abiding in him.*

## Argument.

Re- The Holy Ghoſt could not come, if the body of Chriſt were really preſent.

re- That the Holy Ghoſt is come it is moſt certain.

Erge, it cannot be that Chriſt himſelf ſhould be here really preſent.

*Joh. 16. For proof of the Major, John the ſixteenth Unleſs I go from you the Holy Ghoſt ſhall not come: it is expedient for you that I go hence.*

## Argument of Peter Martyr.

Re- If the wicked and infidels do receive the body of Chriſt, they receive him either with faith, or reaſon, or with faith.

re- But they receive him neither with faith, reaſon, nor with faith.

Erge, wicked men and infidels receive in no wiſe the body of Chriſt.

*For declaration of the Major, if ye ſay, they receive him with faith, that is againſt their own law, for the*

body of Chriſt in the bleſſed Sacrament (ſay they) is not reaſon, nor to be perceived by any ſenſe; neither with reaſon can they receive him, by their own learning, for ſo much as this Sacrament exceedeth all reaſon: *me ſiles habet merum, ubi ratio preloſt experimentum.* And if ye ſay, that they receive him with faith, how can that be, ſeeing infidels have no faith?

What it is to eat the body of Chriſt the teaching of the what it is to eat the body of Chriſt by the Popes.

Papils herein is ſtrange, and different from the old Doctors. For where they teach that wicked perſons and infidels, albeit they receive not the effect of the Sacrament, yet the matter of the Sacrament which is the very body of Chriſt, they receive with their mouth, and with their ſenſe the accidents of bread, and thus imagine a certain body of Chriſt, ſuch as evil men and infidels may eat, and yet being eaten, it giveth them no nouſtment nor life, nor maketh them partakers of his ſpirit and graces: both Scripture and the ancient Expoſitors of the Scripture do teach muſt otherwiſe. For the Scripture knoweth no fruit kind of eating Chriſt's body, but only that which is fruitful, wholeſome, and effectual. *He that eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me and I in him.* Erge, *John 6. And therein it may appear, that the ſcripture meaneth by eating Chriſt's fleſh, to believe in Chriſt's Paſſion, which none can do but only the faithful. And to the ſame ſenſe found all the old Doctors.*

## Cyprianus.

*That we ſhould know that eating is our dwelling in him, and our drinking is, as it were, a certain incorporation into him.*

*Item, The ſame Cyprian. The eating therefore of his whole fleſh is a certain deſire to abide in him, and immoreſt and indelible cover, that none eateth of this Lamb, but ſuch as he true ſpiritualities, that is, true Chriſtians men, without colour of carnality.*

And again he ſaith, *That as meat is to the fleſh, the ſame is faith to the ſoul, the ſame is the word to the ſpirit.*

Moreover, *And therefore (ſaith he) ſung this we eat not our teeth to bite, but with pure Faith we break the holy Bread and diſtribute it.* Erge.

## Auguſtine.

*It may not be ſaid, that any ſuch do eat the body of Aug. de Civitate Dei. Chriſt, becauſe they are accounted amongſt the Members of Chriſt. Neither can they be both Members of Chriſt, John 6. and Members of an Harlot, &c. Furthermore, when Chriſt ſaith, He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him's he ſpeaketh what it is, not Sacramentally, but indeed to eat his body and drink his blood, which is, when a man ſo dwelleth in Chriſt, that Chriſt dwelleth in him. For ſo Chriſt ſpeaketh in theſe words, as if he ſhould ſay, is he that dwelleth in me, and in whom I dwell not, let him not ſay nor think, that he eateth my body, or drinketh my blood.*

Alſo in other places the ſaid Auguſtine ſaith, *that to drink is to love; And ſaith moreover, Why prepareſt thou thy belly and thy teeth? Believe and thou ſhalt eat.* Erge.

All which kinds of eating cannot be ſid of the wicked and infidels, but only of the godly and faithful.

And thus briefly we have run over all the Arguments, and Authorities of Peter Martyr in that diſputation at Oxford, with Doctor Trapham, Chedſey, and Morgan, before the Kings Vittors, above ſaid, Jan. 1549.

Furthermore who ſo liſteth more fully to be ſatisfied and relieved in all the points and occurrences, touching the matter of this Sacrament, let him read the Books firſt of the Archbiſhop Cramer againſt Wiceliſm; Secondly, the tranſlation of Peter Martyr made in Oxford, tranſlated and extant in Engliſh; and thirdly, the Book of Biſhop Ridley made in Trapham, Chedſey, and Morgan, of the Lord's Supper.

The like diſputation alſo about the ſame time was appointed and commenced at Cambridge, concerning the ſame matter of the Sacrament, the Kings Vittors being directed down for the ſame purpoſe by the Kings, the names of which Vittors were theſe, Nicholas Ridley, Biſhop



shop of Rochester, Thomas Bishop of Ely, Master John Clarke the Kings Schoolmaster, Doctor May, William, and Thomas Windy the Kings Physicians. The conclusions in that disputation propounded were these.

The first disputation holden at Cambridge the twentieth day of June Anno 1549. before the Kings Majesties Commissioners, by Doctor Madew respondent, whose first conclusion was this.

*Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of Scripture, nor can thereof be necessarily collated, nor yet confirmed by the confessions of the ancient Fathers forbesle thousand years past.* D. Glin. M. Langdale, M. Segewick, M. Yong, opponent.

Doctor Madew.

I lift of all (quoth he) I am very sorry and do not a little lament the shortness of time, to declare and discuss such weighty matters of Religion in, as these be. But that notwithstanding if I had had more plenty of time indeed yet you shall understand how that I have ever both in heart and mind (if otherwise I could have avoided it) abhorred all Scholastical disputations, and subtil specifications. In consideration whereof, I beseech those that are to dispute, not to allege or bring forth any dismembered, or cuttled sentences, or wrested, as happeneth many times, but the whole and full sentences either of the Scriptures, or of the ancient Doctors; yea, and to avouch such Authors sayings, as are not suspected, or fained, but such as be their own very sayings indeed, which if they do, there is no doubt, but the clear light of this our disputation shall the sooner appear and be manifest to this auditory. And for a further declaration of my pain, you shall understand that this Preface in my said former most Catholick and godly conclusion shall consist in three principal points. 1. First, What thing it was that Christ gave to his Disciples. 2. Secondly, What reason or time this Transubstantiation did begin. 3. Thirdly, How many devillish abominations have ensued upon that horrible and pestilent invention. As concerning the first, that is, what thing Christ gave to his Disciples, that may very well appear even by our own natural senses, as namely, by the sight, by the touching, by the tasting, which cannot be deceived of their natural judgment. For the eye seeth nothing but Bread and Wine, the tasting favouring nothing else, and the hands touch nothing else. He gave also to their understanding not only his holy and sacred Doctrine, but also a special gift and pledge of his love. He gave the only material Bread and Wine sanctified, as the rude and plain elements or principles to allure them whither; but he gave them the gift of his Grace and heavenly Doctrin, as the very things signified by the sensible elements: which thing plainly appeareth by the words of Christ our Saviour, *Non habemus, &c.* I will not drink hereafter of the Fruit of this Vine, until I drink it new with you in the Kingdom of God. Now this fruit or juice of the Vine is nothing else but Wine, as *Calvarys* faith. And moreover, to prove the same true, if it be referred after the consecration for a time, it becometh sowre and tart, therefore it is but Wine. And as touching the Bread Saint Paul faith thus: Is not the Bread which we break the Communion, or participation of Christs Body? He saith Bread, therefore it was but Bread which he gave them: for the Body of Christ is not broken, as the Scripture faith of the same, *Or non communicatis eis eo*, you shall not break a bone of him. Also he saith, *this is my Body*, not that the Bread was his Body, and the Wines his blood, but he spake those words to and of his own mortal Body, these sitting amongst them at Suppers or he spake yet doubtfully as thus: this signifieth my Body. It is one thing which is seen, but it is another thing which is understood: for that which is seen hath a bodily form, but that which is understood thereby hath a spiritual Fruit. Saint Augustine faith: Let the Word have access to the element. So is made a Sacrament: mark he saith, Let the Word have

access, and not success. Now the thing that hath access to another thing doth not quence the thing that it cometh to, no more doth it here, *Ergo*, it is Bread and Wine first as before, howbeit sacred and holy. What saw you yesterday (saith Saint Augustine) upon the Altar? Truly Bread and Wine, which your own Eyes can witness, fad be. What plainer testimony can be had of so ancient a Father as he was, and of so rare knowledge in the Scriptures of God? Seeing then that our Eyes do behold nothing but Bread and Wine, it must needs follow that it is so indeed, or else our senses be deceived in their own proper objects, which cannot be by any reason or natural Philosophy. And yet notwithstanding some Papists dream and plantative fable a corporal, real, and gross presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament, as they affirm it to be there even as verily as it was upon the Crois. Indeed the Bread is changed after a certain manner into Christs Body: for Christ gave not his own natural Body to his Disciples at his last Supper, but only a sign or figure thereof. Christs Body is there with the Bread; our senses cannot be deceived about the substance of Bread, but they do judge there to be but one Body, that is of Bread, *Ergo*, lo it is. Also the very definition of a Sacrament doth plainly require unto Transubstantiation. Bread notwithstanding the substance of Christs Body, but the accidents not so; *Ergo*, the substance doth remain of the Bread that nourisheth: it is also called Bread in the *id est*, and in divers other places of the Scriptures, wherefore it is so, but indeed after a far more holy then before. What gave he in the Supper? Bread, which is the Body, that is to say, an holy sign of his Body, as *Augustine* doth witness, saying: He doubted not to say, This is my Body, when it was but a sign of his Body. The unlearned Bread was but a bare and naked sign of Christs Body, and so is this Bread the same Body even at this day. Now indeed there be two manner of signs, One that signifieth only, the other that doth exhibit the thing it self. The first is applied to the Law chiefly, the other to the Gift of Grace. The old ancient and learned Fathers did never use to speak of the substantial change, but caue that all the mutation is but accidental, not substantial; nor do we deem the bodily substance Sacramentally, but yet we say that this Proposition (*this is my body*) is but a figurative speech, and no proper speech, as some do deem. But it is as much to say as, This signifieth my Body; or else thus, This is a Sacrament of my Body, for the body Bread and Christs Body are not contained in place locally, but mystically.

This pectentous and notorious Transubstantiation began first to enter, when the Popish Prelates and Priests began first to understand this said proposition (*This is my body*) of the carnal and real presence of Christs Body, as *Hugo de sancto victore*, *Gratian*, *Peter Lombard*, and Innocent the third, the very pestilent poison of all Christian Religion, unto whom we have of late labored, yea also too long, given credit. Under the which innocent the said devillish term or vocable of Transubstantiation began, the year one thousand three hundred. fifteen. And Boniface after him Bishop of Rome made the said mad blind Transubstantiation to be the third Article of the Creed, full willy no doubt; whereas another Bishop of Rome after him dissembled plainly against *Nicolas* the Here-tick, that Bread remained still, whose name was *Gratiolus* perfert, and he saith, Now Christ in them, whereas they receive not his Body therein at all. For Saint Augustine, *Tractat. 8. super Joham*, faith, it is but Bread which is seen after the consecration, *Ergo*, the substance is Bread: there fill. 1. The second inconvenience that is in this is the fond and superstitious reservation of the Sacrament in pixes, boxes, and such like, with vain Tabernacles over the Altar, where oftentimes it did pursue for all their foolish honour, which began-

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Honorius his days, the third of that name, Bishop of Rome: Which corruption declarerh it to be but only Bread, say all the Papists what they list. 3. The third inconvenience that must needs follow Transubstantiation, is Adoration, which is too plain Idolatry, as the Papists do know themselves, if they list: but they are so instructed that they will not know it, and so both have, and yet also will keep the World in blindness till, if they might be suffered. But to be short with you, even as we are changed into Christ by receiving the Sacrament, so the Bread is changed into the Body of Christ. But our substance is not changed into Christs substance, *Ergo*, the substance of the Bread is not changed into Christs Body. And to be short and plain with you, most honourable Audience, the whole universal World hath been, and yet is fore deceived and deluded about the estimation of this Sacrament. Therefore this is most true, when we do receive the said Sacrament worthily, then are we joyed by Faith spiritually to Christ our Saviour. And thus much have I said in this matter.

The second matter to be disputed of is this:

*That in the Lords Supper is none other Oblation or Sacrifice than one only remembrance of Christs death, and of thanksgiving.*

In this conclusion I will be much shorter, and more compendious than in the first. In consideration whereof, you shall understand that the same is a very godly, and true Catholick proposition. For to offer Christ, and to exhibit the same, is all one thing; for in that it is offered, he is felt forth to eat, there is no difference at all between the nature of the sacrifice offered, and the thing that was offered, which both were one Christ. The Lord did command saying, *Do this in remembrance of me*: he made mention of the remembrance only, wherefore it can be none other sacrifice but only that. The Apostle doth declare the manner of the thing doing, saying thus, *He took Bread in his hands, he blessed it, he brake it, and gave it to his Disciples*. What gave he to them? Forsooth Bread, which was the Sacrament, and not his Body. No earthly Creature nor heavenly did ever offer up Christ at any time, but he himself once for all upon the Crois, *Ergo*, he cannot nor ought not to be many times, and often, though that *Papists* with all the blind rabble of Papists say the contrary. For truly in this point especially they know not what they say, being so led by the old Pharisaical blindness. But to the purpose: you shall understand, good Auditors, that the pure and clean oblation and sacrifice, spoken of by the Prophet *Malachi*, is nothing else but devout and laudful prayer and thanksgiving, as *Jerusalem* faith in his third Book *contra Marcionem*, expounding the *Palam*, where it is said thus, *The sacrifices of Law and praise shall honour me*. So doth Saint *Jerome*, *Irenaeus*, and Saint *Augustin* say also upon *Malachi*. Where also they deny that Christ is essentially in the Sacrament. Yea and Saint *Augustin* Epist. 95, ad *Parinolum* witnesseth, that the mortifying of our earthly Members is our true Sacrifice that be Christians. And all the ancient Fathers do call Prayers by the name of Sacrifices. And for this purpose, whoever list to read that most excellent and famous Clerk *Zwinglius*, cap. 18, de *aristotilis*, shall find the same confirmed of him by most grounded reasons, whosoever the Papists do bark against it. Thus I have declared my mind in both matters now disputable. And if by my further declaration be required through the vehemency of Arguments, I will perform the same in my answer thereto.

There disputed against this Defendant, Doctor Glin, M. Langdale, M. Segewick, and M. Yong, Students in Divinity.

Glin.

Notwithstanding, Right worshipful M. Doctor, that you have so exquissitely declared your mind and opinion in every one of these matters now in contention, before this honourable and learned Audience, and also though just occasion be ministered to me to infringe your positions in both conclusions, yet I will not invade the same as now

indirectly, with contumacious and vain words to occupy the still time which is appointed us for the trial of the same, but we will go forthwith to the thing it self, which containeth in it matter enough. It is but folly to use many words, where few will serve our purpose, as the Matter of the Sentences. All words may signify at pleasure, and commonly there be more things than vocables. Like as sometimes there was variance amongst learned Men of the Unity of two substances in one personage of Christ God and Man: there is there now in our days variance of Transubstantiation of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. Wherefore I do require you first to show me how openly what the said Transubstantiation is, that we go not from the thing it self, which is our first and chiefest ground.

Madew.

As for that, I need not to shew you; for every man knoweth it.

Glin.

Peradventure it is not so, good Master Doctor. And I am perfectly assured that every man doth not know it indeed; for it is not so light a matter as you make it to be.

Madew.

Forsooth you know it your self, and so do all men else.

Glin.

Well, yet I pray you shew me what thing Christ did demonstrate and forth by that Article of the *Newer Gender*, where he saith, *This is my body*. What did he point at in that Article *This*? For if he meant by that, the Bread, then Christ in the Sacrament is not made of two natures, but of three natures, as of the nature of Bread, of the nature of Man, and of the Divine nature, which to say were blasphemy. The argument is good, and doth hold by that Text, *He spake the word, and it was done*: he commanded, and they were created. Moreover, if he should mean by that Article of the *Newer Gender* (*this*) the material Bread, then he would have said, *This bread is my body*, making the Article of the *Newer Gender*, or else he would have said thus, *Here with this bread is my body*, to have avoided ever after all Heresies, Errors and Schisms. But he said not so, but spake the Article of the *Newer Gender* saying, *This is my body*, that is to say, the thing or substance contained under the form and kind of Bread, which you see not with your bodily eyes, is my body, according to my promise made to you before, that I would give you my very Flesh to eat, *Joh 6*. In like manner when he gave the cup of his Blood, he said not *This is the Newer Gender*, as he would have done if he had meant the material Creature of Wine to have remained, but he said then in the *Masculine Gender*, *This is my blood*, that is to say, the thing contained under the form of Wine, which you see not with your bodily eyes, is my blood. For truly the Holy Ghost came down to read us into all truth and verity, and not to deceive us in so notable a point of our Faith. But out of doubt he should have deceived in this matter, if he be had given us only material Bread and Wine, instead of his Body and Blood, and he would have fulfilled his promise made *Joh 6*, where he promised thus, *The bread which I will give you is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world*. Here be two things spoken of, with two relatives, whereof the first with his relative must needs be referred to his gift in the last Supper, and the second giving of the same Fifth of his, with his relative, must be applied of necessity unto his giving of his Body upon the Crois. Now do we find in the whole Scriptures, where Christ did fulfil his said promise made in the sixth of *Joh 6*, but at three said two times. Wherefore if we be deceived in this matter of Transubstantiation, we may well say, O Lord thou hast deceived us. But God forbid that we should once think fable wickedness of him. He must also justify

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just of his promise if it be not performed at any season, as it is not indeed, if it were not at both the said times. Then if it were performed (as the Catholic Church of Christ doth hold, determine, and believe) then must it needs be granted, that he gave at his last Supper his own body and flesh indeed and verily, which he gave upon the Cross for the life of the world, though not in so fleshly a manner and bloody, yet the very same flesh and blood really after an unbloody form, and spiritually. He said not, *This Bread is my body*, nor yet, here with the Bread is my Body, but, *This is my body which shall be given for you*. Neither said he, *This wine is my blood*, nor with this wine is my blood, which circumstance of plain speech he would have use, if the pure creatures should have remained, but he said, *This is my blood which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins*, that is to say, the substance hidden under these visible forms of bread and wine, are my very proper flesh and blood. I pray you where do you find in the whole body of the Scripture expounded, or justly understood, that Christ gave but only a bare and naked sign, figure, or Sacrament? Or where find you that he gave his body with bread, it remaining bread still? And if you think to find it, I say you shew me here, whether that body that he gave with material bread were his true body or not? If not, then it was phantasmal; if it were his true body, (as you do grant) then must these needs be two very true bodies in one place together.

Now that it was his very true body and blood, it is certain by the plain words of the Text saying thus, *Which is a bread of given, and which is shed for you and for many*. But I will let all this pass over, and I do require of you this one question, Whether that the Sacraments of the old Law and of the new Law be all one?

Madew.

If you consider the things themselves, they be all one, but if you respect the only signs, figures, and Sacraments outwardly, then they be divers.

Glin.

I do perceive your answer very well; then further to our purpose, Was Christ then after the same manner in the bread that came from Heaven, in the Paschal Lamb, and in *Jlanc*, as he is in this Sacrament? Which if you do grant me, then these propositions were true, for Christ to say, this Manna is my body, this Lamb is my body, this *Jlanc* is my body. Moreover, if the Sacraments of the old Law, and of the Law of Grace be all one in very deed and effect, (as you seem to grant) then what difference is between the Shew-Bread in *Mose's* Law, and the bread that we do break, that St. Paul speaketh of? They then had that bread, which signifieth Christ, and so doth ours (as you say) that was bread, so is ours; and so by your reason there is no difference between them: yea their Manna, because it came from Heaven, was better than this earthly bread, that cometh from beneath, which is contrary to the Truth; for Saint John saith, *That the Law was given by Moses, but the verity was given by Jesus Christ*. Wherefore that which Christ gave was not only a sign, but also the verity, that is to say, the living bread, that came down from Heaven, the true Lamb that taketh away the sins of the World, and *Jlanc* himself which is Christ, or else you must grant me that we Christians do receive less than the Jews did. For they received the bread called Manna from Heaven, and we only a poor morsel of bread from the Earth. There is called Angels food, and ours is, as you hold, little better than common bread. We esteem that you do distrust the Doctrine of the Faith of Christendom for these 200 years, even as though Christ had forsaken his Catholic Church after 1000 years, but that is not so; for he promised his holy Spirit to assist his Spouse the Church, and to lead her continually into all truth from time to time, as need should require. As I remember, you said that adoration did follow upon Transubstantiation; but the Fathers for one thousand years put do grant Adoration of the Sacrament, therefore Transubstantiation also. The Minor I prove by the most clear testimonies of S. Austin, S. Ambrose, S. Denys, S. Basil, and Saint Chrysostom.

Adoration of the Sacrament was maintained by Glin.

Madew.

I deny Master Doctor, that I said any such thing; and therewith I say that the Fathers do understand by Adoration a certain reverent manner, that we should receive the Lords Supper with, which may be called a certain Veneration, but no Adoration.

Glin.

No may? Saint Austin (*De Civitate Dei*) witnesseth that the Ethiopians and Paynims do esteem the Christians to worship and adore the Gods of Wheat and Barly called *Ceres*, and the God of Wine called *Bacchus*. And again St. Austin saith thus, Lo, no Man eateth of that bread except he first adore and worship it.

Madew.

By your patience Saint Austin in that place speaketh of the housing of Christs body now sitting in Heaven.

Glin.

Yea Master Doctor, think you so? And why not also of his blessed body in the Sacrament? Seeing that he saith in the Sacrament, *This is my body which is given for you*, faith he, More plainly he needeth not to speak for the real presence of his blessed body, being both able and willing to verify his words. For if a cunning Lapidary should say to you or me, this is a true right Diamond, a perfect Carbuncle, a Saphyre, Emerald, or any such precious Stone, we would believe him, though we were ignorant of their natures. Wherefore we ought much more to believe our Saviour Christ, God and Man, in that he saith, *This is my body*. And why then ought we not to honour it in the Sacrament? Or how may bodies hath Christ, seeing you do grant his body in Heaven to be honoured, but not his body here in the Sacrament?

Madew.

Forsooth he hath but one very body and no more, but the Argument, (same is Sacramentally in the Sacrament, and substantially in Heaven) here by faith, and there in deed.

Glin.

Well yet once again to you thus. The very true body without Risk of Christ is to be honoured, but the same very true body is to be rejected in the Sacrament. Ergo, the body of Christ in the Sacrament is to be honoured.

Rockef.

Wellbelov'd friends and brethren in our Saviour Christ, you must understand that this Disputation, with other that shall be after this, are appointed to search for the plain truth of the holy Scriptures in these matters of Religion, which of a long season have bin hidden from us by the false Glosses of that great Antichrist and his Ministers of Rome, and now in our days must be revealed to us by Enlightenment, through the great mercy of God principally, and secondarily through the most gentle Clemency of our natural Sovereign Lord the Kings Majesty, whose the living Lord long desire to reign over us in health, wealth, and godliness, to the maintenance of Gods holy Word, and to the extirpation of all kind Glosses of men that go about to subvert the truth. Because therefore that I am one that doth love the truth, and have professed the same amongst you, therefore I say, because of conferring my mind with yours, I will here gladly declare what I think in this point now in controversy. Not because this worshipful Doctor hath any need of my help in dissolving of Arguments proposed against him, for as he seemeth he hath answered hitherto very well and Gladly according to the truth of Gods Word. But now to the purpose, I do grant unto you (Mr. Opponent) that the old ancient Fathers do record and witness a certain honour and adoration to be due unto Christs body, but they speak not of it in the Sacrament,

Rockef.  
[Edw. 5]

Mat. 26.  
[Edw. 5]

Real presence defined by the English.

but of it in Heaven at the right hand of the Father, as holy Chrysostom saith, Honour thou it, and then eat it; but that honour may not be given to the outward sign, but to the body of Christ it self in Heaven. For that body is there only in a sign vettually, by grace, in the exhibition of it in fruit, effect, and faith, to the worthy receiver of it. For we receive vettually only Christs body in the Sacrament.

Glin.

How then (if it please your good Goodship) doth Baptism differ from this Sacrament? For in that we receive Christ also by grace and vettually.

Rockef.

Christ is present after another sort in Baptism than in this Sacrament; for in that he purgeth and walleth the Infant from all kind of sin, but here he doth feed spiritually the receiver in Faith with all the merits of his blessed death and passion. And yet he is in Heaven still really and substantially. As for example, The Kings Majesty our Lord and Master, is but in one place, wherefore that this Royal person is abiding for the time, and yet his mighty Power and Authority is every where in his Realm and Possessions: So Christs real person is only in Heaven substantially abled, but his Might is in all things created effectually. For Christs flesh may be understood for the power or inward Might of his flesh.

Glin.

If it please your Fatherhood, Saint Ambrose and Saint Augustine do say, that before the consecration it is but very bread, and after the consecration it is called the very body of Christ.

Madew.

Indeed it is the very body of Christ Sacramentally after the consecration, whereas before it is nothing but common bread, and yet after that it is the Lords bread, and thus must St. Ambrose and St. Augustine be understood.

Here the Prefators commanded the Opponent to discover the second conclusion, but he requested them that they would permit him as long in this matter, as they would in the second, and so he still prosecuted the first matter as follows.

Glin.

The bread after consecration doth feed the soul, Ergo, the substance of common bread doth not remain. The Argument is good, for S. Ambrose *De Sacramento* saith thus, After the consecration there is not the thing that nature did form, but that which the blessing doth create. And if the benediction of the Prophet Elias did turn the nature of Water, how much more then doth the benediction of Christ here both God and Man?

Madew.

That of Book S. Ambrose is suspected to be none of his works.

Rockef.

So all the Fathers say.

Glin.

I do marvel at that for S. Austin in his Book of Retractions maketh plain that that was his own very work.

Rockef.

He speaketh indeed of such a Book as I intimated, to Saint Ambrose, but yet we do lack the same Book indeed.

Glin.

Well, let it then pass to other Mens judgments. What Opinion then say you to holy S. Cyprian 1200 years past? Who saith That the bread, which our Lord gave to his Disciples, was not changed in form, or quality; but in very nature, and by the Almighty word was made flesh.

Madew.

I do answer thus, That this word flesh may be taken two ways, you to holy S. Cyprian 1200 years past? Who saith That the bread, which our Lord gave to his Disciples, was not changed in form, or quality; but in very nature, and by the Almighty word was made flesh.

Glin.

Holy Saint Ambrose saith, the body there made by the mighty power of Gods Word is the body of the Virgin Mary.

Rockef.

That is to say, that by the Word of God the thing hath been, that it had not before, and we do consecrate the body, that we may receive the grace and power of the body of Christ in Heaven by this Sacramental body.

Glin.

By your patience (my Lord) if it be a body of the Virgin (as S. Ambrose saith) which we do consecrate as Ministers by Gods holy Word, then must it needs be more than a sacramental, or spiritual body, yea a very body of Christ indeed, yea the same that is still in Heaven without all moving from place to place, unfeakably, and farpassing our natural reason, which is in this mystery to captivate, that it cannot conceive how it is there, without a lively Faith to Gods Word. But let this pass. You do grant that this bread both quicken or give life, which if it do, then it is not a natural bread, but a superflubstantial bread.

Rockef.

So doth the effectual and lively Word of God, which for that it nourisheth the soul, it doth give life; for the Divine essence itself it self unfeakably into the faithful receiver of the Sacrament.

Glin.

How then say you to holy Damascene a Greek Author, Damascene, who, as one Trinitian saith, flourished one thousand years past? he saith thus, The body that is of the Holy Virgin Mary is joined to the Divinity after the consecration in verity, and indeed; not so as the body once assumed into Heaven, and sitting on the Fathers right Hand, doth remove from thence and cometh down at the consecration time, but that the same bread and wine are substantially transmutated into the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. If (saith he) thou dost not know the manner how it is brought to pass, let it be enough to thee to believe that it is done by the operation of the Holy Ghost, and we do know no more but that the living Word of God is working and Almightly, but the very manner how, is inscrutable to us; and no great marvel, saith he, for we cannot well express how the material bread, wine, or water are transmutated naturally into the same body and blood of the triumphant, and become another body than they were before. So saith this great ancient Cleric, also this Shewbread with wine and water are changed, by the coming of the Holy Ghost, into Christs body and blood, and they be not two bodies there, but very one (of Christ) and the same.

Rockef.

Rochester.

First I deny (Matter Doctor) that *Dama* was one thousand years past. Secondly, I say that he is not to be held as an ancient Father, for that he maintaineth in his works evil and damnable Doctrine, as the worshipping of Images and such like. Thirdly, I say that indeed God by his holy Spirit is the worker of that which is done in the Sacrament. Also I grant that there is a mutation of the common Bread and Wine spiritually into the Lords Bread and Wine, by the sanctifying of them in the Lords Word. But I deny that there is any mutation of the substance; for there is no other change there indeed, than there is in us, when we do receive the Sacrament worthily, then we are changed into Christs Body, Bones and Blood, not in nature, but spiritually; and by grace, much like as *Isaiah* saw the burning Coal, even so we see not there the very simple Bread as it was before the Consecration; for an Union cannot be but of two very things. Wherefore if we be joyed to Christ receiving the Sacrament, then there is no adulation of Bread, which is, when it is reduced to nothing, as it is in your feigned Transubstantiation.

Glin.

So I perceive you would have me to grant that the Sacrament is but a figure, which *Theophilus* doth deny.

Rochester.

You say truth, he denieth indeed to be a figure, but he meaneth that it is not only a figure.

Glin.

Whereas Saint Paul faith, That we being many are one Bread, he speaketh not, nor meaneth one material Bread, as you do here, *Ergo*, he speaketh of heavenly Bread. And holy *Chrysostom* upon *Matthew* faith, That the Paschal Lamb was a figure, but the mystery is the verity. For the Disciples would not have been offended to have drunk a figure of Christs Blood, being well accustomed to figures. For Christ did not institute a figure for a figure, but the clear verity instead of the figure, as Saint *John* faith, Grace and verity was given by Christ. Doth thou see Bread? (saith *Chrysostom*) doth it avoid or pass or other means do which we receive? God forbid. *Ergo*, &c.

Mader.

That ancient Clerk *Origen* upon the 15. of St. *Matth.* faith thus, As touching that which is material in the Sacrament, it defendeth and suffeth out as other ministration do, as concerning that which is celestial it doth not so.

Glin.

*Chrysostom*, Homily 83. upon *Matthew* faith, That we cannot be deceived of Christs Word, but our natural senses may be deceived in this point verily and easily; his faithful words cannot be false, but our senses be many times beguiled of their judgments. Because therefore that Christ faith, *This is my body*, let us not at any hand doubt (saith he) but let us believe it, and well perceive it with the eyes of our understanding. And within a little after in that place he faith thus, It was not enough that he became man, and afterwards was scourged for us, but also he did man, and bringing us to be as one body with him, not through Faith only, but in very deed also he maketh us of his Body. And after that he faith, that these works are not of mans power. But the same things that he wrought in his last Supper, he now worketh also by his Precept to his right Ministers, and we do occupy the place of the same Ministers, but he it is that doth sanctify and transmute the creatures, he performeth still the same.

Rochester.

M. Doctor, you must understand, that in that place *S. Chrysostom* sheweth us that Christ delivered to us no sensible thing at his last Supper.

Glin.

Honourable Sir, by your patience I grant that he gave to his Disciples no sensible thing in substance, but a thing insensible, his own precious Blood, and Blood, under the only kinds of creatures. And truly, as it cometh, *Theophilus* best knew the meaning of *Chrysostom*, because all Authors accept him as a faithful Interpreter of him. And he hath there same plain words transcribed and transformed. Also *Theophilus Alexandrinus* saith, *Marcan*, *Cyprian*, and Saint *Augustine* faith, That before the Consecration it is Bread, but afterwards it is Christs very Body. In like manner Saint *Augustine* upon the 33. *John* faith, that in the last Supper Christ did bear himself in his own hands. Now every man may bear the figure of his body in his own hands, but Saint *Augustine* faith it there for a miracle. *Irenaeus* in his Fifth Book is of the same mind. And Saint *Augustine* faith, I do remember my words, &c. The Law and Figures were by *Moses*, but the Verity and Body came by Christ.

Rochester.

Well, say what you list, it is but a figurative speech, like to this, If you will receive, and understand he is *Eliaz*, for a property, but indeed he was not *Eliaz*, but *John* the Baptist. And so in this place Christ calleth it his Body, when it was very Bread. But better then the common Bread, because it was sanctified by the word of Christ.

¶ Here Master *Langdale* replied to Doctor *Mader*.

Langdale.

I have noted two things that you affirmed in your Position, even now before this honourable Audience, the which, as we formerly, are not consonant to the truth of Gods Word. The first is as touching Christs saying, I will not from henceforth drink any more of the Fruit of the Vine, until I drink it new with you, &c. Which place of the Scripture you did, as I think, understand, and interpret as though nothing else remained after the Consecration, but very Wine full. Where I do not a little marvel seeing that most famous Clerk *Erafmus*, whose authority and sentence you refuse at this present only, yet nevertheless is very worthy, in this matter, of far better estimation as enough learned men. Wherefore I trust I shall not offend to allege him before this learned and honourable Auditor. He plainly affirmeth that for all his great labour in searching the Scriptures, he could never find either in the Evangelists or yet in the Apostolical Doctrine, that it might be, or was called Wine, after the Consecration. And therefore I cannot but marvel, if the thing be so open and plain, as of *Erafmus* in your declaration you seem to make it, that such a profound Clerk as he was could not find it out. For that kind place he interpreted in his Paraphrases, in his Annotations, and in others of his Labours, and yet he plainly denyeth that of very Wine to be found of him, which you here openly affirmed, that it is Wine, or may be so called after the Consecration duly performed by a right Minister. I beseech you not to be offended, though I credit not your saying in this too weighty a matter of Christian Religion, as I do this.

Mader.

No forsooth, I will not be offended one jot with you. But to content your mind in this point; it is most consonant and true, that *Erafmus* was of that mind and opinion, that it was enough for a Christian to believe Christs Body and Blood to be in the Sacrament in what manner or condition soever it were.

Langdale.

KING 3

KING 3

Langdale.

By your licence, good Master Doctor, these be *Erafmus* words. The Church of Christ hath determined verily lately Transubstantiation in the Sacrament. It was of a long season enough to believe Christs body to be either under the bread consecrated, or else to be present after any other manner. But yet, faith he, after that the said Church had pondered and weighed the thing more carefully with greater judgments, then she made a precise certain determination of the same. In the which place, 1 Cor. 7. *Erafmus* faith, That the proceeding of the holy Ghost equally from the Father and the Son, was also determined of the same Church. But let this pass. As touching the second point which I noted in your so eloquent declaration, which was, that you did wrest and wring the saying of *Tertullian* from the verity of his mind; for you said, that he doth interpret the Prophet *Isaiah*, speaking of our daily Sacrifice in the New Law, to mean nothing, else by that Sacrifice in that place, but prayer and thanksgiving. But the said ancient Clerk *Tertullian* hath not those words that you do allege of him, that is to say (Nothing else.) And yet though that *Oswald* doth so interpret that place, yet (as we formerly) the judgment of the whole Christian Church is to be preferred in such a matter of Religion. But I will pass over this point, and return to the matter it self. And first I do require of your Masterly, whether that this sentence, *This is my body*, be spoken of Christ figuratively or not.

Mader.

After the mind of the common Gloss of *Cyprian* and *Origen*, it is so taken in very deed.

Langdale.

That cannot be by your patience, for it is taken there substantially; *Ergo*, not figuratively.

Mader.

I deny your Argument.

Langdale.

I prove my Argument good, thus; This word substance doth plainly repugn, and is contrary to this word figure; *Ergo*, substantially and figuratively do also repugn. Moreover I ask of you, whether that this be a true proposition or not; Bread is Christs body.

Mader.

Yes forsooth, it is a true proposition.

Langdale.

Then thus to you, Christs body was given for us, but you say, that Bread is Christs body; *Ergo*, Bread was given for us.

Rochester.

Not so Sir, for your former proposition is of double understanding.

Langdale.

Well, yet you Mr. Doctor do grant that Christ is substantially in the Sacrament.

Mader.

No I deny that I did so ever.

Langdale.

Yes? do you so? Well, I pass not thereupon greatly,

for I will prove it by another means. Christ did suffer his most glorious passion for us, really and substantially; *Ergo*, he is also in the Sacrament substantially. The Argument is good, because that it is the same here that was there crucified for us, howbeit here invisibly, indeed spiritually and sacramentally, but there visibly, and after a mortal and most bloody manner.

Rochester.

Master *Langdale*, your Argument doth well conclude, in case that his body were, were in the Sacrament after such a sort, as it was when he was betrayed. But it is not so, for he was betrayed and crucified in his natural body substantially and really in very deed; but in the Sacrament he is not so, but spiritually and figuratively only.

Langdale.

By your good Lordships favour that is not so, for he is there not figuratively, but verily and indeed by the power of his mighty Word, yea even his very own natural Body under the Sacrament duly performed by the lawful Minister.

Mader.

O say not so, for you speak blasphemy.

Langdale.

No, no, Master Doctor, God forbid that either I or any man should be noted of blasphemy, saying nothing but the very plain truth, as in my conscience and learning I do so.

Rochester.

O Mr. *Langdale*, I wis it becometh you not here to have such words.

Langdale.

If I like your good Lordship I gave not the first occasion of them, but only did refute that which I was unjustly threatened withal, as reason doth require, and it grieveth me to hear it. He faith, if it please your Lordship, that there is a mutation or change of the bread after it is consecrated; which if it be so, as I grant no less, then I would require of him, whether it be changed in the substance, or in the accidents, or else in both, or in nothing? No man can justly say, that there is a change into nothing. And all ancient Fathers do agree, that the same accidents are there still after, that were before; nor doth any Doctor say, That there is any mutation both of the substance and accidents also; *Ergo*, the substance of bread is changed into some other thing that is there really present under the forms of bread and wine, which by Christs words must needs be his own blessed body.

Rochester.

Sir, you are deceived greatly, for there is no change of the substance, or of the accidents; but in very deed of the substance, there do come unto the bread other accidents, inasmuch that that whereas the bread and wine were not sanctified before, accidents in not holy yet afterwards they be sanctified, and so do receive more.

¶ Here is to be noted, That Peter Martyr in his answer at Oxford, did grant a change in the substances of bread and wine, which in Cambridge, by the Bishop Dr. Ridley was denied.

Langdale.

By your patience, reverend Father, by such means a man may easily avoid all the Mytheries of our Christian faith. As where it is said thus of God the Father, *This is my beloved Son*, &c. A man may also write that

How scrupulous may be avoided in any respect to command the Law.

to be understood thus, This is the image of my wellbeloved Son: or, This is the virtue of my wellbeloved Son: yea, much more justly than your good Lordship doth the other: because St. Paul to the *Hebrews* doth call the Son the image of the Father, and in another place he calleth him the power or virtue of God, and Gods Wisdom. Now though he be called in Scripture, God forbid that we should call him only Gods image or Gods virtue, and not God himself.

Rochefer.

O gentle Master Langdale, you ought not to reason after such a sort as you do now, because that trope or figurative speech is mov'd somewhere, but not every where, nor in this matter.

Langdale.

Yet by your licence, honourable Father, it doth appear to me no trope at all in these words of Christ, *This is my body which is given for you*, and that for this reason: Christ did exhibit or give again the very same things at his last Supper, by the which things he was joynted to us; but he was joynted or knit unto us by his own natural flesh and blood: Ergo, he did exhibit to us at his last Supper no less again. My former proposition I prove by the testimony of Saint Chrysostome, whose words in Christs person are these: I would be your Brother, I took upon me common flesh and blood for your sakes, and even by the same things that I am joynted to you, the very same I have exhibited to you again, &c.

¶ Here the Proctors commanded Langdale to give place to another.

Rochefer.

We are not joynted by natural flesh, but do receive his flesh spiritually from above.

¶ Here Mr. Segewick replied.

Right worshipful master Doctor, I do also ask of you first of all, whether the Greek Article (*this*) of the neuter Gender, be referred to the word (*bread*) or to the word (*body*)? If it be referred to the word (*bread*) then Christ would not have said (*this*) in the neuter Gender, but rather (*this*) in the masculine Gender.

Rochefer.

Forsooth that Article is referred to neither of both, but may figure unto us any other kind of thing.

Segewick.

No forsooth, but it doth note unto us some excellent great thing determinately, and not so confusedly as you say. For such a great heap of Articles, in the *Greek*, doth notwithstanding unto us a great and weighty thing to be in the Sacrament determinately, if we may credit the ancient Fathers. Moreover this word (*bread*) is not always in the Scriptures taken after one sort: Wherefore I desire you to shew me how it is taken in this place of St. Paul, *We that are many, are one bread*, &c.

Madew.

Forsooth of the very wheaten bread.

Segewick.

Then, after your mind, we are all very wheaten bread.

Rochefer.

Forsooth we are bread, not for the nature of bread, but for the fellowship and unity that is noted by the conspuration of many grains into one bread or loaf.

Segewick.

Well let that pass, this thus. It is the body, Ergo, no figures, because there is a perpetual contrariety between the Law of *Moses* and the Law of Grace. Therein were figures and shadows, and herein is the verity indeed.

Rochefer.

I do grant it to be Christs true body and flesh, by a property of the nature ascribed to the Godhead, yea, and we do really eat and drink his flesh and blood after a certain real property.

Segewick.

It is not the figurative Paschal Lamb, if it is not the figurative *Isidore*, nor yet the figurative *flour-bread*, &c. Ergo, It is no figure.

Madew.

I deny your Argument.

Segewick.

I maintain my Argument thus. All the shadows are wholly past: Ergo, so also be the figures; for every figure is a shadow: if then it be but a figure, all the figures, are not past as yet; but that is false: Ergo, so is the other.

Rochefer.

It is nothing but a figure or token of the true body of Christ: as it is said of *John* the Baptist, he is *Elias*, not that he was so in deed or person, but in property and virtue he represented *Elias*.

Segewick.

So: But most learned Father, when Christ said, *I am the way, the truth, and the life*, may it be understood as you do the other place thus, I am the virtue of the way, verity and the life? But now to the matter it self. It is very meat, Ergo, it is not figuratively.

Madew.

This Verb or word (*is*) in this place is taken for that that figuratively.

Here he was commanded to reply in the second matter.

Segewick.

Now as touching our second Conclusion, this I say. Whosoever Christ is, there is a Sacrifice propitiatory; but in the Lords Supper is Christ; Ergo, in the Lords Supper is a Sacrifice propitiatory.

Madew.

Christ is not offered in the Lords Supper, but is received spiritually.

Segewick.

The Priesthood and the Sacrifice be correspondent together: but Christs Priesthood after the order of *Melchisedech* is perpetual. Ergo, also so is his Sacrifice.

Rochefer.

Christ is a Priest for ever, that is to say, his Priesthood, and Sacrifice, offered once for all, is available for ever, so that no other shall succeed him.

Segewick.

Segewick.

Where there is no oblation, there is no Sacrifice: Ergo, if Christ be not perpetually offered, there is no perpetual Sacrifice. Item, the same bloody Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross was the very fine and end of all the bloody Sacrifices figured in the Law after the order of *Aaron*: Priesthood. Wherefore you must needs grant that he offered himself also at his last Supper after the order of *Melchisedech*, under the forms of bread and wine: or else you must shew the Scripture where he did so, which I cannot perceive to be done, but at his last Supper only, after an unbloody manner. Item, he is offered for the remission of sins daily: Ergo, he is a Sacrifice propitiatory till in the new Law, as Saint *Augustine* faith, expounding these words of the *Psalms*, *Thou hast not willed to have sacrifice and oblation, but, &c.*

Rochefer.

Saint *Cyprian* speaketh much like that sort, where he faith thus, It is the Lords Passion, which we do offer, &c.

Segewick.

In the old law there were many Sacrifices propitiatory: Ergo, There be also in the new Law: or else you must grant that God is not so beneficial now to us, as then he was to them, seeing that we be as frail and as needy as ever were they, which must be especially the more pure daily Sacrifice of Christs body and blood, that holy *Malachi* speaketh of.

Madew.

As touching the place of *Margaret* the Prophet, I answer, That it is nothing to you purposed for the offering of Christ daily in the Sacrament. For that Sacrifice there spoken of, is nothing else but the sincere and most pure preaching of Gods holy Word, of prayer, and of thanksgiving to God the Father through Jesus Christ.

Here Mr. Segewick was commanded to cease to Mr. Young.

Young.

Worshipful Master Doctor, although you have learnedly and clerically defended these your Conclusions this day, yet seeing that I am now placed to impugn them in place of a better, I do begin thus with you. I hath pleased Christ to make us partakers of his holy Spirit, and that in veredy, by receiving of the Christian faith, hope and charity: Ergo, much more of his own blessed body and blood, spiritually and in very deed, in the Lords Supper. Item, the Angels food was altogether holy from above, and heavenly food called *Manna*: Ergo, also this celestial and heavenly food can be justly esteemed to be of no less excellency than that, but without comparison better: and so no very Wheat, after due Consecration of it. Item, the words of holy Scripture are evermore effectual and working, Ergo, they must perform the thing indeed that they do promise. For he that might create, might also create as his pleasure the natures and substances of creatures, as appeareth that Christ did by changing Water into Wine at a Marriage in Galilee. But Christ in the Scripture did promise, *John* 6. that the bread that he would give as his flesh indeed, which promise was never fulfilled till in his last Supper, when he took bread, gave thanks, blessed it, and gave it to his Disciples, saying, *Take eat, this is my flesh*. Which bread then was his flesh indeed, as doth well appear in the said place, and next promise depending upon the same, *thaw which flesh I will give for the life of the world*. This last promise was fulfilled by him upon the Cross: Ergo, the flesh was likewise at his last Supper. So that it was but one and the same flesh, first and last promised and performed.

Rochefer.

Indeed the words of holy Scripture do work their effects potentially and thoroughly by the mighty operation of the Spirit of God.

Young.

If it please your Lordship, man is fed and nourished with Christs blood, Ergo, then it is his blood indeed, though it do not so appear to our outward senses, which are deceived; for Christ faith, *This is my blood*: And also, *My blood do drink indeed*. And because that we should not abhor his blessed blood in his natural kind, or his flesh if they should be so ministered unto us: of his most excellent mercy and goodness, condescending to our weak infirmities, he hath appointed them to be given us, under the sensible kinds of his convenient creatures, that is to say, of bread and wine. Also our body is fed with Christs body, which is meat indeed, but it cannot be nourished with that that is not there present: Ergo, Christs body that feedeth us must needs be present in very deed in the Sacrament. Item, the nature of bread is changed; but the nature of the bread, and the substance of it, is one and the same thing: Ergo, the substance also is changed. My first proposition is S. *Cyprian*: *de cena Domini*, saying, that the bread in figure is not changed, but in nature.

Rochefer.

*Cyprian* there doth take this word nature for a property *Cyprian* of nature only, and not for the natural substance.

Young.

That is a strange exception, that I have not read in any Author before this time: but yet, by your leave, the communion of Christs body cannot be there where his body is not; but the communion of Christs body is in the Sacrament: Ergo, Christs body is there present in very deed.

Rochefer.

Grace is there communicated to us by the benefit of Christs body fitting in Heaven.

Young.

Not so only, for we are members of his flesh, and bones of his bones.

Rochefer.

We be not consubstantial with Christ, God forbid that: but we are joynted to his mystical body through his holy Spirit, and the Communion of his flesh is communicated to us spiritually through the benefit of his flesh in Heaven.

Young.

Well, I am contented, and do most humbly beseech your good Lordship, to pardon me of my great rudeness and impolicy, which I have here shewed.

Here ended the first Disputation, holden at Cambridge the 20th of June, 1549.

¶ The second Disputation holden at Cambridge the 24th day of June 1549.

Dr. Glin in his first Conclusion.

The Mysteries of Faith (as *Augustine* witnesseth) may very profitably be believed, but they cannot well be searched forth, as faith the Scripture, *I believed, wherefore I spoke*; and he that confesseth me before men, him will

Shew us one place, or one Doctor, who saith that it remaineth not bread after the Consecration.

Glin.

I wonder that you are not ashamed to ask that of me; for have you not had almost infinite places and Doctors allowed to you in my former declarations, proving as much as you request at my hands?

Perne.

He took bread, he brake bread; ergo, it is bread.

Glin.

I have answered often heretunto, and I grant it is bread, but not only, or material.

Perne.

A sacrament is a double matter, the bread remaineth. *Irenaeus* affirmeth that a Sacrament consisteth of a double matter, of an earthly matter, and of a heavenly; ergo, the bread remaineth.

Glin.

*Irenaeus* in that place by the earthly matter, meaneth the Humanity of Christ, and by the heavenly matter the Deity of Christ.

Rocheffer.

The Humanity and the Divinity of Christ make not a Sacrament, which consisteth of a visible and an invisible nature; and I deny that *Irenaeus* can be understood: Therefore we desire the learned Auditor to be at home, as opportunity will serve for this matter.

Glin.

I with them so to do also with all my heart.

Here Master Grindal beginneth to dispute.

Grindal.

Grindal to Perne. **W**heras you say (worthipful Mr. Doctor) that we speak not now as sometimes we thought and judged in this matter, peradventure you also judge not so now all things as you have done heretofore. But what we have once been in force to, God respecteth no mans person. And whereas you say, that you dare not contrary to Christ call it a sign or a figure, *Augustine* notwithstanding dareth to call it a figure, and *Tertullian* likewise, with many more.

Glin.

True it is, but they called it not a sign or a figure only; but prove you, if you can, that after the Consecration remaineth any other substance than the real body of Christ.

Grindal.

What the forme of bread and wine do nourish. If the forms do nourish, as you contend, they nourish the natural and humane body, for they be both as one, and are nourished alike.

Glin.

Your reason is meer physical, and therefore to be rejected in matters of faith; but I grant they nourish, but miraculously.

Grindal.

If you grant that the forms do nourish, then you grant that bread remaineth.

Glin.

I said even now that it is true, but the nature of it is changed, and that miraculously.

Grindal.

If it be the real and substantial body of Christ, because Christ said, *This is my body, ergo*, because the Lord said, *I will not drink of the fruit of the Vine, and Paul* and the caltech it bread after the Consecration, it is therefore bread and wine.

Glin.

Truly Sir, You must bring better Arguments, or else you will prove nothing for your purpose. For to your reasons thus I answer, *Chrysostome* saith, Christ did drink of the blood, but whether this sentence, *I will not drink of the fruit of the Vine*, be spoken of the blood, it is not certain. And truly *Erasmus* denieth that it is to be found in all the whole Scripture, that it is called bread after the Consecration. Or else thus I may answer you. Every as it is called bread for the form and kind, and accidents which remain; so for the form and similitude which it hath, it may be called the fruit of the Vine, after the Consecration. And whereas *Chrysostome* saith, That the fruit of the Vine is nothing else but Wine; *Ergo*, Christ gave them Wine, and drank Wine himself also, and not bread.

Glin.

Christ said twice, *I will not drink of the fruit of the Vine*: once at the eating of the Paschal Lamb (as *Luke* saith) and then was it Wine indeed: And again, after the Consecration of his body and blood he said the like, and then it was not Wine, which methink I can prove by the plain words of *Luke*, if we compare him with *Matth*. For it were Wine as they both affirm, then the words of Christ cannot well stand, because first (as *Luke* sheweth) he said at his legal Supper, *I will not drink of the fruit of this Vine, &c.* And again in *Matth*, after the Consecration of his body and blood, he drank; it followeth therefore, that that which he drank was not Wine by nature, for then must Christ needs be a lyer, which were blasphemous to say.

Rocheffer.

*Augustine* doth thus reconcile those places, saying, it is spoken by a figure which we call *Hyssopum proterum*.

Glin.

I know that *Augustine* saith so; but methink that which I have said (senneth to be the true meaning of the places.

Rocheffer.

*Augustine* seeketh no startling holes, nor yet any indirect shifts to obscure the truth.

Glin.

Say your Fatherhood what you will of *Augustine*, I think not so.

Grindal.

*This Cup is the New Testament in my blood*; but there is a Trope; *Ergo*, in these words of Christ, *This is my body*, is a Trope also.

Glin.

I deny your Argument; for whereas *Luke* saith *this Cup, Matthew* saith *this is my Blood*, and therefore as *Augustine*

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*Augustine* saith, places that be dark are to be expounded by other that be light.

Rocheffer.

All of your side deny that Christ ever used any Trope in the instituting of Sacraments.

Glin.

For my part I hold no opinion but the truth, whereof you your self also do pretend the like.

Rocheffer.

A question wherein consisteth the strength of the Sacrament. What understand you by this word (*hoc*, this) and in what words shandeth the force or strength of the Sacrament? In this Pronoun (*Hoc*, this) or in this Verb (*Est*, is) or else in this whole sentence, *This is my Body*?

Glin.

It is not made the true body except all the words be spoken, as in Baptism, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*. For neither doth Baptism consist in this word *Ego*, I, or in baptizo, or in this word, *Te*, thee; or in these words, *In nomine*, in the Name, &c. but in all the words spoken in order.

Grindal.

To eat the Body of Christ is a figurative speech. If to eat the Body of Christ be a figurative speech, as *Augustine* saith it is, *ergo*, then these words, *This is my Body*, is a figurative speech also.

Glin.

It is a figurative speech, because we eat not the Body of Christ after the same manner that we do other meats, &c.

Grindal.

Cyprian explained. *Cyprian* understandeth this of those that come unworthily, and make no difference of the Lords Body, speaking of the disposition of the Sacraments, and not of the Body of Christ.

Glin.

Truly he speaketh of the true Body of Christ.

Rocheffer.

They receive unworthily who neither judge themselves, nor yet Sacraments, taking them as other common bread.

Grindal.

*Augustine* upon the Thirty third *Psalm* saith, Christ bare himself in his own hands after a sort, not indeed or truly, &c.

Glin.

You omit many other things which *Augustine* saith; and I confess that he carried himself in his own hands after a sort, but *Augustine* delivereth this unto us as a great miracle. And you know it was no great miracle to carry a figure of his Body in his hands. And whereas you say that Christ carried himself after a sort in his own hands. For Christ in the visible figure bare himself invisibly.

Grindal.

*Tertullian* calleth it a figure, *Ergo*, it is so.

Glin.

It is, as I have said, a figure, but not a figure only.

But hear what *Tertullian* saith, he took bread and made it his Body, saying, *This is my Body*, &c.

Grindal.

Hear what *Chrysostome* saith upon *Matth*, *Homil*, *Chrysostom*, 11. *Super Cap*. 5. If Vessels sanctified to holy uses, &c.

Glin.

That works is received not as *Chrysostome*, but some mans else as you know; or thus I answer, it is not the true Body in proper and visible form.

Here Mr. Gess Disputed.

**T**HE Bread is not changed before the Consecration, *Ergo*, not after it neither.

Glin.

I deny your Argument, Mr. Gess.

Gess.

Christ gave earthly bread, *Ergo*, there is no Transubstantiation.

Glin.

I deny your Antecedent.

Gess.

That which Christ took be blessed, that which he brake he brake, what he brake he gave; *Ergo*, he receiving earthly bread gave the same bread.

Glin.

Your order in reasoning shandeth not; for by the same reason may you gather, that God took a rib of man, and thereof built a rib and brought it unto *Adam*; *Ergo*, what he received he brought; but he received a rib, *Ergo*, brought a rib.

Gess.

How is the Body of Christ in Heaven, and how in the Sacrament, whether circumscriptively or denominatively?

Glin.

The Body of Christ is in Heaven circumscriptively, but not in the Sacrament. The Angels also are contained denominatively. But I have learned that the Body of Christ is in the Sacrament, but not locally, nor circumscriptively, but after an unspeakable manner unknown to man.

Rocheffer.

Al, know you not?

Glin.

Neither in other mysteries of Faith do we know the mean how, although this may partly be proved by reason. For as my soul is wholly in my head, and wholly in my foot, and wholly in my finger, and so in other parts of my body; and as there is one voice or sound which all men hearing do understand: so the Body of Christ being one and the same is wholly in the Altar, and in many places else. For if God could do this in my soul, how much more in his own Body?

Rocheffer.



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Rocheffer.

I beseech you shew us what difference is betwixt these two, to be in a place circumscriptively and definitively.

Glin.

Your Lordship knoweth very well: but yet if any would know the difference, let him read *August. ad Valer. Julianum, & ad Dardanium, &c.*

Geff.

If the Bread be changed, it is made the Body of Christ; but that is not so; *Ergo*, it is not changed.

Glin.

I deny your Minor.

Geff.

It is not generate or begot: *Ergo*, it is not the Body.

Glin.

That followeth not; as though to be made and to be generate or begot were all one thing; or as though there were no other mutation than a generation, and so you impugn a thing that you know not. But what call you the generation?

Geff.

The generation is the production of the accidents.

Glin.

A new definition of a new Philosopher.

Geff.

That which he took he blessed; that which he blessed he brake, and gave it unto them: *Ergo*, &c.

Glin.

Christ took bread, brake bread, and gave his Body, that is, the substance of his Body: saying, *This is my Body*.

Geff.

The bread is not changed into the Blood of Christ: *Ergo*, not into his Body neither.

Glin.

I deny your Antecedent.

Geff.

The Master of the Sentences saith it.

Glin.

You understand him not; for the bread is changed into the Body of Christ by the power of Gods word.

Rocheffer.

Ye dream of a real presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament, by the force of the words spoken; which the Holy Scripture doth impugn.

Glin.

We say that not only by the power of the word, but also by the spirit and secret vertue in the words it is brought to pass; for there is no power in one

word alone, as before in Baptism, but in all the words duly prolated according to the custom of the ancient Catholic Church.

Geff.

If there were any Transubstantiation, the accidents should not remain fill, for they have no matter whereto they may lean or cleave; but the accidents remain not themselves alone: *Ergo*, &c.

Glin.

I confesse accidents cannot stand themselves alone by their own nature without a subject, but by the power of God they may, not after the opinion of Philosophers, but of the Scriptures; although I could shew out of the Scriptures the accidents to have been without the subject; as in *Genesis*, the light was made without a subject, whereas the subject of the light was made the fourth day after, as *Beati* beareth me record.

### Here Master Pilkington Disputed.

Pilkington.

THIS one thing I define of you, most worshipful Mr. Doctor, that you will answer me with like brevity as I shall propound. And thus I reason: the Body of Christ that was broken on the Croas is a full satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; but the Sacrament is not the satisfaction of the whole world; *Ergo*, the Sacrament is not the Body of Christ.

Glin.

I deny your Argument.

Pilkington.

It is a Syllogism.

Glin.

It is not so; for there be four termes. Touching this word Sacrament it is manifold; but thus I answer. If you take the Sacrament for the matter of the Sacrament, that is, the Body of Christ, then is your Minor Proposition true, and the matter of the Sacrament is the satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; but if you take the Sacrament for the sign, which we call a Sacrament, then is your Minor Proposition false.

Pilkington.

The Body of Christ hath satisfied for the sins of the whole world; but the Sacrament hath not satisfied; *Ergo*, the Sacrament is not the Body of Christ.

Glin.

I deny your Minor, understanding the Sacrament for the matter of the Sacrament.

Pilkington.

The Sacrament only profiteth him that receiveth it; but many were saved before the institution of the Sacrament was begun; *Ergo*, the Sacrament is not the Body of Christ.

Glin.

If you mean of the bare sign, only it profiteth nothing; but if you mean the thing signified, then what is spoken of the Body of Christ is spoken also of the thing of the Sacrament it self.

Pilkington.

KING 1549.

Pilkington.

Transubstantiation is not a Sacrament; but that which I mean is a Sacrament; *Ergo*, that which I mean is not transubstantiated.

Glin.

I mean not that Transubstantiation is a Sacrament, neither do I say that the Sacrament is transubstantiated, but the bread.

Pilkington.

The Body of Christ is resant in Heaven, and the Body of Christ is in the Sacrament; *Ergo*, the Sacrament is in Heaven.

Glin.

A goodly reason forsooth; but I answer, he is after one sort in Heaven, and after another sort in the Sacrament; for in heaven he is locally, in the Sacrament not so; in heaven visibly and circumscriptively, but in the Sacrament invisibly and Sacramentally.

Rocheffer.

Saint *Augustine* saith, Take away the spaces from the bodies and they shall be no where, and that which is no where is not at all; so whilst you take away the spaces and dimensions from the Body of Christ in the Sacrament, you bring to pass that it is not there at all.

Glin.

In that place *Augustine* speaketh of natural bodies, not of supernatural; otherwise I could deny that Christ had a true body, when he entered in to his Disciples, the Gates being shut.

Rocheffer.

Of the Gates being shut a diverse and doubtful meaning may be gathered; for it may be he entered in before the Gates were shut, and afterward opened them being shut, &c.

Glin.

Then it could be no miracle; but the Evangelists and all found Interpreters say and affirm this to be a miracle of our Saviour Christ.

Rocheffer.

Whether Christ entered in miraculously, the Gates being shut, or else open, the Scripture leaveth not down.

Glin.

As Christ (the womb of the Virgin being shut up) was born into the world without violation of her pure virginity, or asperion of her womb (for so he might have been polluted) so entered he through the doors to his Disciples miraculously.

Pilkington.

In the Body of Christ which was given for us there are no accidents of bread; but in the Sacrament there are accidents of bread; *Ergo*, in the Sacrament there is not the Body of Christ.

Glin.

In the matter of the Sacrament; that is, in the Body of Christ, are no accidents of bread, but accidents are the very Sacrament it self.

Pilkington.

I beseech you, what do we eat, the substance or the accidents?

Glin.

Both as when we eat wholesome and unwholesome meats together, so we eat the substance of Christs body, and yet not without the accidents of bread.

Pilkington.

I prove that the accidents are eaten, for whatsoever entereth in by the mouth, goeth into the Privie; but the accidents go in by the mouth, *Ergo*, into the Privie.

Glin.

This sentence, *Whosoever eateth it by the mouth*, &c. is not meant of all kind of meats, as not of that which Christ eat after his Resurrection.

Pilkington.

You shall not eat his Body which you see.

Glin.

That is, not after that manner as you see it now, nor after the same visible form.

Pilkington.

Wherever Christ is, there be his Ministers also; (for whoso he promised) But Christ as you hold is in the Sacrament, *Ergo*, his Ministers are there also.

Glin.

To be with Christ is spoken divers ways, as in heart, in mind and place, and sometimes both; or to be with Christ is to minister unto him, and to do his will, &c.

### The third Disputation holden at Cambridge as before.

Master Perne.

CHRIST at his last Supper took bread, brake bread; distributed bread; *Ergo*, not his body, but a Sacrament of his body; for the bones of Christ could no more break, as witnesseth the Prophet saying, *Or non comminuetur os ex ore*, that is, *You shall not break a bone of him*. *Thou cup is the cup of the New Testament in my blood*. In this sentence there is a Trope by their own confession; wherefore there is in the other also, *This is my Body* for the holy Scripture is a peremptory rule not only of doing, but also of speaking. *Paul* calleth it bread three times, *Ergo*, it is bread, &c. And whereas they urge so much this *Pronomen* (illum) it is not in the Greek Canon which hath *Panem*, bread, not *Panem illum*, that bread. There was no Transubstantiation in the Manna; *Ergo*, not in the Sacrament; for there is this particle, *est*, if that can prove Transubstantiation, as they suppose. And if Manna were a figure, say they, then this is not. This mystery or Sacrament we hold to be true bread, and true meat. Manna gave life unto them, as this doth unto us; yet was it but a figure. In every Sacrament there ought to be a certain analogy, both of the intern and extern thing of the Sacrament, as *Augustine* saith, writing to *Bonifacius*; but betwixt the analogy in every Sacrament becometh broken, as in the Sacrament of Bread and Wine, and the Body of Christ there is no analogy at all. *Ergo*, they make not a sacrament. As *Paul* saith of many grains, &c. This similitude of *Paul* is spoken of the substance of bread, not of the form thereof, otherwise *Paul* should in vain compare us to bread. As in Baptism, *Paul* should in vain compare us to bread. As in Baptism, *Paul* should in vain compare us to bread. As in Baptism, *Paul* should in vain compare us to bread. As in Baptism, *Paul* should in vain compare us to bread.

[illegible]

*The Declaration of the said Master  
Perne in the second conclusion.*

**M**elchior, Mark, Luke, and the Apostle Paul, call it a commemoration or remembrance of Christ's body and blood, and Paul to the Hebrews faith, by one's only oblation once offered are we made perfect to eternal salvation; etc. By him therefore do we offer up the sacrifice of thank and prayer to God, that is the fruit of the life; as the Apostle called the Eucharist, the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, with devout minds; and it is called the cup of thanksgiving, because we give thanks to God thereby also. *Thou shalt preach forth the Lord's death, &c.* That is, thou shalt give thanks and be mindful of his death. *etc. Give your bodies a quick and living sacrifice, etc.* The sacrifice of the body is the sacrifice of the heart, namely, *etc. Christ's sacrifice.* The wife cannot offer three kinds of sacrifices, God, Frankincense and Myrrh; so we do also, namely Virtue, Prayer, and Almsdeeds; and these be the faculties wherewith Christ is pleased. And *Apostolic* faith there are no other faculties than Prayer, Praise and Thanksgiving. *Christ's sacrifice, Homil. 46.* upon *John* faith, To be converted *etc.* *John* faith is to be made partaker of his body and blood.

*There disputed against him Master Parker, Master Pollard, Master Vavilor, and Master Young.*

Three vain reasons to prove the bread to be *transubstantiated*.

Secondly, for that it was promised. Thirdly, for that it was given. The transubstantiation of the bread was prefigured by the Manna which came down from heaven; and that bread was heavenly, and without any earthly matter or substance annexed. Secondly, it was promised in those words of Christ, *The bread that I will give is my flesh, &c.* Thirdly, it was given by Christ, and exhibited in his last Supper, saying, *Take, eat, this is my Body.*

Here they were forced to break off through want of time, yet Parker replied thus against Doctor Perne.

WE give thee thanks most holy Father, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent and hast revealed them to babes; for pride is the root of all heresies whatsoever. And on the other side, to acknowledge our own humility and imperfection is the first step to wisdom. Undoubtedly, as the learned Father Hierock affirmed, that there were two Persons in Christ, one that was man, another that was God; therefore he said that in the Eucharist was contained true flesh, but only of his pure manhood. Against him did the Council of Ephesus conclude, saying, "That the true flesh of the Son of God, who was made man, was not the flesh of Christ, God; but that he proved by the words of Christ, *My flesh is meat indeed*: and what flesh that is, he teacheth upon the sixth of *John*. That is, *quod he, the flesh united to the Deity, and quickened by the Holy Ghost, etc.* Now that that flesh is in the Sacrament, it is made out of *John* 1. 14, *and 1. 18*. *And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us.* *Christus, Homo, etc.* upon *John*. We are also body with him, members of his flesh, and bones of his bones, etc. Again in the faith Homily. We are joined to his flesh, not only by faith and love, but also in very deed and truth. And again, it pleased me to become your brethren in the flesh. *John* 1. 12. *Whoever will be joined to you, have I given my flesh unto you, etc.*

*Perme.*  
I grant unto you that Christ is in the Sacrament truly, wholly, and verily, after a certain property and manner: I deny not his presence, but his real and corporal presence I utterly deny; for doubtless his true and natural body is in heaven, and not in the Sacrament: notwithstanding he dwelleth with us, and in us, after a certain unity. And also in the sixth Chapter of *John* he speaketh not of the flesh of Christ crucified, &c.

The flesh of Christ, as it is in the Sacrament, is quick, <sup>How Christ</sup> and giveth life; *Ergo*, his real and substantial flesh is in <sup>flesh giveth</sup> the Sacrament. <sup>life.</sup>

*Perne.*  
The flesh of Christ in that it is united unto the Deity,  
doth vivifie, and giveth life, but not otherwise.

*Rehefser.*  
Christ dwelleth in us by faith, and by faith we receive Christ both God and man, both in spirit and flesh; that is, this Sacramental eating is the mean and way whereby we attain to the spiritual eating, and indeed for the strengthening of us to the eating of this spiritual food was this Sacrament ordained. And these words, *This is my Body*, are meant thus. By grace it is my true body, but not my fleshly body, as some of you suppose.

*Parker.*

We are joyned to Christ, not only by faith, but also in  
very deed, *Ergo*, &c.

We are joyned to Christ, that is, we are made partakers of his flesh and of immortality. And so in like case is there a union between man and woman; yet is there no transubstantiation of either, or both, &c.

*Pollard.*

The Sacrament is not bare bread, and nothing else, only because it is called bread so often in the Scriptures, and that

I prove

*A Disputation in Cambridge about the Sacrament.*

**RING** } I prove by three reasons. First, it is called bread because  
Ed. 6. } of the similitude. Secondly, because of the mutation.  
Thirdly, for the reason that bread is made and compact, as  
the Jews are called members of the Holy Ghost a Tongue,  
the head of *Judas* a Serpent, and such like. The words  
of Christ do reach the same thing, as appeareth in the  
healing of the woman of *Canaans* Daughter, *Jairus* Son,  
and many others. *Ergo*, *Ergo*, &c. Then he proved a-  
gainst *Reade Her*, that somewhat else was in the Sacrament  
besides power and grace, by this reason, The evil receive  
the Body of Christ, as is plain out of *Auguſtine*, *Homil.*  
*21. de verbis domini*; but the evil and wicked receive  
not the verue, or grace; *Ergo*, there is not only grace  
and verue in the Sacrament.

Rochester.

The evil receive not the Lord in the Sacrament, but the Sacrament of the Lord, as *Judas*, who in deed ate not the true Body of the Lord.

*Pollard.*

In the Sacrament be three things, to wit, an outward sign, the matter of the Sacrament, and the fruit of the same : the evil receive the outward sign, and the subject of the Sacrament, but not the fruit of the Sacrament : *Ergo*, there is somewhat else in the Sacrament than only Grace. Also every Sacrament ought to have a certain familiarity with the matter of the Sacrament ; but the material bread hath no such familiarity with the Body of Christ, which is the matter of the Sacrament : *Ergo*, Material bread is not a Sacrament.

*Perme.*

I deny your Minor : for material bread doth so nourish  
the body, as the flesh of Christ doth the soul.

*Here he being requested gave place to others.*

Mr. Varvifor.

**T**hrough the shortness of time I am so constrained that neither I can speak without loss of my reputation, nor yet hold my peace without offence to God. For in speaking (as I do) without great premeditation before this honourable, learned and Audente Audience, I shall but then forth my childishness herein, and shall dolefully confess that I am not able to touch the truth of God's sake. And therefore will I not neither speak for the brevity of time, nor yet hold my peace, Gods truth being in controversy, I have determined, (although with the impairing of my good name) to render a reason of my faith, which if I cannot affordably and honestly defend, yet shall I not be silent. For it seemeth better that I be esteemed altogether foolish and unlearned amongst many grave learned Fathers and Doctors, than to forsake the just defence of the Truth, which every good Christian man throughout the world hath ever holden in commendation. For whoforesaith the manifest and true Christian man, he shall be counted a blasphemer.

overalls in *Borengavie, Zuingling, Oestcampeland*, and many others, who are certainly known to be at no less variance amongst themselves, than uncertain of their faith is to believe. *Zuingling* writeth thus of himself: *I* know though this which I mean to extract of those like me very well, yet notwithstanding I am not able to be so plain as I would have my poor judgment would to others, that if I please the Lord, others may be thereby instructed by the Spirit of God, which teacheth all good things. In vain do I spend many words; you see plainly he dare not determine any thing certainly, but doubteth whether it please God or not. *Oestcampeland* writeth to a brother of his faith thus, *Reverend Father*. *As far as I can* conjecture out of the learned Fathers, the words, *John 1. 9*, *This is my body*, be figurative locations, &c. You see hereby how uncertain they be of their opinions: the lean not to the Scriptures, to Doctors, nor yet to the Truth, but to suppositions and conjectures: Who therefore shall cleave unto them? But yet you may see, that *Oestcampeland*, whose beginning pleaseth me very well, and whose words therein offended me not, but in the end

You concluded in fish form, that you left the whole matter to me, as it were confirming my parts by the fame. And herein you framed a syllogism after this manner: What Christ took, that he believed; what he believed, that he brake; what he brake, that he gave; *Ergo*, what he received he gave. Whereas the whole syllogism is a syllogism out of *Genesis*, God took a rib out of *Adams* side: An inference; what he took he built; what he built he brought; *Ergo*, what he brought he gave to *Adam* to be his wife; but he took a rib, *Ergo*, he gave a rib to *Adam* to wife, &c. Also in your said Oration you shooth much at those words of *Paul* the Apostle, *Christ* hath redeemed us from all iniquity, &c. But the Scripture in another place calleth it water, wherein indeed it was wine; a rod when it was a plain serpent.

*Rochester.*

You have pretended great zeal and words enough, but what pith or substance your reasons will afford we shall see hereafter.

*Vavisor.*

Christ gave the same flesh to us which he received of the Virgin; but he took true and natural flesh of her: *Ergo*, he gave us true and natural flesh. My Major I prove by *Augustine* upon the 98 *Palm*.

*Rochester.*  
Mr. *Vavisor*, you are in a wrong Box ; for the place  
maketh altogether for maintenance of adoration, if it make  
for any thing.

*Varior.*

I know it very well, and therefore I alledg it as the ground of my reason. These be *Augustines* words, Christ of the earth received earth, and of the flesh of *Mary* he received flesh: acknowledg his substance therefore.

*Rochester.*  
I acknowledg it.

*Wavifer.*  
And in the very same flesh he walked here upon the earth & acknowledge his substance.

And the very same flesh he gave us to eat; acknowledged  
his substance.

I acknowledg not his real substance to be there, but the property of his substance.

Then *Vasifier* recited the place, to the end he might prove that his real substance ought to be acknowledged as well in the last place, as in the first and second; affirming it out of *St. Augustine*, who faith thus, The Disciples of Christ approaching the Lords Table, by faith drank the same blood which the tormentors most cruelly spilt, &c. but the tormentors spilt no figure of blood: *Ergo*, &c. This place will not permit the other so to be illuded.

*Rochester.*  
It is no illusion, good Mr *Javisor*, but surely you would move a Saint with your impertinent reasons.

*Wavifor.*  
I befeech your Fatherhood to pardon my rudeneſs, for ſurely I cannot otherwiſe ſpeak without breach of conſcience.

That place of *Augustine* is to be understood of a spiritual kind of eating.

I demand whether the faithful may receive spiritually,  
so as they need not to receive Sacramentally.

They may.

Then thus to you: the spiritual eating there is no need to come to the Lords Table, for so it is the meat of the soul, not of the teeth; but the faithful come to the Lords Table. *Ergo*, that place is to be understood of a Sacramental eating. And again, *Augustine* saith that he carried himself in his hands.

Rochester

4. Am.  
1549.

*Augustine* sheweth a little after what he meant here-  
by, where he saith, he carried himself in his own hands  
after a certain fort or manner.

*Vavilior.*

True it is, that after one manner he sat at the Table,  
and after another manner was in the Sacrament.

**Master Young** here disputeth against *Perne*  
as followeth.

*Young.*

I Understand the meaning of this word *Proprietar*,  
propriety, well enough; as for *Hilary* and *Euthym*  
it signifieth not the virtue or power of any substance or  
being, but rather a natural being or substance.

*Rochefer.*

I commend your great diligence in searching of Authors,  
but in Divinity the matter standeth not so; for the prop-  
riety of efficacy in the Deity is the very efficacy; and what-  
soever is in God is God.

*Young.*

True it is (most reverend Father) that this word *Proprietar*,  
propriety, in *Hilary* in his eighth Book of *Trinitari*,  
entreating there of the Divinity of the Father, of the  
Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is so meant and taken;  
but the same *Hilary* sheweth in the same place speech of  
our communion and unity with Christ, &c. *Tertullian*  
also writing of the Resurrection of the flesh, affirmeth that  
the flesh of our Saviour is that whereof our soul is allied  
to God, that is, it is which causeth that our souls are joined  
to him, but one flesh is made clean, that the soul may be  
purged; our flesh is sanctified, that the soul may be  
made holy; the flesh is sealed, that the soul may be  
comforted; the flesh is shadowed with the imposition of  
the hands, that our soul may be lightened with the glory  
of the Spirit; our flesh is clothed with a body and blood,  
that the soul may be fed and nourished of God.

*Rochefer.*

The flesh indeed is fed with the Body and the Blood of  
the Lord, when our bodies by nourishment are made like  
to his body. And our body is nourished, when the virtue  
and power of the Body of Christ doth feed us. The same  
*Tertullian* is not afraid to call it flesh and blood, but he  
meaneth a figure of the same.

*Young.*

Then by your leave it should follow by good conse-  
quence, that where any nourishment is, there must needs  
be a Sacramental communion, which cannot be; *Erge*,  
&c.

Here ended the third and last Disputa-  
tion holden at Cambridge, 1549.

This Disputation continued three days. In the first did  
answer *Dr. Marlow*; against whom disputed *Dr. Giles*, *Mr.*  
*Langdale*, *Mr. Saverick*, *Mr. Young*.  
In the second Disputation did answer *Dr. Giles*: Against  
whom disputed *Mr. Grindall*, *Mr. Perne*, *Mr. Gell*, *Mr.*  
*Pickington*.

In the third Disputation answered *Mr. Perne*: Against  
whom disputed one *Mr. Parker*, (not *Dr. Matthew Parker*)  
*Mr. Pollard*, *Mr. Vavilior*, *Mr. Young*.

At length the Disputations ended, the Bishop of *Rochefer*,  
*Dr. Nicolas Ridley*, after the manner of School  
men, this determination upon the foreaid Conclusions, as  
here followeth.

**The Determination of Dr. Nicolas Ridley, Bi-  
shop of Rochefer, upon the Conclusions**  
above prefixed.

THESE both been an ancient custom amongst you,  
that after Disputations upon your common Schools  
there should be free determination made of the matters  
so disputed and debated, especially touching Christian Re-  
ligion. Because therefore it hath seemed good unto these  
worshipful Authorities joyed with me in Communion from  
the Kings Majesty, that I should perform the same at this

time: I will by your favourable patience declare, both  
what I do think and believe my self, and what also other  
ought to think of the same. Which thing I would that  
afterward ye did with diligence weigh and ponder, every  
man at home severally by himself.

The principal grounds or rather head-pieces of this  
matter are specially five.

The first is the authority, majesty, and verity of Holy  
Scripture.

The second is the most certain testimonies of the ancient  
Catholic Fathers, whither after my judgment do sufficiently  
declare this matter.

The third is the definition of a Sacrament.

The fourth is the abominable Heresie of Eutiches, that  
may cause of Transubstantiation.

The fifth is the most pure belief of the Article of our  
Faith: He ascended into Heaven.

The first Ground.

This Transubstantiation is clean against the words of the  
Scripture, and consent of the ancient Catholic Fathers.

The Scripture faith, I will not drink hereafter of this fruit  
of the Vine, &c. Now the fruit of this Vine is Wine. And  
it is manifest that Christ spake these words after the Supper  
was finished, as is appeareth both in *Matthew*, *Mark*, and  
also in *Luke*, if they be well understood. There be not  
many places of Scripture that do confirm this thing, nei-  
ther is it greatly material: For it is enough if there be any  
one plain testimony for the same. Neither ought it to be  
measured by the number of Scriptures, but by the authori-  
ty, and by the verity of the same. And the Majesty of  
this verity is ample in one short sentence of the Scripture  
as in a thousand.

Moreover, Christ took bread, he gave bread. In the  
*Acts* *Luke* calleth it bread. So Paul calleth it bread after  
the sanctification. Both of them speak of breaking, which  
belongeth to the substance of bread, and in no wise to  
the Body, for the Scripture faith, Ye shall not break a  
bone of him, Christ faith, Do ye this in my remembrance.  
So Paul also faith, Do ye this in my remembrance. And  
again, As often as ye shall drink of this cup, do it in  
remembrance of me. And our Saviour Christ in the sixth  
John 6, of *John*, speaking against the *Carnapher*, faith, Labour  
for the meat that periseth not. And when they asked,  
What shall we do that we may work the works of God?  
He answered them thus, This is the work of God, that ye  
believe in him whom he hath sent. You see how he ex-  
horteth them to faith, For faith is that work of God.  
Again, This is the bread which came down from Heaven.  
But Christ's Body came not down from Heaven. Moreover,  
He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth  
in me, and I in him. My flesh (saith he) is meat indeed,  
and my blood is drink indeed. When they heard this, they  
were offended. And whil实现 they were offended, he said  
unto them, What if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up  
where he was before? Wherby he went about to draw  
them from the gross and carnal eating. This Body, faith  
he, shall ascend up into heaven, meaning altogether, as  
St. *Augustine* faith. It is the spirit that quickeneth his  
flesh nothing. The words that I speak unto you, are  
spirit and life, and may be spiritually understood. These  
be the reasons which persuade me to incline to this sen-  
tence and judgment.

The second Ground.

Now my second ground against this Transubstantiation  
are the ancient Fathers a thousand years past. And so far  
off it is that they do confirm this opinion of Transubstantia-  
tion, that plain they seem unto me, both to think and  
to speak the contrary.

*Diomysius* in many places calleth it bread. The places  
are so manifest and plain, that it needeth not to recite  
them.

*Irenaeus* to the *Philadelphians* faith, I beseech you Bre-  
thren cleave fast unto our Faith, and to one kind of Bread-  
ing, using together one manner of thanksgiving; for the  
flesh of the Lord Jesus is one, and his blood is one which  
was shed for us: There is also one bread broken for us,  
and one Cup of the whole Church.

The third Ground.

This Transubstantiation is clean against the words of the  
Scripture, and consent of the ancient Catholic Fathers.

The Scripture faith, I will not drink hereafter of this fruit  
of the Vine, &c. Now the fruit of this Vine is Wine. And  
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horteth them to faith, For faith is that work of God.  
Again, This is the bread which came down from Heaven.  
But Christ's Body came not down from Heaven. Moreover,  
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in me, and I in him. My flesh (saith he) is meat indeed,  
and my blood is drink indeed. When they heard this, they  
were offended. And whil实现 they were offended, he said  
unto them, What if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up  
where he was before? Wherby he went about to draw  
them from the gross and carnal eating. This Body, faith  
he, shall ascend up into heaven, meaning altogether, as  
St. *Augustine* faith. It is the spirit that quickeneth his  
flesh nothing. The words that I speak unto you, are  
spirit and life, and may be spiritually understood. These  
be the reasons which persuade me to incline to this sen-  
tence and judgment.

The fourth Ground.

Now my second ground against this Transubstantiation  
are the ancient Fathers a thousand years past. And so far  
off it is that they do confirm this opinion of Transubstantia-  
tion, that plain they seem unto me, both to think and  
to speak the contrary.

*Diomysius* in many places calleth it bread. The places  
are so manifest and plain, that it needeth not to recite  
them.

*Irenaeus* to the *Philadelphians* faith, I beseech you Bre-  
thren cleave fast unto our Faith, and to one kind of Bread-  
ing, using together one manner of thanksgiving; for the  
flesh of the Lord Jesus is one, and his blood is one which  
was shed for us: There is also one bread broken for us,  
and one Cup of the whole Church.

The fifth Ground.

This Transubstantiation is clean against the words of the  
Scripture, and consent of the ancient Catholic Fathers.

The Scripture faith, I will not drink hereafter of this fruit  
of the Vine, &c. Now the fruit of this Vine is Wine. And  
it is manifest that Christ spake these words after the Supper  
was finished, as is appeareth both in *Matthew*, *Mark*, and  
also in *Luke*, if they be well understood. There be not  
many places of Scripture that do confirm this thing, nei-  
ther is it greatly material: For it is enough if there be any  
one plain testimony for the same. Neither ought it to be  
measured by the number of Scriptures, but by the authori-  
ty, and by the verity of the same. And the Majesty of  
this verity is ample in one short sentence of the Scripture  
as in a thousand.

The sixth Ground.

This Transubstantiation is clean against the words of the  
Scripture, and consent of the ancient Catholic Fathers.

The fifth Ground.

The fifth ground is the certain perfection of this Ar-  
ticle of Faith, He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the  
right hand, &c.

*Augustine* faith, The Lord is above, even to the end of  
the World: But yet the verity of the Lord is here alive, and  
for his Body wherewith he roge again must needs be in one  
place, but his Verity is spread abroad every where.

Also in another place he faith, Let the gods also  
revere that Sacrament, but let them not be careful (feeling  
there of the presence of his Body.) As for touching  
his Majesty, his Providence, his invisible and unspokeable  
Grace, these words are fulfilled which he saith, I am with  
you unto the end of the World. But according to the flesh  
which he took upon him, according to that which was  
born of the Virgin, was apprehended of the Jews, was  
fastened to a Tree, taken down again from the Cross, lap-  
sed in Linen Clothes, was buried and roge again, and  
appeared after his Resurrection, so you shall not have me  
any way with you, and away? because that as concerning his  
flesh he was conversant with his Disciples forty days, and  
they accompanying him, seeing him, but not following him,  
he went up into Heaven, and is not here, For he sitteth at  
the right hand of his Father, and so it is here, because  
he is not departed hence, as concerning the presence of his  
Divine Majesty.

Mark and consider well whist St. *Augustine* faith, He  
ascended into Heaven, and is not here, faith he. Be-  
have not them therefore which say that he is here still in  
the Earth.

Moreover, Doubt not (saith the same *Augustine*) but that  
that *Jesus Christ*, as concerning the nature of his Man-  
hood, is there from whence he shall come. And remember  
well and believe the profession of a Christian Man, that the  
soul from death, ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the  
right hand of his Father, and from that place and none  
other (not from the Altar) shall he come to judge the  
quick and the dead, and shall come as the living, and  
he was seen to go into Heaven: that is to say, in the  
same form and substance, unto the which he gave immor-  
tality, but changed not Nature. After this form (mean-  
ing his Human Nature) we may think that it is every  
where.

And in the same Epistle he faith, Take away from the  
bodies limitation of places, and they shall be no where's  
and because they are no where's, they shall not be at all.

*Figulus* faith, If the Word and the Flesh be both of one  
Nature, seeing that the Word is every where, why then is  
not the Flesh also every where? For when it was in Earth,  
then verily it was not in Heaven; and now when it is in  
Heaven, it is not surely in Earth. And it is so certain,  
that it is not in Earth, that as concerning the same we  
look for him from Heaven, whom, as concerning the  
Word, we believe to be with us in Earth.

Also the same *Figulus* faith, Which things seeing they  
be so, the course of the Scripture must be searched of us,  
and many testimonies must be gathered, to show plainly  
what a wickedness and sacrilege it is to refer those things  
to the property of the Divine Nature, which do only be-  
long to the Nature of the Flesh; and contrariwise, to apply  
those things to the Nature of the Flesh, which do properly  
belong to the Divine Nature.

Which thing the Transubstantiators do, whilst they affirm Christ's Body not to  
be contained in any one place, and ascribe that to his Hu-  
manity, which properly belongeth to his Divinity, as they  
do which will have Christ's Body to be in no one certain  
place limited.

Now in the later Conclusion concerning the Sacrifice,  
because it dependeth upon the first, I will in few words  
declare what I think. For we did once agree in that,  
the whole controversy in the other world soon be at an  
end. Two things there be which do persuade me that  
this Conclusion is true; that is, certain places of the Scrip-  
ture, and also certain testimonies of the Fathers. So Paul  
faith, Hebrews the Ninth, Christ being become an high Priest,  
of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect  
Tabernacle not made with hands, that is, not of  
this building, neither by the Blood of Goats and Calves,  
but by his own Blood, entered once into the Holy place,  
and

*Irenaeus* writeth thus: Even as the Bread that cometh  
of the Earth receiving Gods consecration is now no more  
common bread, but Sacramental Bread, consisting of two  
natures, Earthly and Heavenly, even so our bodies receiv-  
ing the Eucharis, are now no more corruptible, having  
been of the Resurrection.

*Tertullian* is very plain, for he calleth it a figure of his  
body, &c.

*Cyprian* writeth to *Cassarius* the Monk, albeit he  
be not received of divers, yet will I read the place to  
me more deeply in your minds: for it seemeth to them  
plainly the substance of bread to remain. The words are  
these.

Before the Bread is sanctified, we name it Bread: but  
by the grace of God sanctifying the same, through the mi-  
nistry of the Priest, it is delivered from the name of  
bread, and is counted worthy to bear the name of  
the Lords body, although the very substance of Bread  
nevertheless do still remain therein, and now is  
taken not to be two bodies, but one body of the Son,  
Cyprian 116. Sec.

Cyprian faith, Bread is made of many Grains. And  
is that Natural Bread, and made of Wheat? Yes it is.  
Theodore 6. indeed.

The Book of *Theodoret* in Greek was lately printed  
at Rome, which if it had not been say, it  
should not have been left forth there, especially see-  
ing it is directly against Transubstantiation; For he  
faith plainly, that bread still remaineth after the fan-  
ctification.

*Gelasius* also is very plain in this manner, The  
Sacrament (saith he) which we receive of the body  
and blood of Christ, is a Divine matter: By rea-  
son whereof we are made partakers by the same of  
the Divine Nature, and yet it causeth not fill to  
be the substance of Bread and Wine. And certai-  
nly the substance (infinite of the body and blood  
of Christ be celebrated in the action of the mysteries,  
&c.

After this he recited certain places out of *Augustine*  
and *Cyprian* which were not new to me, and  
*Justin* also confesseth that it is Bread.

Also the judgment of *Bertram* in this matter is  
very plain and manifest. And thus much for the second  
ground.

The third Ground.

The third ground is the nature of the Sacrament,  
which consisteth of three things, that is, Unity, Na-  
tion, and Conversion.

As touching Unity, *Cyprian* thus writeth: Even as  
of many grains is made one Bread, so are we one  
mystical Body of Christ. Wherfore Bread must still  
needs remain, or else we destroy the nature of a Sa-  
crament.

Also they that take away Nutrition, which cometh  
by Bread, do take away likewise the nature of a Sa-  
crament. For as the body of Christ nourisheth the soul, even  
so doth Bread likewise nourish the body of man.

Therefore they that take away the grains or the uni-  
on of the Grains in the Bread, and deny the Nutrition  
or Substance thereof, in my judgment are Sacramen-  
taries: For they take away the similitude between the Bread  
and the body of Christ. For they which affirm Tran-  
substantiation are indeed such Sacramentaries and *Carnapher*.

As touching Conversion (that like as the Bread which  
we receive is turned into our substance, so are we turned  
into Christ's Body) *Rabanus* and *Chrysostom* are witness  
sufficient.

The fourth Ground.

They which say that Christ is actually present in the  
Eucharist, do take from him the verity of mans nature.  
*Eutiches* granted the Divine nature in Christ, but his hu-  
mane nature he denied. So they that defend Transubstantia-  
tion ascribe that to the humane nature which only  
belongeth to the Divine nature.

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Furthermore, if the bread be turned and altered into the body of Christ, doubtless it is the greatest miracle that ever God wrought. But the Apollites have no miracle in that. *Namque* an old Writer, and *Augustin* in his writing of all the miracles that Christ wrought, saith not of this. As for the Apollites, it appears manifestly that well they had it for no marvel, for they never needed it, neither demanded how it might be; whereas other things they evermore were full of questions. touching *S. Augustin*, he not only overstepeth it as wonder, but by plain and exprets words testified that there is no such miracle. *Augustinus* saith thus, *Quod si Sacramenta honorum et religionis habere possunt, fano-*

Verity.

1000

*est. i.* While the world shall last, the Lord is above  
also the verity of the Lord is with us. For the  
wherein he rose again must be in one place; but

wherein is declared the Passion and Death of Christ; and li-  
veth contrary to the Gospel, shall doubtles be the more gilty  
of the death of Christ, because he heareth and readeth the  
word of God; and regardeth it not. In a certain country

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gura est: Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis, et biberitis ejus sanguinem, non erit vita in vobis. Flagitium videtur iurare; Ergo, Figura est precipiens passim Domini esse communicandum, et suavis in memoria recordandum, quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa sit. If the commanding speech be such as commencing a thing

wicked and horrible to be done, or a charitable thing to be undone, then this is a figurative speech; Unless ye shall eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and shall drink his Blood, there shall be no life in you: Because in this speech he seemeth to command a wicked thing, it is therefore a figurative speech, commanding that we should communicate with the Passion of our Lord, and sweetly to retain it in our remembrance. In like manner *Christus est panis* plucketh you from the plain Letter, and the bare words of this saying. *Cave, neq. prodesit*, hea. et. *Quod* *placet*

ritum verba mea intelligenda sunt. Quia qui secundum  
carnem audit, nihil lucratur. Quid est autem carnaliter  
intelligere? Simpliciter ut res dicuntur, neque aliud  
quippiam cogitare. Non enim ita iudicanda sunt quae  
videntur, sed mysteria omnia interioribus oculis videnda  
sunt. hoc est, spiritualiter. i. The. Fleth. propheth. post.

that is to say, my words must be taken and expounded after the Spirit. For he that heareth after the Flesh gaineth nothing. Now what is it to understand carnally? To take things simply as they be spoken, and not to consider any meaning further therein. For things must not be understood as they are seen, but all must be sought for their spiritual meaning.

with inward Eyes, that is to say, spiritually. What is heinous in these days, as to call the Sacrament the Tolter or the Remembrance of Christ's Body? Yet did the Wise men never call it other. *Terrulianus* in the Fourth Chapter of his *Adversus Iudaeos* writes thus, *Memoriae, et corpus Iunum facit. Hoc est corpus meum dicitur* &c. *Id est, figura corporis mei.* Christ took Bread and made it his Body, that is my Body; that is to say, a Figure of my self. *Ambrise* upon the Eleventh to the Corinthians writes thus, *Quia Christus habuit membra in elando & potandis, carnes & sanguinem quasi oblata sunt significamus;* Because we are delivered by the Lords death, in the remembrance of the famous Sacrament, which we figure by the Body and Blood which he offered up for us. *Clement* writes thus, Third Homily upon the Gospel of *Matthew*, *Quando dicunt, unde panis Christi immolatus fuisse?* *Is ad hoc respondet carnis a confutius.* *Si enim immolatus Christus esset, unde panis diceretur?* *Significum est sacrificium of* When they object unto us thus, How long have we that Chait was offered up? Then alleading these things we stop their mouths. For if Christ did not, then whote sign or token is the Sacrifice? *Augustine* to *Adimantus*, *Quid est sacrificium? Quod est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui.* Christ doth denote his Body, when he gave but a sign of his Body. *Augustine* upon the Third Psalm, *Christi adhibuit Iudam ad conversionem, in quo corpori & sanguini sui fecerunt signum.* *Iudas* was the one that betrayed Christ to receive *Iudas* to the Supper, in the which he commended and delivered a Figure of his Body and Blood unto his disciples. *Rufinus*, *de institutione clericorum*; *Quia panis corpus est, et sanguis, et ille corpus Christi concutit noster sanguis.* *Augustine* writes thus, *Quia Christus habuit membra in elando & potandis, carnes & sanguinem quasi oblata sunt significamus Christi referunt.* Because the Bread



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*dict, Pietas ad omnia utilis est. Optime valet tua pietas in pluribus animis. Hartfordius 13. Januarii.*

*Tui studiosissimus,*

Edwardus Princeps

### The Answer of the Archbishop to Prince Edward's Epistle.

**N**ON magis poterat ipse me servare salu[m] sibi in Christo charissime quam salu[m] tua. Mea vota non decenda est vota absque tua et salute et valetudine. Quapropter cum te incolumem a salu[m] intelligo, vitam etiam mihi integram esse et incolumem scio. Neque enim vita mea tam est incolumis etiam quam sunt laetitia tua persequenda mihi. Quia arguit iuxta adesse et ingenio. dignum tanto principe et praeceptorum dignum tanto ingenio. Ex quibus tui literis te sic literis video colesse caris: quae cumque sit cura, non potest illum quousque cura frangere. Perge igitur via incipisti, Princeps illusterrime, et Spartam quam nactus es hanc arma, ut quam ego per literas video in te virtutis lucem, eadem alio illiusmodi universum tam digne. Non tamen prolixum, non quidem ut me intelligas brevitate non mihi officio, non etiam quod credam te etate quidem adhibere parvulum parvo gaudere, et similem famili; nam etiam praeceptoris in impolita mea oratio in conspectu, quae generosa illa inde barbarica vitium contrahit.

### The report of the Princes School-master, in commendation of his towardsness, to the Archbishop.

**R**ight honourable and my singular good Lord, after my most hearty commendations: the opportunity of this Messenger forthwith me to write at this time, having little matter now to signify unto your Grace, that my Lords Grace your God-son is merry and in health, and of little towardsness in learning, godliness, gentleness, and all honest qualities, that both you and I, and all this Realm ought to think him and take him for a singular gift of God, as fit and worthy of such a Father: for whom we are bound, sine intermissione, to render to God most hearty thanks, with most humble request of his long and prosperous continuance. He hath learned almost four Books of Cantabrigiae, to parse, and to say without Boole. And of his own courage now in the latter Book he will needs have at one time fourteen Verses, which he cometh pleasantly and perfectly, besides things of the Bible, Sateilium Provi, Asaph Psalms, and Latin manner, whereof he hath sent your Grace a little letter. Dominus Jhu[m] est dominum servet.

Thus much hitherto having declared, touching the worthy virtues and singular towardsness of this godly Prince, King Edward the Sixth, although I have not, neither can I infer all things due to his commendation, but am enforced to let pass many memorable matters, well worthy to be prosecuted, if they might have come to our hands: yet this one brief Note I thought not to overlook (if something to execute the weary Reader in such a doubtful time) being notified to me by one Mr. Edward Handkerbell, who waiting the same time with the rest of his fellow Penitents and Men at Arms, as Sir Henry Gates, Mr. Robert Hall, Mr. Henry Harlowe, and Mr. Stafford, heard these words between the King and his Council.

The Relation and Testimony of which person and persons above-named come to this effect, That King Edward the Sixth, the fourth year of his Reign, being then but thirteen years old and upward, at Greenwich upon St. George's day, when he was come from the Sermon into the Presence-Chamber, there being his Uncle the Duke of Somerset, the Duke of Northumberland, with other Lords and Knights of that Order called, The Order of the Garter, he laid to them, *My Lords, I pray you, what Saint is St. George, that we bore so honour him?* At which question the other Lords being all affonied, the Lord Treasurer that then was, perceiving this, gave answer, and said, If it please your Majesty, I did never read in any

Histories of St. George, but only in *Legenda aurea*, where it is thus set down, *That St. George our our his Saviour, and ran the Dragon through with his Spear.* The King, when he could not a great while speak for laughing, at length said, *I pray you, my Lords, and what did he with his Saviour the while?* That I cannot tell your Majesty, said he. And so an end of that question of good St. George. Now to return again from whence we have digressed, which is to signify some part of the order and manner of his godly departing. As the time approached when it pleased Almighty God to call this young King from us, which was the fourth day of July, the year above-said, about three hours before his death, this godly Child, his eyes being closed, speaking to himself, and thinking none to have heard him, made this Prayer which followeth:

### The Prayer of King Edward before his death.

**L**ORD God deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy elect: howbeit not my will, but thy will be done: Lord I commit my spirit to thee, O Lord thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy chosen sake send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God bless thy people, and save them invincibly. O Lord God, defend thy chosen people of England. O my Lord God, defend this Realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true Religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy Name, for thy Son Jhu[m] Christ Jhu.

Then turned he his face, and seeing who was by him, the order said unto them, *Are ye so high?* I thought ye had been farther off. Then Dr. Owen said, We heard you speak to yourself, but what you said we know not. He then (after he said this) faintly said, I was praying to God. The last words of his pangs were these, *I am faint, Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit.* And thus they yielded up the ghost, leaving a world kingdom behind unto his Father. Albeit he in his will had excluded his Sister Mary from the succession of the Crown, because of her corrupt Religion: yet the Plague, which God had definate unto this initial Realm, could not be so avoided, but that the being the eldest Daughter to King Henry, succeeded in possession of the Crown. Of whose dreadful and bloody reign it remaineth now consequently to discourse.

This briefly may suffice to understand, that for all the writing, sending, and practising with the Lady Mary, by the King and his Council, and also by Bishop Ridley, yet would he not be reclaimed from her own singular opinion fixed upon occasion, to give any indifferent hearing to the word and voice of verity. The which he will of the said Lady Mary, both this young King and also his Father King Henry before him right well perceiving and considering, they were both much displeased against her: inasmuch that not only her Brother did utterly forbid her in his Will, but also her own Father, considering her inclination, conceived great heart against her, that for a great space he did exclude her from the title of Princess, yet and seemed so eagerly incensed against her, that he was fully purposed to proceed further with her (as it is reported) had not the intercession of Thomas Cranmer the Archbishop reconciled the King again to favour and pardon his own Daughter. For the better understanding whereby these her own Letters copied out of her own hand-writings which I have to these, something may be perceived, and more peradventure may be guessed. The words out of her own hand-writings be these. And first her Letter to King Henry her Father thus followeth:

### A Letter of the Lady Mary to King Henry her Father.

**I**N my most humble wife I beseech your Grace of your daily blessing. Pleasant it is same to be advertised, that this morning my Lord my Chamberlain came and showed me, that he had received a Letter from Sir W. Paulet Controller of your House. The effect whereof was, that I should with all diligence remove unto the Castle of Hertford, whereupon I desired him to see the same Letter, which he showed me. Wherein was written that the Lady Mary the Kings Daughter should remove to the place before-said, having

*King Edward*

*The Kings Prayer at his death.*

*The order and time of his death.*

*Ann. 1553.*

*The Lady Mary would not be reconciled to the King and Father.*

*The Lady Mary to King Henry her Father.*

### Talk between the Lady Mary and Bishop Ridley.

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**K**ING leaving out in the same the name of Princess. Which when I heard, I could not a little marvel, trafficking verily that your Grace was not privy to the same Letter as concerning the leaving out of the name of Princess, forasmuch as I doubt not in your goodness, that your Grace hath take me for your lawful Daughter, born in true Matrimony. What question if I should agree to the contrary, I should in my Conscience now in the displeasure of God, which I hope offensively your Grace would not that I should. And in all other things your Grace shall have me always as humble and obedient as Daughter and Handmaid as ever was Child to the Father, which my duty bindeth me to, as I knoweth our Lord, who have your Grace in his most holy twain, with much honour, and long life to his pleasure. Written at your Manor of Beaulieu, the second day of October.

By your humble Daughter,

Mary, Princess.

### Profession of the Lady Mary to certain Lords sent by the King her Father, with certain requests unto her.

**M**Y Lords, as touching my removing to Hatfield I will obey his Grace, as my duty is, or to any other place his Grace will appoint me. But I protest before you and all other that be here present, that my Conscience will in no wise suffer me to take any other than my self for the Kings Lawful Daughter, born in true Matrimony, or Princess, and that I will never willingly and wittingly say or do whereby any person might take occasion to think that I agree to the contrary. Not of any ambition or proud mind, as God is my Judge, but that, if I should say or do otherwise, I should in my Conscience slander the Decree of our Mother holy Church, and the Pope, who is the Judge in this matter, and none other, and also dishonour the King my Father, the Queen my Mother, and finally condemn my self a Bastard, which God defend that I should do, being the Pope hath not so declared it by his sentence Definitive for to his Judgment I submit me.

As you have heard some part already of the stout courage of the Lady Mary toward her Father, and also by her Letters so lets was declared toward King Edward her Brother and other of his Council, as well may appear by the Letters above-specified between the King her Brother and his Council: So now let us infer somewhat likewise of the stout talk and demeanor of the said Lady Mary toward Doctor Ridley Bishop of London, who gently coming to her of meet good will, as had this communication with her, and went with him, as here followeth:

About the Eighth of September, 1553, Dr. Ridley then Bishop of London, lying at his House at Hadham in Hertfordshire, went to visit the Lady Mary then lying at Hatfield, two miles off, and was gently entertained of Sir Thomas Wharton, and other her Gentlemen, all it was almost Eleven of the Clock, about which time the said Lady Mary came forth into his Chamber of Presence, and then the said Bishop there saluted her Grace, and said, That he was come to do this duty to her Grace. Then the thanked him for his pains, and for a quarter of an hour talked with him very pleasantly, and said, That she knew him

in the Court when he was Chaplain to her Father, and could well remember a Sermon that he made before King Henry her Father, at the Marriage of my Lady Clinham that now is, to Sir Anthony Brown, &c. and so dismissed him to dine with his Officers.

After Dinner was done, the Bishop being called for by the said Lady Mary, referred again to her Grace, between whom this communication was: first the Bishop began in manner as followeth:

Bishop. Madam, I came not only to do my duty to see your Grace, but also to offer my self to preach before you on Sunday next, if it will please you to hear me. At this her countenance changed, and after silence for a space, the answered thus:

Mary. My Lord, as for this last matter I pray you make the answer to it your self.

Bishop. Madam, considering mine Office and Calling, I am bound in duty to make to your Grace this offer, to preach before you.

Mary. Well, I pray you make the answer (as I have said) to this matter your self for you know the answer well enough. But if there be no remedy but I must make you answer, this shall be my answer; the door of the Parish-Church adjoining that be open for you to come, and ye may preach if you list; but neither I nor any of mine hall hear you.

Bishop. Madam, I trust you will not refuse Gods Word; which I cannot tell what ye call Gods Word; that is not Gods Word now, that was Gods Word in my Fathers days.

Bishop. Gods Word is all one in all times, but hath been better understood and practised in some Ages than in other.

Mary. You durst not for you have avouched that for Gods Word many Fathers days, that now you do. And as for your new Words, I thank God I never read any of them; I never did, nor ever will do.

And after many bitter Words against the form of Religion then established, and against the Government of the Realm, and the Laws made in the young years of her Brother, which the said the was not bound to obey till her Brother came to perfect Age, and then she affirmed the would obey them; she asked the Bishop whether he were one of the Council? He answered, No. You might well enough, said she, as the Council grew now days.

And so he concluded with these words: My Lord, for your gentleness to come and see me, I thank you; but for your offering to preach before me, I thank you never a whit.

Then the said Bishop was brought by Sir Thomas Wharton to the place where they dined, and was desired to drink. And after he had drunk, he paused a while looking very fadly, and suddenly brake out into these words: Surely I have done amiss. Why for? quoth Sir Thomas Wharton. For I have drunk (said he) in that place where Gods word offered hath been refused: where-as as if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed there without for a reference against this House. These words were by the said Bishop spoken with such a vehemency, that some of the hearers afterward confessed their Hair to stand upright on their Heads. This done, the said Bishop departed, and so returned to his House. Testified by a certain reverend personage yet alive, being then the Bishops Chaplain.

And thus making an end of this Ninth Book, touching the Story and Reign of King Edward, and having also somewhat said before of the nature and disposition of the Lady Mary, whereof the way may be prepared the better to proceed in describing the life and proceedings of the said Lady Mary, coming now to the Queen, and advanced, next after this godly King Edward, to the Crown of this Realm of England.